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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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VOL. XI. 1911-12.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 4, last line,— for a Hechche read at Hechche
 , 17, line 10 from top,—for Phankaprasravana read Phankaprasravana
 , 32, line 17 from bottom —for nI read In
 , 41, line 8 from top,—for Nādlat read Nādlat
 , 48, foot note 1,—for Badāri read Badāri
Page 107, text line 17,— for Dhindhaka read Tthindaka
 , 108 line 14 from bottom , , ,
 , 120 No 10 —The dates in the Burmese inscription at Bōdh-Gayā are said to fall in January, A D 1295, and November, A D 1298 that, however, is not correct—the case is as follows —(1) The first date answers quite regularly, for the year B E 657 expired, to Friday, 16th December, A D 1295 —(2) The second date is “irregular” instead of working out for a Sunday as given in the record, for the year B E 660 expired, the given lunar day answers to Monday, 13th October, A D 1298 , and for the year B E 660 current it answers to Thursday, 24th October , A D 1297 —See my paper in the *Jour R As Soc*, 1913, pp 378-84, where I have treated these two dates fully, and have shown how easily Burmese dates may be calculated by using the means provided by Sir Alfred Finlay in his *Burmese and Arakanese Calendars* (1909) and his “Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A D 638 to 1752” published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol 39 (1910), pp 289-315 —J F FLEET
 , 114, text line 31.—for *ब्रह्मपुत्रे* read *ब्रह्मपुत्रे*
 172, below Table XIII,—for 177 read 171
 , 185, line 36 from top,—cancel the words “ who was the King’s commander in-chief ”
 236 line 3 from bottom,—for Kongunivarman read Kongonivarman.
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XI.

No 1—AN INSCRIPTION AT DEVAGERI

BY J F FLEET, ICS (RETD), PH D, CIE

This inscription has been mentioned by me in vol 5 above, p. 172 and I have given a brief statement of the purport of it under No 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind Ant*, vol. 30 (1901), p 217 I publish it now for the first time, and give a facsimile of it from an ink-impression made for me by Mr Kalyan Sitaram Chitre in 1890, when (if my memory is correct) he was Māmlatdār of the Sampgaum tāluka of the Belgaum District

The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No 85, at Dēvagēri, a village about six miles west-by-south from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar District The Indian Atlas sheet No 42 (1827) shews the place as 'Dewgeeree' The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deogeree' The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) presents its name as 'Deogiri'. And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the Bombay Gazetteer treats it as 'Devgeri' (p 665). In connexion with some early Kadamba copperplate records which were obtained at this village, I originally gave its name as 'Dēvagiri',¹ in accordance with those spellings Subsequently I was given to understand that the cultivators call it 'Dēvagere', and that this should be taken as its real name and I have sometimes used this form² Since then, however, I have ascertained that a record of A D 1075 in the temple of Basavanna at the village itself distinctly gives its name as Dēvamgēri, as also does a record of the period A D 1210-47 at the temple of Mārtandadēva at a neighbouring village, Kōlūr also, that the impression of a record of A D 1121 in the temple of Basavanna, while leaving it doubtful whether the original does or does not present the *anusāra* again distinctly gives the second component of the name as *gēri*, and thus yields either Dēvamgēri or Dēvagēri Further, Mr K S Chitre, while writing the name on the impressions sent by him to me as 'Dēvagiri' in English characters, according to the official spelling, wrote it as 'Dēvagēri', in the same place, in the Mōdi or current Marāthi characters I therefore entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call the village is, not 'Dēvagere' (as reported to me), but Dēvagēri, and that this

¹ *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 33 and I have used the form 'Dēogiri' in vol 5 above, p 172

² For instance, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol 1, part 2, p 285 ff

is the form of the name that should be used¹ At the same time, in justification to a certain extent of the official form of the name, I may state that a record of A D 1674 on a pillar in the same temple of Basavanna does distinctly present the name as Dēvagēri, and thus carries back the corrupt form for an appreciable time The inscription now published does not mention the name Dēvamgēri in any form, but speaks only of a village called Palarūr This name seems to be another form, by transposition,² of the name which we have as Paralūr (*Ind Ant*, vol 11, p 70) in the inscription of the time of Kirtivarman II (A D 746-47 and 757) at Ādūr, about eight miles south-west-by-west from Dēvagēri, and as Brihat-Paralūr (*id*, vol 7, p 35, line 9) in the still earlier copperplate grant, of the third year of Mrigēsavarman, which was discovered at Dēvagēri itself In any case, the purport of our record distinctly implies that the stone which bears it, and which was found in a field in the lands of Dēvagēri, was set up in the village Palarūr, and thus marks Palarūr as being then the name of the place It may be added that the inscription of A D 1075, mentioned above, registers an assignment of tolls, for certain purposes of the god Kankalēśvara of Dēvamgēri, at Dēvamgēri and Palavūr and in the *tala*, 'site or tract', composed of Eleya-Tammnge and two unnamed villages here we may possibly have still another form of the name Paralūr, Palarūr but it is difficult to account for the *v* in the place of the *r*, and Palavūr may be another village which does not now exist Any such name as Paralūr, Palarūr, and Palavūi, is not now found in maps, etc And the position seems to be that Dēvagēri was originally a *dēvamgēri* or *dēvapuri*, a 'god's ward', of Palarūi, that the lands of Palarūr and some other villages have been absorbed into the lands of Dēvagēri, which is a somewhat large village, and that consequently the latter name only has survived The inscription now published places Palarūr, tacitly but plainly, in the Banavāsī twelve-thousand province So, also, the record of A D 1075 in the same way places Dēvamgēri, with the other villages mentioned in it in that same province, and, further, in a division of it known as the Bāsavura one-hundred-and-forty

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, showing a bull, recumbent to the right (proper left) and apparently intended for the usual Nandi, and below it, plainly not as a family or dynastic emblem but in connexion with the topic of the record, an elephant, standing to the right (proper left), with a man standing behind it with uplifted arms The writing covers an area about 1' 8' broad in lines 9 to 14 by 3' 0' high. The stone on which it is engraved seems to have been even originally of an irregular shape, and it is only at the end of lines 1 to 8, 17, 20, and 21, and at the beginning of lines 18 to 22, that any portions of it have been broken away

The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and, generally, well executed In lines 1 to 15 the size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{2}$ " as in the *ya* of *baḷayan*, line 9, to $\frac{3}{4}$ ", as in the *ba* of *bare*, line 15, in lines 16 ff it increases up to (for single letters) $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ba* of *sāsirbar*, line 19, and it almost seems that this part of the record may have been written by another hand the *ynū* of *ay-nūra*, line 2, is $1\frac{3}{4}$ " high the *lnī* of *masayal-nīran*, line 11, is 2" high and the *chchri* of *mechchridem*, line 16, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high They are of the general standard of the tenth century A D and closely thereabouts They include both the types of the initial short *r*, on which detail see p 7 ff below the earlier type of this vowel occurs in *vppatt-*, line 2, the later type is found in *īdam*, line 20, also in *īdan-* at the beginning of line 18, where, however, it is mostly broken away. The *kh*, *j*, *b*, and *l* are all of the later types, the guttural nasal *n* does not occur. No distinction seems to be made between *d* and *ḍ* In *chhatra*, for *chchhatra*, line 6, we have the rare full

¹ Regarding the confusion which has arisen in the official spelling of various place names in consequence of mistakes that have been made between *kere*, *ḷere*, 'a tank', and *kēri*, 'a street', see my note on the name Anugere in vol 6 above, p 100, note 3

² Compare the metathesis in *maral* and *malar*, *aral* and *alar*, and *eral* and *elar* see Śabdamanidarpana, verāe 29

form of *chh*, which necessarily can seldom occur except when, as here, it is used instead of *chchh*

The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record was neatly put together by the use of the *sahsaptamī* or locative infinitives *ene*, lines 10, 11, 14, *ve*, line 14, *bare*, line 15, and *nale*, line 15, coupled with the subjunctive or conditional *endode*, lines 12, 13, 16. And not unworthy of note, in respect of the nicety of the composition, is the point that, whereas the remainder of the record, appropriately cast in pure Kanarese, naturally presents the words *pul*, *pullu*, for 'grass' (lines 11, 14, 15), and *āne* for 'elephant' (line 15), into the ruling prince's mouth there are put (in accordance with the theory of the Hindū drama, that kings and such people should speak Sanskrit) Sanskrit words, woven however into a Kanarese sentence, which include *trina* and *hastin*¹. Line 7 gives us *nēvarade*, the instrumental singular of a word *nēvara* which seems to be a longer form of *nēra*, = *nēr* (3), 'straightness, propriety, pleasantness'. In line 10-11 we have *ludugal* as a variant of *kudugōl*, *kudagōl*, *ludigōl*, *ludugalu*, 'a kind of sickle', for which forms see Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary under *kudu* (3)². In the first component of the term *būdagūl*, 'an offering of boiled rice to ghosts', lines 12, 17, we have *būda*, instead of the more usual *būta*, as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bhūta*. In *arasara* and *ada*, line 12, *pulla*, line 14, and *loyvara*, line 15, we have either a careless omission of the final *m* (*n*), or, with equal probability, instances of the accusative in *a* instead of *am* (*an*)³. Line 8 presents the word *baḷi* (3), 'a man who calls or invites' or we may say 'a summoner', in connexion with which the following remarks may be made. In the form *baḷ* (with *l* instead of *ḷ*) we have this same word in an unpublished inscription of A. D. 1052 at Niralgī in the Hāngal tāluka, Dhārwar, in a passage which runs — *śrīman-mahāmandalēśvaram Hārīkēsaridēvar . . . śrīmad-agrahāram Nirāḷya mahājanam mūnūrvvarige balyan-atti banis*, "the illustrious *Mahāmandalēśvara* Hārīkēsaridēva . . .

having sent a summoner to the three-hundred *Mahājanas* of the holy *agrahāra* Nirāḷ, and having caused them to come," etc. and similar passages occur in records of A. D. 1074 and 1075 at the same place. And we can now recognize that we have the word *baḷ* itself in line 20 of the *Ādūr* inscription (*Ind Ant*, vol 11, p 70), where, modifying my original rendering, I would translate — "The *Gurāra* Prabhāchandra, the summoner of the Jain temple of Paralūr, obtained this grant." It would seem that, in addition to meaning generally 'any man who calls or invites', the word denoted also a recognized official of some kind, both religious and secular.

In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsura* twice in lines 1 to 3, (2) the use of *s* for *ś* throughout, (3) the mistakes of *hh* for *k* in *sakha*, line 1, of *d* for *dh* in *samadigata*, line 4, and of *ri* for *ri* in *trina*, line 9⁴.

The inscription can only be treated as a spurious record, as which it has been entered under No 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind Ant*, vol 30 (1901), p 217, because it

¹ This is the record which I mentioned, from this point of view, in the discussion on "Sanskrit as a spoken language", see *Jour R As Soc*, 1904, 486.

² Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary adds the form *kudugula*. The most familiar term is *kudugōl*, in its later form *kudugōlu*.

³ According, indeed, to Kēśirāja's *Śahdamanidarpana*, verse 134, and Bhattākālanka's *Karnātakasāhdānāsāsana*, sūtra 231, we might regard some of these as genitives used in the sense of accusatives. But *ada* at any rate is not a genitive. And there can be little doubt that Dr Kittel's opinion is correct, namely, that the supposition of a use of the genitive for the accusative is unnecessary, and that the accusative in *a*, frequent enough in the medieval and modern dialects, existed in also the more ancient colloquial dialect, though it had not been generally accepted by classical writers. See his *Kannada Grammar*, §§ 117, 122, 352. Many instances of the accusative in *a* can be found in my Kanarese ballads thus, *māta* for *mātannu*, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 300, line 3 from the bottom, *siṭṭa* for *siṭṭannu* = *siṭṭannu*, p 301, line 1, *karava* for *karavannu*, line 8, *yēna* for *yēnannu* line 11. It would, in fact, be pedantic to use the accusative termination in ordinary speech, except perhaps with pronouns.

⁴ Except, of course, for Sanskrit words being aimed at here, there would be no objection to *trina*.

purports to have been framed on a date which is utterly incompatible with the period to which its characters refer it. As, however, it states (apart from the date) nothing that is in any way unnatural, suspicious, or irreconcilable with the local history for its time period, we may accept the information given in it as true. It deals with a thing which it calls *būdagūl*. This term is composed of *būda*, a *labbhava*-form of the Sanskrit *bhūta*, 'a spirit, goblin, ghost', and the Kanarese *kūl*, *kūlu*, 'boiled rice', and it denotes 'an offering of boiled rice to the ghosts'. Other names of the offering are *bhūtabali* and *bhūtayajña*, also the word *bali* by itself, which is explained in Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary as meaning, amongst other things, 'an offering to demons (especially also Durgā or Kālī), etc., performed by putting heaps of boiled rice, or by killing sheep, buffaloes, etc., and also men'. As a regular sacrifice, the offering ranked as one of the *pañchamahāyajña* or 'five great sacrifices' see, for instance, the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, 3 70. I have been told, however, that in a more special way the *bhūtabali* is offered in connexion with the *garbhādāna* or ceremony performed to ensure conception. I further learnt from the late Sir James Campbell that the *bhūtabali* is offered in cases of barrenness, from the point of view that that misfortune is due to the influence of malicious spirits. And we thus obtain a clear explanation as to why the record represents the village-maidens as interested in the matter of the *būdagūl*. The inscription mentions a certain *Mahāsāmantādhipati* or great feudal prince named Śāntivarman, who was governing the Banavāsī twelve-thousand province. It describes him as belonging to the Mātūra race, and as having the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town Trikundapura", with reference to the place of origin of his family, and as possessing the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner¹. It recites that Śāntivarman came, in the course of a tour, to Palarūr, and demanded a supply of grass for his horses and elephants. For some reason not stated, the right to make the offering of boiled rice to the ghosts was in abeyance, apparently under a sentence of excommunication. Incited by the village-maidens (*hodagūsugal*, line 11), who said that, if he could get the restriction removed, he might marry as many of them as he might wish, a man named Allagunda sent a supply of grass so much to the satisfaction of Śāntivarman that the latter offered to grant him a boon. Whereupon Allagunda asked for, and obtained, the restoration of the right to make the offering to the ghosts. As to whether the village-maidens kept their promise to him, the record is silent.

The inscription is dated on a Monday coupled with the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīra of the Kālayukta *samvatsara*, Śaka-samvat 522. This date, however, is obviously not authentic and all else that need be said about it is as follows. By the mean-sign system, which is the one that applies for that time, Kālayukta began on 29 October, A D 600, in Śaka samvat 522 expired, and ended on 25 October, A D 601. In that period, the given *tithi* ended closely about 22 hours 55 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Sunday, 13 November, A D 600, and cannot be connected with the Monday. And from this we see that the case is not one in which the writer of the record obtained a correct date by calculation.

As one means towards determining the real date of the record, we may cite some other notices of the Mātūra family, to which the record refers the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman. We have one mention of it in the Śāvana-Belgola epitaph of the great Ganga prince Nalambintaka-Mārasimha (A D 963-64 to 974), which describes him as seizing the possessions of the lord of the Vanavāsī country, and causing him or those who belong to the Mātūra race to do obeisance to him (*arts* vol 5, p 179). No personal name, however, is mentioned there. Some other notices of the family, of a specific nature, from other records in Mysore, are as follows —

(1) An inscription in Hechche in the Sorab taluka, Shimoga District. *Epi. Carn.*, vol 8,

¹ The Udayāndram plate of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman allot a "mirror banner made of (? put together with) a peacock's tail" to the Śābara king Udayana. *South Ind. Inscriptions*, vol 2, p 372.

Sb 476 This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III, and is dated in the Vikāra *samvatsara*, Śāka samvat 861 (expired), with details falling in December, A D 939. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiga, Māchidēva,—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”, born in the Mātūra race, and having the Nandavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner,—was then ruling at Herdese ¹ the sphere of his government is not stated

(2) An inscription at Ōtūru in the same tāluka *ibid*, Sb 70 This record is not dated but it refers itself to the same reign, and is therefore to be placed between A D. 939 and 959 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiyarasa was then lord of the Banavāsi twelve-thousand It describes him just as Māchiga, Māchidēva, is described in No 1 above, and he is plainly the same person

(3) An inscription at Kakkarasi in the same tāluka *ibid*, Sb 474. This record refers itself to the same reign, and is dated in the Ānanda *samvatsara*, Śāka samvat 876 (expired), with details falling in October, A D 954 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiyarasa—described in the same terms as in Nos 1 and 2 above—was then ruling over “the twelve thousand”²

(4) Another inscription at Hechehe *ibid*, Sb 479 This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Kakka II, and consequently, though not dated, may be referred to closely about A D 972 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmanta* Śāntivarman—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”, born in the Mātūra race, and having the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner—was then ruling at Herdese

(5) Another inscription at Hechehe *ibid*, Sb 477 This record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla-Taila II, and is dated (without full details) in the Khara *samvatsara*, Śāka samvat 913 (expired), = A D 991-92 It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman—described otherwise in just the same terms as in No 4 above—was then ruling the Belguhe 70, the Edenād 70, the Tandavūra 12, the Gedeya 12, the Mugunda 12, the Puhvatti 12, the Kalvatti 7, and the Sāntalige 1000

These other notices of the Mātūra family agree with the palæographic evidence in placing the real date of the record in the tenth century A D And as a means towards determining its exact date we take the given *samvatsara*, Kīlayukta In the tenth century, this *samvatsara* came only once By the southern lunisolar system, which is applicable for this time to the locality to which the record belongs, it coincided with Śāka-samvat 880 expired And in this year the given details are correct for Monday, 15 November, A D 958, on which day the specified *tithi* ended at about 17 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) This result satisfies the requirements of the case, both palæographic and historical And we entertain no doubt that this is the real date on which the record was framed, and that the Śāntivarman mentioned in it is the Śāntivarman of the Hechehe inscriptions Nos 4 and 5 above As to why the writer of the record antedated it by practically six of the sixty-years cycles, we can only conjecture that the ban laid upon the village had existed for some long time, that it had been disregarded, and that antedating (made in fact to a preposterous extent) was necessary to legalize acts which had been performed in spite of it

¹ This name, much damaged here, is completed from No 4 below

² An inscription at Kelagīna Kirugnise in the same tāluka, *ibid*, Sb 501 which refers itself to the same reign, and is dated (without full details) in the Kālayukta *samvatsara*, Śāka samvat 881 (current) = A. D 958-959, tells us that a certain Māchiga was then governing the Edenād seventy He may have been some junior member of the family, perhaps holding office under Śāntivarman But there is nothing in the record to mark him as such

TEXT 1

- 1 Svasti² Sakha³-nripa-kāl-ātita-sambatsara-[satam]-
 2 gal-ay-nūra irppatt-eradaneya Kālayukta-[sam]-
 3 batsara[da*] Mārggasira-suddha-bidyeyum Sōmavāra[d-and]u[m]
 4 Svasti samadī(dhī)gatapsñchamahāsabda-[ma*]hāsāmantādhipatī
 5 Trikundapura-paramēsvara Brahmakshatriya Mātūra-vams-ōdbhavam Na-
 6 [nda]navanachhatra-hayalāñcha(ñchha)na-darppanadhvaja-virājamānam
 7 [Sā]ntivarman⁴ [n]ēvarade maryyādey=āge Banavāsī-pa[n]n[ī]-
 8 rch[chh]āsīraman=āluttam yathā-kramade Palarūrge ba[nd]=e-
 9 [padim]barge ba[liyan]=attī emma haya-hastī samūhakke tri(tri)na-
 10 samgraham bēlkum=ene ollit-āgī koyvem=endu pōp-āgal=Allagunda ku-
 11 dūgalam=maseyal=niran=ereyim=eue kodagūsugal=ita pullam koyd=a-
 12 rasara mechchisī būdagūlam bīdisnyon=akkum=endod=ada bīdi-
 13 sidode nīm=enag=ā geyvir=endod=inīb-em-olage nī mechchīdarolam ma-
 14 duve-nīlu yene pōgī pulla koyutt-ire arasan=[ā]neyan=ēr-īdu
 15 koyvara nōduttā bare Allagundan=āncyā pulla sūdole nīle-
 16 y=idey=arasam mechchīdem bēdī-koll=endode
 17 būdagūlam bīdim=endu bīdisido[m] [||*]
 18 [I]dan=a[ī]dom Vāranāsīyum sāsira
 19 [ka]vilcyum sāsīrbar=ppārvoruman=a-
 20 [īda] pātakan=akkum idam kādon=imī[n]-
 21 [mam pāl]isido[m*] [||*] Rāmasīnga-bhatāra nīrīsī[dom]
 22 [Mamga]la(?)

TRANSLATION

Hail! On the second tithi, and on Monday, of the bright fortnight of Mārgasira of the Kālayukta samvatsara which was the five hundred and twenty-second (year of) the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings —

(Line 4) Hail! The *Mahāsāmantādhipatī* Śāntivarman,—who has attained the *pañchamahāsabda*, who is a supreme lord of the town Trikundapura, who has been born in the Brahmakshatriya Mātūra race,⁵ who is decorated with the Nandanavana umbrella and the horse crest and the mirror banner,—while governing the Banavāsī twelve thousand with rectitude and according to established customs, came in due course to Palarūr, and sent a summoner to the seventy (*Mahājanas*) to say —“A supply of grass is wanted for Our troop of horses and elephants!”

(L 10) Thereupon (*the cutters*) said —“Right well will we cut!” and were going out. Then Allagunda said —“Pour ye out water to whet (*my*) sickle!” Thereupon the young maidens said —“This is the man who will cut grass, and please the king, and cause the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts to be set free.” Thereupon he said —“If I cause that to be set

¹ From the ink impressions. Ordinary brackets are used for such corrections and doubtful points as can be conveniently noted in this manner. Square brackets are used to mark syllables, or parts of them, which in the original are illegible or broken away and lost. An asterisk, attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation do not stand in the original text.

² There are various marks before this word. But they seem to be due only to injuries to the stone, and not to include any symbol for the word *ōm*.

³ Read *saka*, for *saka*.

⁴ The first syllable of this name is greatly damaged, and cannot be recognized distinctly even on the back of the impressions. There can be no doubt, however, that it was *sā*, for *sā*.

⁵ That is, “in the Mātūra race which is of mixed Brāhman and Kshatriya origin.” On the term Brahmakshatriya see some remarks by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 35 ff.

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free, what will ye do for me?" To which they said —"Marry just as many of us as thou mayest like!"¹

(L 14) Thereupon he went out. And when, while he was cutting grass, the king, mounted on an elephant, came looking on at the cutters, Allagunda stood up on the very bundle of grass which was for the elephant. Then, behold!, the king said —"We are pleased ask a boon!" Thereupon he said —"Set ye free the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts" and thus he caused it to be set free.

(L 18) Ho who destroys this shall incur the guilt of destroying Vāranāsī and a thousand brown cows and a thousand Brāhmins! He who protects this is a protector of just so much!

(L 21) The worthy Rāmasinga set this up [May it be auspicious (?)]

Note on the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i

The alphabet exhibited in this Dēvāgeri inscription is a specimen, belonging to the tenth century A D, of that which Professor Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie*, § 29, termed the Kanarese and Telugu alphabet.² An interesting detail in this particular record is that it presents the two types of the initial short i of this alphabet. We have the earlier type in *irppatt*-, line 2, and the later type in *idam*, line 20. The latter is found also in *idan*-, at the beginning of line 18, but is much damaged there. And we have to consider the circumstances in which this mixture of the two types could occur. I had hoped to give a sketch with plates, of the full history of the vowel in question, and at the same time of the initial long i, because, in addition to the interest that attaches to the study itself, the types and forms of these two letters may at any time be found particularly instructive in respect of the proper placing of undated genuine records, and of fixing limits for the fabrication of some of the spurious records. For the present, however, it has been found impracticable to prepare the requisite plates, chiefly in consequence of a want of published facsimiles for the crucial period when the earlier types were being supplanted by the later ones. I must, therefore, confine my treatment of the matter to the history of the initial short i in the Kanarese and Telugu countries during the transitional period, and limit my remarks to such details as can be made clear without more than half a dozen illustrations.

The earlier type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VII, line 3, cols XII, XIII, XV to XVIII, and plate VIII, line 3, cols II to V. I give two other illustrations in the margin. A is drawn from the i of *śnūr-vorum*, line 20, letter No 13, in the Śnūr inscription of A D 866 from the Dhārwar District, Bombay, *ante*, vol 7, p 206, plate B is from the i of *irugange*, line 5, No 22, in the Bēgūr inscription of the period A D 908-38 from the Bangalore District, Mysore, *ante*, vol 6, p 48, plate. In this type the character consisted, when fully made, of two parts, with various forms according to certain differences in the details of the two parts. The lower part consisted of two components, which were placed sometimes on the lower line of the writing, sometimes below it. These components, when made with uniformity, were sometimes two small circles, as in B, or two round marks which were not completely closed in as circles, and sometimes two dots, as in A, which might be either round or of irregular shape. But sometimes, whether owing to caprice or carelessness of the writers, or to indifferent work by the engravers, or to the material breaking away (especially in the case of records on stone) in the hands of the engravers, these details are met with interchanged, and we have a circle accompanied by a dot. And occasionally the components of

¹ Literally, "amongst us who are so many as these, marry all whom thou art pleased with!"

² German original in the *Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, vol 1, part 11 (1896) English version in *Ind Ant*, vol 33 (1904), appendix

the lower part were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were then usually brought down to the lower line of the writing for a published instance of this, from the eastern parts of Southern India, see *iti*, line 43, No 17, *irruḷa*, line 66, No 5, and *idiyūri*, the same line, No 14, in the Kaluchumbarru grant of the period A D 945-70, *ante*, vol 7, p 186, plate. In a quite exceptional instance of A D 982 from Mysore (see p 13 below) the lower part consists of three circles, instead of two this can only be regarded as a freak. The upper part sometimes took the form of a plain smooth arch, as in *utodu*, line 2, No 5, and *ittodān=*, line 3, No 11, in the inscription of the period A D 597-608 outside the Vaiṣṇava cave No 3 at Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr District, Bombay, *Archaeol Surv West India*, vol 1, p 24, plate, *Ind Ant*, vol 10, p 59, plate. But usually there was a more or less marked notch or bend down, pointed or curved, in the centre of the top we have this in its pointed form in the illustrations A and B given herewith, and more markedly in *iti*, line 21, No. 12, in one of the early Kadamba copperplate records, *Ind Ant*, vol 6, p 96, plate in its curved form, which had the effect of giving a waving shape to the top stroke, we have it in *iti*, the last line, No 9, in the Haidarābād plates of A D 612, *ibid*, p 74, plate. And sometimes this notched form was made so flatly that it resembles rather closely the outspread wings of a hovering bird see, for instance (though these cases do not come from the particular territories with which we are concerned), Professor Buhler's plate VII, 3, IV, VI, VII, IX, and plate VIII, 3, I. The upper part is usually found single, formed by one continuous sweeping movement but in some cases it has a disjointed appearance, with a break in the middle, as if it was made by two separate strokes, as in *idam=*, line 9, No 17, in the Nērūr plates of the period A D 609-42 from the Sawantwādi State, Bombay, *Ind Ant*, vol 8, p 44, plate, and in *ua*, line 42, No 9, from the end, *idam*, line 56, No 9 from the end, and *idigūr=*, line 82, No 10 from the end, in the Kadaba plates from the Tumkūr District, Mysore, which bear a date in A D 812 or 813, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 14, plate. *Epi Carn*, vol 12, Gb 61, plate as, however, this feature is only noticed in records on copper, it is evidently to be attributed to the process of engraving, not to the writers. The sides of the upper part were not always of equal length. And sometimes the left side is curled in much more than the right side, as, for instance, in the cases mentioned above from the Haidarābād and Kadaba plates, and, in fact, in the Dēvagēri inscription itself. Sometimes both the sides were well curled in, as in the illustrations A and B above, and more markedly in *iridu*, line 4, No 1, and *uu*, line 5, No 1, in the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of about A D 765, *ante*, vol 6, p 162, plate so also in an instance from the eastern parts of Southern India, in *iti*, line 85, No 7 from the end, in the Ranastapūndi grant of A D 1019, *ante*, vol 6, p 357, plate. Occasionally, the right side was continued downwards in a slanting direction to, or towards, between the two components of the lower part one instance of this is found in *idam=* (for *imam=*), line 13, No 40, in the Mahākūta pillar inscription of A D 602, *Ind Ant*, vol 19, p 18, plate another is Professor Buhler's plate VII, 3, XVIII, which is from the *ity=* in line 13, No 11, of the Eastern Chalukya record of A D 608, *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 186, with plate in vol 8, p 320. And sometimes the right side was continued down into the right component of the lower part this was a transitional form, which will be noticed below.

The later type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *i* has been illustrated by Professor Buhler in his plate VIII, line 3, cols VI, VIII, IX. I give three other illustrations in the margin C from *ittam=*, line 22, No 2 from the end, in the (?) Masulipatam plates or Ākṣlamannandu grant of the period A D 934-45 (see p 15 below). D is drawn from the *i* of *int=imtu*, in line 46 of the inscription of A D 980 at Sanudatti in the Belgaṇm District, Bombay, *Jour Bo Br R As Soc*, vol 10, p 207 (no plate), and it is practically the modern form now used, both in Kanarese and in Telugu. E is from the *i* of *uu*, line 25, No 4, in the inscription of A.D 1064 on the Jatinga-Rāmeśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore, *ante*, vol 4, p 212, plate. In this type the character, when properly and

C	D	E
2	ᱚ	ᱛ

customarily formed, did not consist of separate parts, but was made in one unbroken whole by a continuous sweeping movement of the reed or *stilus*. But, as with the earlier type, the top is occasionally found in a disjointed shape, as a result of the process of engraving—for instance, in *itah*, line 79, No 1, in the Chellūr plates of A D 1143, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 59, plate. And the top part in the instance figured as C above was evidently made by the writer by two strokes instead of one continuous movement. The top of the letter in this type is the upper part of the earlier type, in its notched form—but a very exceptional form is occasionally found in records from the eastern side of Southern India, in which the character begins with a curl down towards the left, instead of the curl up to the right—see, for instance, *iti*, line 102, the last *akshara* but one, in the Tiki plates of A D 1086-87, *ante*, vol 6, p 343, plate. The remainder of it was made by continuing the right side of the top downwards, and then in a loop upwards to the left and turning to the right to meet the down-stroke, and it was finished off by a projection taken to the right and turned down into a sort of tail—in some cases, however, this projection to the right is very rudimentary, as, indeed, in the illustration E, and in others, of the transitional class (see below), it does not appear at all.

The method of the transition from the earlier to the later type can be easily recognized though an intervening link or two may be wanting. The first step was a continuation of the right side of the upper part of the earlier type down to touch the right component of the lower part. I give an instance of this, in the illustration F in the margin, from an Eastern Chalukya record, the Traṇḍapaṅḡ grant, of the period A D. 844-88 (see p 15 below). The next step was to form the right component of the lower part, not by an entirely separate movement after raising the reed or *stilus*, but by an unbroken continuation of the down-stroke—we have an instance of this, with the right lower component formed by a continuation of that movement to the left, in Professor Bühler's plate VIII, 3, II, which is from the *vat app āt* in line 13, No 4 from the end, in the Kanarese record of Govinda III of A D. 804, *Ind Ant*, vol 11, p 137, plate¹. It must, however, have become customary, in this continuous formation of the right lower component, to make the movement to the right, instead of the left. The next step probably was to make the entire letter by one continuous stroke, without any lifting of the reed or *stilus*, in the manner suggested in illustration G given in the margin, with the two circles of the lower part running into each other. In the cursive movement thus set up, a subsequent step certainly was to make one large loop serve the purpose of the two circles, as in illustration H—we have instances of this in *iy-ūra* (for *iy-ūra*), line 12, No 7, and *i* (for *i*) *dammavan-*, line 16, the last *akshara*, in the inscription of A D 1047-48 at Mindigal in the Kōlūr District, Mysore, *ante*, vol 5, p 207, plate. It seems to have been then recognized that a confusion was liable to arise between the initial short *i* and the initial *ai* of the same alphabet² and it must have been in order to avoid such

F



G

H



¹ In this record the vowel is found in also *īdam* (for *īdam*), line 12 13—but it does not present the same peculiarity there.

² The Kanarese and Telugu initial *ai* is of somewhat rare occurrence, and has not been illustrated by Professor Bühler, who, in fact, gave only one southern *ai*, plate VII, 6, VII, from *aitvarya*, line 61, No 7, in the Aluṇḍ Valabhi plates of A D 766, my *Gupta Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol 3, p 179, plate. Other instances from that part of Southern India may be seen in *aihih*, line 23, No 37, of plate 11, in the Valabhi record of A D 760, *Ind Ant*, vol 6, p 21, plate, and in the same word, line 21, No 11, in the Rāshtrakūta record of A D 813 from Tōrkhēḍē, *ante*, vol 3, p 55, plate—these two forms are more like those which we have from the Kanarese country.

A Kanarese initial *ai* of the eleventh century may be seen in *ai goḷagam*, line 14, No 4 from the end, in the Mindigal Chōla inscription of A D 1047 48 from Mysore, *ante*, vol 5, p 207, plate. An earlier form may be seen in *ai-guḷa*, line 13, the last *akshara* but one, in a Bāna inscription, also from Mysore, *Ind Ant*, vol 10, p 39, plate, *Epi Carn* vol 10 (Kōlūr), Sp 6, with plate (a better one) at translations, p 272.

A Telugu initial *ai* of about A D 900 may be seen in *aitvarya*, line 32, No 9, in the Eastern Chalukya grant of the period A D. 888 918, *ante*, vol 5, p 129, plate.

confusion that there was added the projecting tail to the right, which produced the form illustrated in C, D, and E above

Professor Buhler's latest instances of the earlier type are as follows. As noted in the preceding paragraph, his plate VIII, 3, II, is an *ι* of A. D. 804, and is really a transitional form. His plate VIII, 3, III, is from the record on the Kadab^r plates from Mysore, bearing a date in A. D. 812 or 813 the vowel is found fourteen times in this record the instance figured seems to be from *va*, line 15, No 23 (side *11 a*, line 1), *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p. 14, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol. 12 (Tumkūr), Gb 61, plate His remaining two illustrations are from the eastern parts of Southern India The later of them, plate VIII, 3, V, is entered as if it was taken from the copper-plate record which gives the date of the coronation of Amma II in A. D. 945, *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 15, plates but that record does not include any initial *ι*, and the illustration seems to have been supplied from *ih=avatē*, line 40, No 7 (side *11 b*, last line), in the 'Pāganavaram' plates or Diggubayru grant of the period A. D. 934-45, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 214, plate On the other side, his earliest instance of the later type is plate VIII, 3, VI it is from the eastern part of Southern India, from the copperplate record which gives the date of the anointment of Rājārāja I in A. D. 1022, and may be of any date from that year up to about A. D. 1063; and it appears to be the *ι* of *iti*, line 11, No 5, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 50, plate There is thus a gap in the history of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *ι*, of roughly a century, from A. D. 934-45 to 1022-63, to be extended, in fact, as regards the Kanarese country, to even two centuries in respect of which we have, so far, no information We have now to see how this gap can be bridged over It was chiefly due, as far as Professor Buhler was concerned, to a lack of materials in the shape of published facsimiles The same want still exists to almost the same extent But we can now cite various facsimiles which have been published since his time and I can supplement them by ink-impressions which necessarily were not available to him

We will consider first such materials as are available from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency; taking the matter up from the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Buhler's latest instance of the earlier type Here I use only records which are specifically dated, and, when I cannot refer to a published plate, I cite my details from ink-impressions which were prepared under my direction when I was in the districts in question¹

From these parts, we still have the earlier type of the initial short *ι* running through the records of the time of the Rāshtrakūta king Amoghavarsha I We have it in the Nilgund inscription, dated in A. D. 866, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, *ante*, vol 6, p 102, plate, in *iti*, line 6, No 17 it occurs also in *idan=* towards the end of line 28, to which part of the record, however, the plate does not extend We have it again in the Sirūr inscription of the same date, from the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar, *ante*, vol 7, p 206, plate, in *iti*, line 4, No 6, and *inūrvorum*, line 20, No. 13 the illustration A on p 7 above is from the latter instance Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A. D. 872 or 874, at Chinchli in the Gadag tāluka, in *indapayyam* and *int=i*, line 4 Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A. D. 874, at Rōn, the head-quarters of the Rōn tāluka in the same district, in *idan=*, line 10 also in the same word in line 4 of a second record, not dated, below that one. And again in the Nidagundi inscription of A. D. 874-75, or within a year on either side, from the Bankāpūr tāluka, Dhārwar, *ante*, vol 7, p 213, plate, in *idam*, line 16, No 13, in *idan=*, line 17, No 12, and in *ι* (for *ī*) *kallam*, line 19, No 8 also in *ι* (for *ī*) *tānamam* in line 25 in the supplementary record at the top of the stone, not shown in the plate And for the next reign, that of Krishna II, we

¹ I have abstained from quoting a few records which are of doubtful authenticity and it has of course been useless to quote records which refer themselves to (for instance) the reign of a Kannaradōva or Kannaravallabha, without anything to indicate which king Krishna is intended But I have not found in any of them anything that conflicts in any way whatsoever with the facts and results which I bring forward.

have it in an unpublished inscription, dated in A. D. 897-98, at the village Chiñchli mentioned above, in *iti*, line 7, and *idam*, lines 14 and 17

On the other hand, we have the later type in an unpublished fragmentary inscription of the same reign, of Krishna II, dated in A. D. 901-2, at Yeli-Śīrār in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, in *irppatta*, line 1 here the precise form is a lop-sided one, very much like that which we have in *ity*-, line 41, No 12, in the Tēki plates of A. D. 1086-87 from the eastern side of Southern India, *ante*, vol 6, p 339, plate And the later type is found again in the Nandwāḍige inscription of the same reign, dated in A. D. 903, from the Hnngund tāluka, Bijāpūr, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 221, with plate in vol 11, p 127, in *irppatt*-, line 2, No. 1 These two cases are the earliest instances of the later type that I can cite from either the western or the eastern parts of Southern India but they are run close by an instance of A. D. 909-10 from the Kolār District, Mysore (see p 12 below)

The next record takes us back to the earlier type it is the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of the time of Indra III, dated in A. D. 916-17, from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 224 (no plate) here we have the earlier type, in a thoroughly archaic form, in *idam*, line 10, and *i* (for *ī*) *stūyan*-, line 11 Regarding the second inscription on the same stone, see lower down on this page

The next records take us on again to the later type One is the unpublished Kalas inscription of the time of Gōvinda IV, dated in A. D. 930, from the Bankāpūi tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol 6, p 177 here we have the vowel in the later type in *idan*-, line 73 The others are records of the time of Krishna III Here we have the later type in the unpublished inscription, dated in A. D. 942, at Rōn, Dhārwar District, noticed in *Ind Ant*, vol 30, p 262, in *[du]*, or some such word, in the last line but one Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A. D. 946, at Tuppada-Kurahatti in the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar, in *idarke*, line 16, in *int=ī heygam* and *idam*, line 20, and in *idan*-, line 23 And again in the Soratūr inscription of A. D. 951, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 257 (no plate), in *idan*-, line 20

On the other hand, the earlier type is presented again in the unpublished Chiñchli inscription of the same reign, dated in A. D. 953, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol 6, p 83, in *idarke* or *warke*, line 29

We next have the later type again in the unpublished inscription of A. D. 967, 970, or 971, of the time of Khottiga, at Hirē-Handigōl in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol 6 p 180, in *int=appavam*, line 20

But the earlier type appears again in an unpublished inscription of the same reign, dated in A. D. 969, at Nāgāvi in the same tāluka, noticed *ante*, vol 6, p 180, and *Dyn Kan Distrs*, p 422, note 3, in *warke* or *idarke* in the last line but five

For the time of the last Rāshtrakūta king, Kakka II, I cannot cite any instance of the use of this initial vowel The next available record is one in which we find the two types mixed, just as in the Dēvagēri inscription It is the inscription of A. D. 975 from Hebbāl, in the Lakshmīshwar subdivision of the Miraj State within the limits of the Dhārwar District, *ante*, vol 4, p 351 (no plate) here we have the later type in *irppattu*, line 35, but in *int=īy=ayīar*-, line 38, we have the earlier type, with the sides of the top brought down to the lower line of the writing, and with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part of the letter¹ And we may note that we have the same mixture of types in the undated inscription which lies below the Hattī-Mattūr record of A. D. 916-17 (mentioned above) from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 224 (no plate) here we have the later type in *int=war*-, line 15, and in

¹ For similar instances from the eastern parts of Southern India, see pp 15, 16, below

idam, line 17, but in *idan=*, line 19, we have the earlier type, and again with prolongation of the sides of the top down to the lower line of the writing, together with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part. It thus now seems that, in spite of a somewhat marked difference in the general appearance of the characters, this second record at Hatti-Mattūr cannot be placed as late as I thought when I edited it, but must be referred to not long after A. D. 975.

The two cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph are the latest instances, that I can cite, of the use of the earlier type of the initial *i* in the Kanarese districts of Bombay. The next available records all show the fully developed later type. The first is the unpublished inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Taila II, dated in A. D. 980, at Sogal in the Parasgad tāluka, Belgium, mentioned in *Dyn Kan Distrs*, p. 428. Here we have the vowel in *i* (for *ī*) *dharmmaman=*, line 2 from the end. The next is the inscription of the same reign, dated six months later in the same year, at Saundatti, the head-quarters of the Parasgad tāluka, *Jour Bo Br R As Soc*, vol. 10, p. 204 (no plate). Here we have the vowel in *int=intu*, line 46, illustrated as D on p. 8 above. The next is the unpublished inscription of the time of Irvabedanga-Satyāśraya, dated in A. D. 1002, at Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tāluka, Dhār wāi, mentioned in *Ind Ant*, vol. 2, p. 297, No. 3 (where the date has been wrongly shown as Śaka-samvat 984, instead of 924). Here we have the vowel in *int=ivarim*, line 6 from the end. It seems unnecessary to pursue the matter beyond this point. In every other instance from the Bombay districts, known to me, only the later type is found.

We now take the matter up for Mysore and Coorg; starting, again, with the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Buhler's latest instance of the earlier type, and using chiefly records which are specifically dated, but also a few which can be distinctly referred to well-ascertained periods. Here, when I cannot point to published plates, I cite my details from ink-impressions for which I am indebted to Professor Hultzsch and Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

From these parts, we have the earlier type of the initial short *i* in an inscription dated in A. D. 878-79 at Baragūr in the Tumkūr District, *Epi Carn*, vol. 12, Si. 38 (no plate), in *int=ā*, east face, line 1. Again in the Biliūr inscription, dated in A. D. 888, from Coorg, *Ind Ant*, vol. 6, p. 102, No. 2, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol. 1, p. 5 (no plate), in *idarhke*, line 10, No. 14, and line 11, No. 13, and in *idan=*, line 11, No. 18. Again in an inscription of about A. D. 891-92 (see *ante*, vol. 6, p. 68) at Kyātanaballi in the Mysore District, *Epi Carn*, vol. 3, Sr. 147, plate, in *idan=*, line 15, No. 1. Again in an inscription dated in A. D. 904 at Bētamangala in the Kōlār District, *Epi Carn*, vol. 10, Bp. 1 (no plate), in *ippatt-*, line 3, in *vagi* (?), line 14, and in *idan=*, line 15. Here, in the second instance, the right side of the upper part of the letter is continued down to the right component of the lower part, giving a transitional form mentioned on p. 9 above. Again in an inscription dated in A. D. 907 at Tāyalūr in the Mysore District, *Epi Carn*, vol. 3, Md. 14, with plate, in *idan=*, line 12, the last *akshara* but one, in *idarhke*, line 14, No. 18, and in *imbara*, line 15, No. 17. In these three cases the two circles or dots forming the lower part of the letter are absent, but that is probably due to the person who prepared the lithograph (which is not a facsimile), rather than to the writer or the engraver. And again in the Bēgūr inscription of the Ganga prince Ereyappa, of the period about A. D. 908 to 938, from the Bangalore District, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 48, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol. 9, frontispiece, in *irugange*, line 5, No. 22, in *iggalūru*, line 8, No. 4, and in *intuma[m]*, line 15, No. 4. The first of these instances is given as illustration B on p. 7 above.

In Mysore and Coorg, I find the later type first in an inscription, dated in A. D. 909-10, at Manigattu-Gollaballi in the Kōlār District, *Epi Carn*, vol. 10, Mb. 229 (no plate). Here we have the vowel in *ire*, line 4, and *inpara*, line 7, in a form resembling illustration D on p. 8 above, but not shaped in so slanting a fashion, and made with the looped part smaller in proportion, it resembles more closely, in fact, the instance of A. D. 961-62 mentioned farther on.

This is the earliest instance but two, known to me, of the occurrence of the later type. The earlier instances are those of A D 901-2 and 903 from the Dhārwar and Bijāpūr Districts, Bombay, mentioned on p 11 above. If this instance came from the north of Mysore, it would be quite intelligible. But it comes from a part where we do not trace the later type again till A D 1029-30, and where we find indications of a transitional position even after that time (see p 14 below). It is therefore peculiar. And we can only regard it as intrusive, and conjecture that the writer of this record was not a local man, but came from some territory where the later type of the vowel was well established. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that the record, which comes from the Bairakūr hobli in the north-east quarter of the Mulbāgal tālnka, near the boundary of the North Arcot District, Madras, is a Bāna record. We know that the territory of the Bāna princes of this period extended at least well into North Arcot.

We are taken back to the earlier type by the next available record, an inscription of the time of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda IV, dated in A D 930-31, at Nandigudi in the Chitaldroog District, *Epi Carn*, vol 11, Dg 119, plate, here we have the vowel in *idan=*, line 8, No 9. We have it again in an inscription dated in A D 942 at Hēmāvati in the Anantapur District, *Epi Carn*, vol 12, S1 28,¹ in *irua*, line 29, and *int=war*, line 53. And again in an inscription dated in A D 944-45 at Bētānangala in the Kōlār District, *Epi Carn*, vol 10, Bp 2 (no plate), in *idan=*, line 12. Here the components of the lower part of the letter were perhaps omitted.

The next record comes from the northern part of Mysore, and gives us a second instance of the later type, namely, an inscription dated in A D 961-62 on the Jattanga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, *Epi Carn*, vol 11, Mk 27, with plate at texts, p 142. Here we have the vowel in *idaṛa*, line 5, No 1.

In the south, however, we have the earlier type again in the epitaph of the Ganga prince Nolambantaka-Mārisimha, framed in A D 975, at Śravana-Belgola in the Hassan District, *ante*, vol 5, p 178, plate, in *ity=*, line 50, No 1, and *intu*, line 100, No 1. Here, in both cases, both the sides of the upper part of the letter were continued down to the components of the lower part. We have it again in the Peggu-ūr inscription dated in A D 978, from Coorg, *Ind Ant*, vol 6, p 102, No 1, plate, *Epi Carn*, vol 1, p 7, plate, in *idan=*, line 18, No 1. And again in the Śravana-Belgola epitaph of the Rāshtrakūta prince Indra IV, dated in A D 982, from the Hassan District, *Epi Carn*, vol 2, p 53 (no plate), in *iryalk=*, north face, line 15, and *irade*, south face, line 31. Here in the first case, the lower component consists quite exceptionally, of three (instead of two) encles.²

I cannot cite any use of the earlier type in Mysore after that date. From about half-way down the western side of the province, we have the fully developed later type in the Chikmagalūr inscription, which belongs to the period A D 989—1005, from the Kadūr District, *ante*, vol 8, p 58 (no plate), *Epi Carn*, vol 6, Cm 3 (no plate). I cite the form from the photograph from which I edited the record, in *innūṛu* (for *innūṛu*), line 9, in *int=war=* and *ı* (for *ī*) *kodangeyam*, line 12, and in *indāvurada*, line 16. And the next two citable records from the northern parts (beyond which we need not pursue the matter for that locality) present the same type. One is an inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha II, dated in A D 1035, at Belagāmī in the Shimoga District, *Epi Carn*, vol 7, Śk 126, plate, see, more clearly, the photograph in *Pālī, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No 155. Here we have the vowel in *int=ī*, line 23, No 5, and in *int=ī*, line 32, No 4. The other is the inscription

¹ A plate is given *op cit*, translations, p 92, but it shows only the first seventeen lines of the record. In line 14 we have, not *indrō* as given in the published text in Roman characters, but *indrō*, with the long *ī* by mistake for the short vowel, as given in the text in Kanarese characters.

² In line 25 of the north face, at the beginning of verse 6, the original seems distinctly to have *dhīru*, as given in the text in Kanarese characters. At any rate, the word is not *iru*, as given in the romanized text.

of the time of the Western Chālukya prince Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya, dated in A D 1064, on the Jattīnga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, *ante*, vol 4, p 213, plate, *Epi Carn.*, vol 11, Mk 29, with plate at texts, p 130 here we have the vowel in *vu*, line 25, No 4, and in *ι* (for *ī*) *dharmaman*-, line 26, No 3, from the end of the illustration E on p 8 above is from the first of these two instances

The northern parts of Mysore, however, the Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts, were subjected to progressive influences, first under the Rāshtrakūta kings and then under the Western Chālukyas, which did not penetrate much beyond them. In the south, I trace the later type again, for the first time after A D 909-10 (p 12 above), in the Chōla inscription, dated in A D. 1029-30, at Sōladēvanahalli in the Bangalore District, *Epi Carn.*, vol 9, N1 1, with plate at translations, p 28, in *idarkke*, line 14, No 11 here the letter is formed in a very exceptional manner, the end of it is curled over inside the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried on to that stroke or across it into the usual tail. We perhaps have the later type, fully formed, in the Chōla inscription, dated in A D 1032 (see *ante*, vol 4, p 69), at Suttūru in the Mysore District, *Epi Carn.*, vol 3, Nj 164 (no plate) here, in the last line, we seem to have either *desey=akhhhanduga*, corrected into *dese ihhhhanduga*, or else *dese ihhhhanduga*, corrected into *desey=akhhhanduga* for *desey=ihhhhanduga*. And we certainly have a form of the later type in the Chōla inscription, dated in A D. 1047-48, at Mīndigal in the Kōlār District, *ante*, vol 5, p 207, plate, *Epi Carn.*, vol 10, Ct 30 (no plate), in *iy=ūra* (for *īy=ūra*), line 12, No 7, and in *ι* (for *ī*) *damman*, line 16, the last *akshara* here, in both cases, the form is practically identical with that which I have given as a transitional form in the illustration H on p 9 above, the loop of the lower part stops short at the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried across that stroke and on to form the usual tail. These two instances of A D 1029-30 and 1047-48 are suggestive that for an appreciable time after A D 982 the letter was still in a transitional stage in the southern and south-eastern parts, and that, when more materials are available, we may find the earlier type still in use there up to about A D 1000. Good specimens of the later type in its full form, from the southern part of the province, may be seen in two records, dated in A D 1117, from Bēlūr in the Hassan District; *Epi Carn.*, vol 5, Bl 58, plate, in *iy=atō*, line 2, No 7 from the end, and in *man*-, line 13, No 57 and *ibid.*, Bl 71, plate, in *iy=atō*, line 10, No 6. But it was, of course, well established everywhere long before that time.

Coming now to sum up the inquiry, we find the position to be as follows. In the Kanarese districts of Bombay, we have the earlier type of the initial short *ι* still in use up to at least A D 975. But the later type figures freely along with it from A D 901-2. For this part of the country, then, we may consider that the tenth century was a transitional period of usage, when the later type, though well established, had not yet superseded the earlier one, but both of them were accepted on equal terms. And in these circumstances we feel no surprise at finding the two types occasionally used together in one and the same record in the Dēvagēri inscription, which we refer to A D 958, in the Hebbāl inscription, which is dated in A D 975, and in the undated inscription at Hattī-Mattūr. As regards Mysore, with Coorg, we must separate the northern parts from the southern. In the north, the case was probably much the same as in the Bombay districts, though we have not, so far, actually traced the later type there before A D 961-62. And, as we find the later type half-way down the western side of the province between A D 989 and 1005, we may expect to meet with it anywhere from about A D 1000. In the south, however, the change was plainly slower. We have not, indeed, actually traced the use of the earlier type there after A D 982. But the later type is found there only once before that time, in an instance of A D 909-10 which we can only regard as intrusive. And the records of A D 1029-30 and 1047-48 suggest that the commencement of the period of transitional usage in the south can hardly be placed

much, if at all, before A D 975, and that we may yet meet with instances of the earlier type there running well into the eleventh century

We turn now to the eastern parts of Southern India, taking the matter up from the records of the Eastern Chalukya kings, in which series, again, we now have available various inscriptions, presenting the vowel in question and covering the period in which we are interested, which were not known to Professor Bühler¹ There are two records of this series which I have not been able to examine namely, the Ederu plates or Goutūru grant of Amma I, of the period A D 918-25, *South-Ind Inscr*, vol 1, p 39 (no plate), where we have the vowel twice, in lines 38, 54, and the Nandamapūndi grant of Rājarāja I, dated in his thirty-second year, A D 1053-54, *ante*, vol 4, p 303 (no plate) here the vowel occurs twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 80—87 Setting them aside, from an examination, either in the published plates or in ink-impressions, of all the other records of the whole series down to A D 1143, I find the position to be as follows —

The record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Trandaparū grant, of Vijayāditya III, of the period A D. 844-88, *Epi Ind*, vol 5, p 123, with plate showing lines 1 to 15 and 26 to 30, contains the vowel twice, in *ittham=*, line 18, and *ua*, line 35, and presents it in both cases in the earlier type, but in the transitional form with the right side of the upper part continued down to touch the right component of the lower part The published facsimile does not include these two passages I have given this form, from *ua*, line 35, as illustration F on p 9 above

The earliest instance of the later type from this part of Southern India² is found in the record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Akulamannandu grant, of Chālukya-Bhima II, of the period A D 934-45, *ante*, vol 5, p 135, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8 and 17 to 25 in this record the vowel occurs only once, in *ittham=*, line 22, the last *akshara* but one, given as illustration C on p 8 above the upper part of it was plainly formed by two separate strokes instead of one continuous movement The other records of the same period show the earlier type the Diggubarru grant on the 'Paganavaram' plates, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 213, with plates, has it three times, in lines 15 and 40 (see note 1 on this page), the Kodhatalli grant on the Kolavennu plates, *South-Ind Inscr*, vol 1, p 44 (no plates), also gives it three times, in *indur=*, line 19, *ittham=* (for *ittham=*), line 22, and *iti*, line 23, and in the instance in line 23 the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing³

The records of the next period, the reign of Vijayāditya-Amma II, A D 945-70, shew only the earlier type, as follows⁴—The Masulipatam plates or Pāmbarru grant, *ante*, vol 5, p 140, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, and 17 to 24 once, in *mdanī=*, line 25, the last *akshara* but two⁵ The Elavarru grant, *Ind Ant*, vol 12, p 91, with plates, five times, in lines

¹ His limiting instances of the two types were taken from this same series of records His latest instance of the earlier type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col V, and it seems to be the *v* of *ih=ariyatē*, line 40, No 7 (side in *l*, last line), in the 'Paganavaram' plates or Diggubarru grant of Chālukya Bhīma II, of the period A D 934-45, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 213, with plates this record presents the vowel again in *ua*, line 15, No 14, and *v=ātīpūlam*, line 40, the last *akshara* but four His earliest instance of the later type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col VI, from the Korumelli grant, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 50, with plates, which gives the date of the anointment of Rājarāja I in A D 1022, and may be of any date from that time up to about A D 1063 this record presents the vowel six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103 Professor Bühler's illustration seems to be from *iti*, line 11, No 5

² For the slightly earlier instances from Bombay and Mysore, see pp 11, 12, above

³ Compare similar instances in the Kalnehumbarru grant see p 16 below

⁴ Two of them do not present the vowel at all the Padamkalūru grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind Ant*, vol 7, p 15, and the Tānderu grant on the Vandram plates, *ante*, vol 9, p 138

⁵ Professor Kielhorn was in doubt as to the type of the letter here see *loc cit*, p 138, note 4 But I am able to say, from clearer impressions than those which he had, that it is certainly of the earlier type, with damage of the right component of the lower part

39, 48, 51, 54, 55 The Gāndugolanu grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind Ant*, vol 13, p 249, with plates twice, in lines 20, 22 The Masulipatam plates, *South-Ind Inscr*, vol 1, p 47 (no plate) once, in line 34 The Kaluchumbāṅṅu grant, *ante*, vol 7, p 185, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, 33 to 50, and 60 to 69 three times, in *iti*, line 43, No 17, *ṛṛula*, line 66, No 5, and *idiyūri*, the same line, No 14, and here, in each case, the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing¹ And the Mahiyapāṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol 9, p 50, with plates once, in *va*, line 23, No 6

The next known record is the Ranastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, *ante*, vol 6, p 351, with plates This record, which gives the date of the king's anointment in A D 1011, and is itself dated in his eighth year, in A D 1018, presents the vowel seven times, in lines 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87, 97, and in the earlier type throughout

This is the latest instance of the use of the earlier type that I can cite from either the eastern or the western parts of Southern India In the Western Chalukya series, the next records are two of the time of Rājāṅga I, and the order of them perhaps remains to be determined according to what we may learn from one of them about the use of this vowel One is the Korumelli grant, *Ind Ant*, vol 14, p 50, with plates, which gives the date of the king's anointment, in A D 1022, and may possibly date from that year itself it presents the later type of the vowel, six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103 The other is the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol 4, p 303 (no plate), which also mentions the date of the anointment, but is itself dated in the thirty-second year of the reign, A D 1053-54, it has the vowel twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 81-87, and, as mentioned on p 15 above, it remains to be examined in respect of the type which it presents

No 2—PALITANA PLATES OF SIMHADITYA, THE YEAR 255

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

The existence of these plates was made public by the late Mr A M T Jackson, I C S, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXXIX p 129, No 1 They belong to the State of Palitānā in Kāthiāvar and are reported to have been unearthed in the city of Palitānā some forty years ago When first discovered, they were fastened together with six Maṅṅra grants by a single Valabhī seal and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank underneath a large stone I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink impressions, prepared by Dr Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr W C Tudor Owen, I C S, Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the originals

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to Mr Venkayya, about $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth and varying between $7\frac{1}{4}$ and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height Each of the two plates bears on its inner side 14 lines of well-preserved writing The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially of the second one There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, but no ring or seal is forthcoming

The alphabet is of an early Southern type and includes the signs of *ṛiṛāmūlīya* (ll 2, 17) and of *upadhmanīya* (ll 9, 19, 23, 27) and final forms of *i* (l 25) and of *n* (l 4) The date (l 27) is expressed in numerical symbols

¹ Compare a similar instance in the Kedhātillī grant on the Kolavennu plates see p 15 above For instances from the west, see pp 11, 12, 13, above

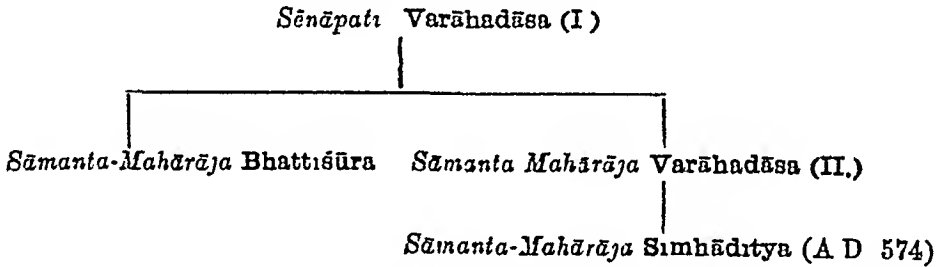
The rules of *sandhi* are very carefully observed, with two exceptions (II 3 f and 20) The *anusvāra* is represented by *n* before *s* (I 3) and *h* (I 17), and the vowel *ri* is replaced by the syllable *ri* in *kṛita* (II 13, 26) and *krishna* (I 21),¹ while the correct forms *kṛita* (I 2) etc are used in all other cases The final *s* of *rakshas* is elided before *sthala* (I 17) in accordance with the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36, and consonants following *r* are doubled, with the exception of *t* in *kṛita* (I 2) and of *bh* in *āvīrbhūta* (I 3)

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end (II 24-27)

The inscription records a grant of land, made by the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Simhāditya (I 17) of the Gārulaka family (I 2) This order was issued from a place named Phankaprasravana (I 1) The donee was a Brāhmana of the Maitrāyanika school who lived at Ēlāpadra (I 20 f) The object of the grant was a field with a pond in the village Darbhachāra (I 21 f) I am unable to identify Phankaprasravana and Darbhachāra Ēlāpadra, as Dr Fleet suggests to me, may be 'Velwad' in the Gōdhia tāluka, Pañch Mahāls

The date of the grant was the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Āsvayuja in the year 255 (I 27) of an era which is not specified, but which, as suggested by Mr. Jackson, is probably the Gupta-Valabhī era of A.D. 319 The specified month, then, places the record in A.D. 574

As stated by Mr Jackson, the Gārulaka family is a hitherto unknown dynasty of feudatory chiefs who may be assumed to have been tributaries (*sāmanta*) of the Mastraka kings The Gārulaka Simhāditya was a contemporary of Dharsēna II of Valabhī The name *Gārulaka* seems to stand for *Gāruḷaka* or *Gārudaka* and suggests that this family claimed descent from Vishnu's bird Garuda The inscription contains the following pedigree of the donor —



Each of these four chiefs is praised in purely conventional terms The only item of information which may be based on a historical fact, is the statement (I 11 f) that Varāhadāsa II defeated a ruler of Dvārakā (on the west coast of Kāthiāvār), whose individual name is not recorded

TEXT.²

First Plate

- 1 ओ³ स्वस्ति [I*] फड्प्रसवणावकृटकर्मरन्ध्रीद्रुताभ्युदयाभिभूताशेषद्विषामनेक-
समरग्रत-
- 2 सपातात्यन्तविजयिना⁴ प्रभूतयशस्कीर्त्यलङ्कारालङ्कृतान्वयभुवां गारुलकानां
- 3 वङ्गानुक्रमेणाविर्भूतो⁵ दीनानाथाश्रितार्तातिर्थवान्भवजनोपजीव्यमानविभवविस्तरः⁶

¹ The ungrammatical form °*pitryōh* (I 19) also presupposes an erroneous base *pitri* instead of *pitṛ*

² From ink impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya

³ Expressed by a symbol

Read °गं

⁴ Read वंश°.

⁶ Read °विस्तरस्त°.

- 4 तरुवाचीणफलच्छायतयैकान्तपरोपकारी प्रशस्तलक्ष्यलक्षणः चान्तिमान्
 5 चीणशत्रुरचीणकुशलाशयो युधिष्ठिरवदसाधारणधर्मसेतुः श्रीसेनापति-
 6 वराहदासस्तस्य सत्मूनुर्दशरथादिनृपसदृशचरितो नयविनयदमदया-
 7 दानदक्षदाक्षिणोत्साहसंपन्नो¹ सन्वादिप्रणीतस्मृत्यन्तरसलिलावगाहनविशु-
 8 ह्वधोर्डीरः स्वकरपरिभूतारितिसिरनिकरो निजकुलगगनसकलामलेन्दुरद्व-
 9 लिनगुणविभूषणस्वामन्तमहाराजभट्टिशूरस्तदनुज² प्रतिदिनमुपचीय-
 10 मानानेकविधधर्मास्वुप्रवाहोपहतकलिप्रतापः सततमितरेतरावि-
 11 रुद्धधर्मात्सुखाधिगमोपायपारीणः शार्ङ्गपाणिरिव निरङ्कुशपराक्रमा-
 12 क्रान्तद्वारकाधिपतिरनेकदेवतायतनसभाप्रपाराभावसथविचारका-
 13 रयिता कलादपि³ क्लितयुगधर्मावलम्बी परमगुरुवत्सल, परमब्रह्मस्व-
 14 शरण्यः परापरज्ञ, सामन्तमहाराजवराहदासस्तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate

- 15 प्रसभमहाहवसमागसावाप्तद्विद्विखोनीयमानानेकयशः
 16 स्फुटमधुरललितोदारधीरगम्भीरवल्गुप्रसृताभिधान⁴ श्यामोन्नतविपुल-
 17 वक्षस्थलस्विरातिशयानुरक्तश्री[:*] सामन्तमहाराजसिद्धादित्यङ्कुशली⁵ सर्वानिव
 18 राजपुत्रराजस्थानीयामात्यद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटचारभटहस्त्यश्चारोहादीन⁶
 19 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो⁷ पुत्र्याप्यायनायात्स-
 20 नद्योभयलोकहितसुखावाप्तये⁸ एलापद्रवास्तव्यन्नाह्वणवप्यस्वामिने
 21 मैत्रायणिकसत्रह्वचारिणे क्लिष्णात्रेयसगोत्राय⁹ दर्भचारग्रामे भोरुक्ता-
 22 वधिरकुटुम्बी सह वाप्या भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्याचन्द्रार्काणवचिति-
 23 समकालीन¹⁰ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यतया निसृष्टो यतोस्य भुजतो¹¹ न केनचि-
 24 दाबाधा कार्येति ॥ उ[क्तं] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि
 वर्षसहस्रा-
 25 षि स्वर्गे ओदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्नेव नरके
 वसेत् ॥ १ [१*]
 26 यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रेडनानि धर्मायतनीक्रितानि¹⁰ [1*] निर्मात्यवान्त-
 प्रतिमा-
 27 नि तानि को नाम साधु¹¹ पुनराददौत [॥ २ *] इति ॥ सं २००
 ५० ५ अश्वयुज¹¹ शु १० ३ [1*]
 28 सहस्रो मम ॥

¹ Read °दात्य° for °दच°

⁴ Read °सिद्धादित्य°

⁷ Read °वाप्तये

¹⁰ Read °कृतानि

² Read कलावपि कृत°

⁵ Read °दीन्

⁸ Read कृष्णा°.

¹¹ Read आश°.

³ Read °प्रयिता°.

⁶ Read °पित्रो°.

⁹ Read भुजतो.

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) *Om* Hail ! From Phankaprasavana¹ In the succession of the family of the Gārulakas, who subdued all enemies by (*their*) prosperity which was produced by the performance of eminent deeds, who gained decisive victories in encounters (*with their enemies*) in many hundreds of battles, (*and*) who sprang from a race adorned with the ornaments of high glory and fame,² —there appeared the glorious *Sēnāpati* Varāhadāsa (I), whose great wealth was being lived upon by the distressed, the helpless, refugees, the sick, suppliants, and kinsmen, who invariably benefited others by granting unceasing rewards and shelter, as a tree by affording unceasing fruits and shade, who had noble aims and auspicious marks, who possessed forbearance, who destroyed his enemies, (*who was*) a receptacle of unceasing prosperity, (*and who was*) an unparalleled bridge of justice, as (*king*) Yudhishtira

(L. 6) His virtuous son (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Bhattisūra, whose conduct resembled that of kings like Daśaratha, who was endowed with prudence, modesty, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, cleverness, politeness, and energy, whose mind was purified by bathing in the water of the contents of the codes of law composed by Manu and others, who was brave (*or wise*), who, having subdued the multitude of enemies by his own hand (*as if he were*) dispelling the mass of darkness by his rays, (*became*) the spotless full-moon on the firmament of his family, (*and*) who was adorned with spotless virtues

(L. 9) His younger brother (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Varāhadāsa (II), who dispelled the heat of the Kali (*age*) by the stream of libations at (*his*) manifold charities which were accumulating every day, who was constantly expert in means for the acquisition of merit, wealth, and pleasure not conflicting with each other, who overcame the lord of Dvārakā by unchecked valour, as Śārngapāni (Krishna) possessed unchecked valour and was the lord of Dvārakā, who caused to be built many temples of the gods, halls, drinking-fountains,³ gardens, rest-houses,⁴ and (*Buddhist*) monasteries (*vihāra*), who, even in the Kali (*age*), held fast to the virtues of the Kṛita-yuga, who was excessively devoted to (*his*) elders, who assiduously afforded protection to pious men, (*and*) who knew what is remote and proximate

(L. 14) His son, the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Sīmhāditya, who has acquired much⁵ fame, which is being sung in (*all*) the quarters of the horizon, by encountering (*his enemies*) in fierce great battles, whose epithets 'sweet, charming, noble, firm, deep, handsome, and modest' are well-known, (*and*) to whose dark, high, and broad chest the goddess of fortune is firmly and excessively attached,—being in good health, (*thus*) commands all (*people*), (*viz*) princes (*rājaputra*), palace-officers (*rājasthānīya*),⁶ ministers, city-officers (*drāngika*),⁷ headmen (*mahattara*), irregular soldiers,⁸ spies, regular soldiers, riders on elephants or horses, etc —

(L. 19) "Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain Myself welfare and happiness in both worlds, I have granted to the Brāhmana Bappasvāmin residing at Īlāpadra, who is a student of the Maītrāyanika school (*and*) belongs to the Kṛishnātrēya *gōtra*, (*the field of*) Bhōndaka-Badhira-Kutumbin⁹ in the village Darbhachāra, together with a pond, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhidra*, under the

¹ The ablative has to be construed with the verb *samāyāpayati*, 'he commands,' in l. 19

² *I.e.* glory in this life and fame after death See Bühler, *Z D M G* Vol XXXVII p 575.

³ Compare *sabhā prapā karēna* in the Nāsik inscription No 10, l. 2 f., above, Vol VIII p 78

⁴ The words *ārāma* and *avasatha* occur in the same inscription, l. 2

⁵ This use of *anēla* is very inelegant

⁶ Compare Dr Stein's Translation of the *Rājataranginī*, Vol I p 316, note on verse 601

⁷ See Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscr* p 169, note 6

⁸ [For a different rendering of the word *chafa*, see above, Vol X p 75 — Ed.]

⁹ *Badhira* means 'deaf' With *bhōndaka* compare Hindi *bhōndā*, 'ugly'

rules of gifts to Brāhmanas, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist, (and) to be enjoyed by (his) sons, grandsons, and (further) descendants

(L. 23) "Therefore nobody shall cause obstruction to him while he enjoys (this field) "

(L. 24) "And the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken "

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 27) In the year 255, on the 13th (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvāyuja.

(L. 28.) (This is) My own signature.

No. 3—SAHETH-MAHETH PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, [VIKRAMA-]
SAMVAT 1156.

BY PANDIT DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A

Dr. Vogel has already announced the discovery of this copper-plate inscription in two articles. One of these appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 11th May, 1908, under the title of "Śīāvastī and its remains" and contains all the salient points in the history of this ancient city, derivable from the Pāli texts and the writings of modern explorers. It winds up with the statement that the present inscription conclusively settles the identification of Sahēth and Mahēth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts with the Jētavana and Śrāvastī, respectively, of Buddhist literature. The connection of the copper-plate with Jētavana and Śrāvastī is expressed in the most unmistakable language in the inscription engraved on it, and since the plate has been found carefully deposited in a cell of a large monastery at Sahēth, it was obviously intended for it. Mr. V. A. Smith, however, while referring to the plate in a footnote on page 792 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1908, has expressed the opinion that the plate may have been brought to Sahēth from the real Śrāvastī which he locates somewhere near Balāpur in Nepal Tarai, not far from the place where the Rapti leaves the hills.

The evidence in favour of the identification of Sahēth-Mahēth with Śrāvastī is set forth by Mr. Marshall in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,¹ and here it is enough to enumerate the main facts. Foremost of these is the remarkable agreement which exists between the topography of the remains at Sahēth-Mahēth and the descriptions of Śīāvastī recorded by the Chinese pilgrims. We next come to the well-known colossal *bōdhisattva* discovered by General Cunningham on this site, which according to the Kushana inscription on its pedestal was set up at Śīāvastī. A fragment of its umbrella post (*danda*) with the same inscription as that on the *bōdhisattva* has recently been brought to light by Dr. Vogel. It is now in the Lucknow Museum, but is believed originally to have been unearthed at Sahēth by Dr. Hoey. Then there is the inscribed copper-plate which forms the subject of this paper. And last of all we have the lower half of a life-size statue of a *bōdhisattva* which was discovered by Mr. Marshall at Sahēth-Mahēth in the year 1908-09. The pedestal of this statue bears an early Kushana inscription which states that it was presented by certain Kshatriya brothers at the Jētavana of Śīāvastī. In the face of all this evidence it would be strange, indeed, if the identification of Sahēth-Mahēth remained doubtful, merely because the statements of the Chinese pilgrims about the location of Śrāvastī are somewhat incorrect.

The plate was discovered by me in a monastery (No. 21, map of Sahēth, Dr. Hoey's Report²) on the site of Sahēth in the spring of 1908 when I was assisting Dr. Vogel in his excavations.

¹ For 1909, pp. 1066 seq.

² *Vide J. A. S. B.* for 1892, Part I, extra number.

there This building was partially excavated by Dr Hoey, and it was here that, on breaking through the paved courtyard, he found the inscribed slab published in the *Ind Ant.* Vol XVII, p 61 ff¹ Dr Hoey also opened out seven out of the twenty-four cells which surround the courtyard in the centre and it was in one of these, namely, the one adjoining the entrance chamber on the south, that the copper-plate under reference was found It was carefully packed in an earthen box, 2 feet square and 3 inches high externally, closed with a lid of the same material, the space between the plate and the receptacle being filled with clay The box was built against the foundation of the northern wall of the cell referred to, just below the floor, well secured to the wall by means of brickwork on all sides

The plate measures 18" by 14" and is $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick In the centre of the upper part there is a ring-hole $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter The ring was not found, nor the seal which must have surmounted it² The plate is inscribed on one side only and contains 27 lines of writing in a perfect state of preservation The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit throughout In respect of orthography, the following points may be noted The letter *ḥ* is denoted by the sign for *v* throughout The doubling of consonants before and after *r* occurs in lines 4 (twice), 5, 16 (twice), 17, 18 (twice), 19 (twice), 22 (twice), 23, 24 (thrice), and 27 The horizontal top stroke (*mātrā*) which elsewhere distinguishes the letters *v* and *l* from *dh* and *n*, respectively, is, in a few cases, also found in the latter Omissions of letters are supplied by the insertion of the corresponding signs immediately above or below their original places *cf ra* in *Turashka* in line 21 and *bha* in *bhadrāsana* in line 23 A rough figure of Gaṇḍa is engraved once at the end of the 11th line and again in the last line before the words *mangalam mahā-śrīh*

The inscription begins, like all the other epigraphs of the Gāhadavāla king Govindachandra that have so far come to light, with nine verses in different metres containing his genealogy, and ends with seven benedictive and imprecatory verses and an eighth which supplies the name of the engraver The formal portion is contained in the rest of the epigraph and is, as usual, in prose I have given the full text of the inscription, but omitted from the translation the first nine verses, because they are paraphrased in the prose passage following them, and the next seven which contain the usual admonitions to future kings The taxes specified (line 21) as due to the donees are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, the *pravānikara*, and the *Turushkadanda*³ The last named tax figures only in the records of three other kings of the Gāhadavāla dynasty, namely, the Chandrāvati plate of Govindachandra's grandfather, Chandradēva,⁴ the inscription issued by Govindachandra himself on behalf of his father Madanapāla,⁵ and a plate of Vijayachandra and the *Yuvarāja* Jayachandra⁶

In respect of the localities mentioned in the record, it is gratifying to note that some of them can be identified beyond all possibility of doubt The other places have, in all probability, gone out of existence One of these latter is Vihāra, the first of the six villages granted It is said to have been situated in the district of what appears to be Vādā-chaturaśīti⁷ There is a comparatively large village called Bāja Jōt or the Holy Bāja, about 2 miles west of Sahēth I am inclined to think that Vādā may possibly be a mistake for Bāja The next village Pattanā is situated about 3 miles south-west of Sahēth or about 2 miles south of

¹ [It is worthy of note that the slab was found "in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building," see also the following note—Ed]

² [The absence of the ring and seal would show that the plate must have had a history of its own before it came to be deposited at the spot where it has now been discovered—Ed]

³ For an explanation of *turushkadanda*, see above, Vol IX, p 321

⁴ Above, Vol IX, p 305, text line 15

⁵ *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII, p 17, text line 21

⁶ Above, Vol IV, p 120, text lines 22-23

⁷ [It is not unlikely that all the six villages granted by the king were situated in the district of Vādā chaturaśīti—Ed]

Katrā on the road leading to Khargapur Bāvār and is now called Patnā. There is a mass of ancient remains near the village and the peasants have discovered a few old wells which they use for the irrigation of their fields. The village of Upalaundū I cannot identify. The fourth village is called Vavvahali in the plate. This is presumably now represented by Bclahā situated near the village of Patnā. The villagers say that it is ancient. The next place is "Ghōsūdi attached to Mēyi." Ghōsūdi does not exist, but Mēyi is still an important village near Subhāgnr on the Gonda-Intiathok road. The last village is "Payūsi belonging to Pōthivāra." This I identify with a village of the name of Bayāsi which formerly stood 2 *ks* to north-east of Sabēthi Mahēth, but was washed away by the Rapti some years ago. Its site is still known by the name of Bayāsi.

[In line 19 f the Buddhist ascetic Sākyaarakshita is said to have been a native of Utkala, i. e. Orissa, and his disciple Vāgīśvararakshita belonged to the Chōḍa country. The date of the inscription, viz. Vikrama-Samvat 1186, corresponds to A. D. 1128-9, which falls into the reign of the Chōḷa king Vikrama-Chōḷa. The Gahadavāla kings of Kanauj appear to have been on friendly terms with the Chōḷas of Tanjore¹ whose dominions extended into the Northern Circars during the reigns of Kulōttunga I. and Vikrama-Chōḷa. It is not certain if Vāgīśvararakshita came from the Tamil country or from the vicinity of Amarāvati which was included in the dominions of the Chōḷa king at the time. We know very little of the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country. But there is no doubt that there were adherents of that creed down to the 13th century A. D. in the country round Amarāvati in the Guntur District. Besides, Kumaradēvi, the Buddhist queen of Gōvinda-chandra, was the daughter of a chief of Pīthi. And Dr. Konow says it is possible to identify Pīthi with Pīthāpuram in the modern Godavari District of the Madras Presidency². If this be the case, it is no matter for surprise that the two Buddhist ascetics who pleased Gōvinda-chandra were natives of Orissa and the Chōḷa country. Probably they were introduced to the king by his queen Kumaradēvi, who probably brought about, either directly or indirectly, the gift recorded in the subjoined inscription. The sentence *punar api vāsānikṛitya grāmā mē shad api dattā* "these six villages were given again by a charter" implies that these villages had originally been granted to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Jētavana, but, for some reason or other, resumed subsequently. At Sārṇāth, queen Kumaradēvi restored the "lord of the turning of the wheel" and erected a *vihāra* for his accommodation. It is not impossible that the same queen also infused fresh life into the Buddhist establishment at Jētavana by sending for the two Buddhist ascetics and inducing the king to restore the six villages which once belonged to the *vihāra* —Ed.]

TEXT

1 Om³ svasti |

Akunthōkantha-Vaikuntha-kanthapītha-jathat-karah |
samrambhah surat-ārambhō sa Śrīyah śrēyasō=stu vah || [*]
Āsīd=Āsītady[u]ṭi-vamēa-jāta-kshmāpāla-mālā-

2

su divam gatāsu |
sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūti-dhūmnū nāmnū Yaśōvīgraha ity=udārah || [2*]
Tat-sutō=bhūn=Māhīcha[m]dras̄=chandra-dhama-nibham nija[m] [*]
yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-

¹ [See the *Annual Report* of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for 1907-08, paragraphs 58 ff —Pd.]

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 322

³ Expressed by a symbol

- 3 pārē vyāpāritam yaśah || [3*]
Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasika[h] krānta-dvīshan-maṇḍalō
vidhvast-ōddhata-vairi-yōdha-timurah śrī-Chamdradēvō nripah |
yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-sāmit-āśēsha-pra
- 4 jōpadravam
śrīmad-Gādhīpur-ādhirā[ḷya]m¹=asamam dōr-vvikramēn=ārjūtam || [4*]
Tīrthānī Kāśī-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśal-Ēmdra-
sthānīyakānī paripālayat=ādhyamya |
h̄cm=ātmatulyam=a-
- 5 nīsam dāditi dvijēbhya
yēn=ānkītā vasumatī śataśaṣ=tulābhīh || [5*]
Tasy=ātmaḷō Madanapāla itī kshītindra-
chūdāmanir=vyajayatē [n]ḷya-gōtra-chamdrah |
ya[sy=ā]bhūshōka-kalas-ō[lla]sitah payōbhūh
prā(pra)-
- 6 kshūlitam kalī-rajah-patalam dharitryāh || [6*]
Yasy=āsīd=viḷaya-prayāna-samayō vung²-āchal-ōchchais-chalan-
mādyat-kumbhu-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhraśyan-mahīma[m]dalah |
chūdaratna-vibhūna-tālu-
- 7 galita-styān-āsrig-udbhāsītah
Śīśah pēsha vaśād=iva kshanam=abhūt=krōdō nilīn-ānanah || [7*]
Tasmād=ajāyata nī-āyata-vā(bā)hu-vallī-
va(ba)ddh-āvaruddha-nava-rā[ḷya]-gajō narēndrah |
sāmdr-ā-
- 8 mṛita-drava-muchām prabhavō gavām yō
Gōvīmdachamdra itī chamdra iv=ā[m]vu(bu)rāśēh || [8*]
Na katham=apy=alabhamnta(bhanta) ranakshamā[m]s=
tasrīshu dikshu gajān=atha Vajrinah |
kakubhu va(ba)bhamur=A[bhra]mu-vallabha-
pratī-
- 9 bhatā iva yasya ghatā-gajōh || [9*]
Sō=yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samsēvita-charanah paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nīya-bhuj-ōpārjita-Kanyakuvj(bj)-ādhipa-
- 10 tyā śrīmach-[Cha]mdradēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhattāra[ka]-mahārājādhirāja-para-
mēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrīma[n*]-Madanapāladeva-pā[dā]nudhyāta-
paramabhattā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-para-
- 11 mēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati-vīvidha-vidyā-
vichāra-Vāchaspatīh śrīmad-Gō[vi]ndachamdradēvō vījayī ||³



|| ||

¹ The akshara *yya* looks like *dya*; one of the strokes necessary to make it *yya* has been omitted

² Read *tuig*°

³ This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 12 to 21 are superfluous

- 12 Vādā(jā)-chaturāṣīti-pattalāyām Vihāra | ¹Pattanā | Upalaundē |
Vavvahali | Mōyi-samva(ba)ddha-Ghōsādi Pōthivāra-sam[va](ba)ddha-
Payāsi-grāma-nivāsino
- 13 nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=apī² rāja-rājñī-yuvaiāja-mamti-purōhita-pra[ti]hāra-
sēnāpati-bhāndāgārik-ākshapatalīka-bhūbhag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-
- 14 karituragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāriṇaś=cha purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)-
dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā | Vīditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōparīkṣita-
grāmāh sa-ja-
- 15 la-sthalāh sa-lōha-lavan-ākarāh sa-matsy-ākarāh sa-pallikarāh³ sa-garīt-ōsha[rā]h
sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vātikā-vitapa-trina-yūti-gōchāra-paryantāh s-ōrddhv-ūdhāś=
chatur-ūghāta-vīśu-
- 16 ddha-sva-sīmā-paryantāh | Samvatsarē shadaśīty-adhik-aikādaśa-śatē Āshādhē
mā[s]jē [Sō]mavārē Pūrvvashādhā-nakshatrē pūrnīmāyām tithau
ankatō-pī samvat 1186 Āshādhā
- 17 sudi 16 Sōmē | ady-ōha śrī-Vārānasyām Gamgāyām [en]ātvā mantra-dēva-
muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-ganāms=tarppayitvā tmī[ra]-patala-pātana-patu-mahasam=
⁴Ushnarōchishamm=upasthāy=An-
- 18 shadhīpati-śakala-śekharam samabhyarohchya tribhuvana-trītar=Vāsandēvasya
pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā mātāpitrōr=
ātmanāś=cha punya-yaśō-bhividdhayē gō-
- 19 karṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvam | Utkala-dēśīya-Saugata-parivrājaka-
mahāpandita-Śākyarakshita-tachchhishya-Chōda-dēśīya-Saugata-parivrājaka-
mahāpandi-
- 20 ta-Vāgīśvararakshītābhyām paritōshitar=asmābhih Śrimaj-Jētavana-mahāvibā-
ra-vāstavya-Vu(Bu)ddhabhattāraka-pramukha-param-ārya-[Ś]ākyabhikshu-
samghāya vihār-āntara-maryāda-
- 21 yā paribhōg-ārtham mahatā chitta-prasāden=āchamdrārkkam punar=apī śēsani-
krītya grā[m]ā imē shad=apī dattā⁵ matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-
pravanikara-Tu[ra]shkadaṇḍa-pra-
- 22 bhriti-sarvvādāyān=ājñā-[śra]vana-vidhēyi-bhūya dāsyath=ēti || Bhavanti ch=ātra
ś[ī]kākāh | [I*] Bhūmim yah pratgrīhṇāti yaś=cha bhūmm prayachchhati |
ubhau tau punyakarmānau nyatau(tam) svarg[ga]gāmī-
- 23 nau | [10*]
Śamkham [bha]dr-āsanam [ch]ohhatram var-āśvā vara-vāranāh |
bhūmi-dānasya chī[hnā]ni phalam=ētat=Paramdara || [11*]
Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhīh Sagar-ādībhīh |
yasya yasya yadā bhūmī=tasya
- 24 tasya tadā [pha]la[m] || [12*]
Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinah pārthiv-ēndrān
bhūyō bhūyō yūchatē Rāma[bha]drah |
sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nnarānām
kalē kalē pālaniyō bhavadbhīh || [13*]
Shashti-va-

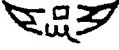
¹ [Either the reading is *Pattanyā*, or there are two vertical strokes after *Pattanā* —Ed.]

² Read *apī cha*

³ [I think the reading is *sa parṇakarāh*, see above Vol IV p 101, text-line 17 and plate —Ed.]

⁴ Read *śham*

⁵ Read *dattā it*

- 25 rsha-sahasrāni svar[ge] vasati bhūmidah |
 āchchhettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [14*]
 Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhaiām |
 sa viṣthāyām krīmīr=bhūtvā
- 26 p[tribhi]h saha majjavī(tī) || [15*]
 Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=īdam vasudh-ādhipatyam=
 āpāta-mātra-madhurā [vi]shay-ōpabhōgāh |
 pr[ā]nā[s]-trin-āgra-jala-vimdu-samā narānām
 dharmmah sakhā param=ahō paralōka-yānē || [16*]
- 27 Śrīmad-Gōvīndachamdrasya bhūpatēr=ājñay=ālikhat |¹
 tāmram=ētat=Surādityah kāyasthah sarvva-sāstra-vit || [17*]
 १ १ Mangalam mahā-srīḥ || ||

TRANSLATION

(Lines 9 to 22)

That victorious and glorious king, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara Gōvīndachandrādēva*,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings, who is (another) *Vāchaspati* in investigating the various sciences; who is the lord of the three kings, viz the *asvapati* (lord of horses), the *gajapati* (lord of elephants) and the *narapati* (lord of men), who meditates on the feet of the illustrious *P M P P Madanapēladēva*, who (in his turn) meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P M P P Chandradēva*, who acquired the sovereignty over *Kanyakubja* by (the strength of) his own arms,— orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in the villages of *Vihāra* in the district (?) of *Vādā-chaturāṣīti*, of *Paṭṭanā*, *Upalaundā*, *Vavvahali*, *Ghōsādī* attached to *Mēyī* and of *Payāsī* attached to *Pōthivāra*, as well as the kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?) *sthānas* and *gōkulas* in the following manner —

“Be it known to you, that, having been gratified by the *Saugata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpandita Śākyarakṣhita*, (a resident) of the *Utkala* country, and his disciple, the *Saugata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpandita Vāgīśvararakṣhita*, (a resident) of the *Chōda* country, I have to-day,—on a Monday, the pūrṇimā tithi of the month of *Āshādhā*, (the moon being) in the *Pūrvāshādhā nakshatra* in the year comprising eleven hundred increased by eighty-six, also in figures *Samvat 1186*, *Āshādhā sudi 15*, Monday,—after bathing in the *Ganges*, at the holy *Vārānasī*, propitiating the sacred texts, divinities,³ sages, men, beings and the group of deceased ancestors, adoring the sun, whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness, worshipping the moon-crested (*Śiva*), worshipping *Vāsudēva*, the protector of the three worlds, and after offering to (the god of) fire an oblation rich in milk-rice, bestowed again⁴ by a charter for the enhancement of the merit and fame of my parents and of myself, by (pouring) from the palm of my hand water sanctified by the *gōharna* and the *kusa*

¹ [The sign of *avagraha* is inserted in the original between the aksharas *yā* and *lī* —Ed.]

² [Each of these vertical strokes is preceded by a symbol which looks like the letter *च* found in this inscription. —Ed.]

³ See *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 10, note 55

⁴ I do not understand the force of the word “again” (*पुनरापि*) here. This would seem to signify that the king was only renewing an older grant of his

grass,¹ with a great satisfaction of the heart, for enjoyment in the manner of other convents for (as long as) the moon and the sun (endure), the six villages named above, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, repositories (i.e. ponds) of fish, *pallikaras*, pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *madhūka* and mango (trees), parks, bushes, grass and pasture lands up to their proper limits clearly defined by their four boundaries, with the elevations and depressions, upon the most respectable community (*sangha*) of Buddhist friars (*Śākyabhrhshu*) of whom Buddhahattāraka is the chief, residing in the great convent of the Holy Jētavana. Bearing (this) in mind, and being ready to listen to (our) commands you should (*continue to*) give (to the donees) the *bhāgabhogakara*, the *praramhara*, the *Turushkadanda* and all the other sources of income that are due "

[Lines 22—26 contain seven imprecatory and benedictory verses]

(L 27) Under the orders of the glorious king Gōvindahandra, this grant was written by the Kāyastha Surāditya, who is proficient in all *śāstras* Good luck (and) great prosperity!

NO 4—THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OF MARWAR

BY D R BHANDARKAR, M A , POONA

In his paper on "The Chāhamānas of Naddūla" the late Professor Kielhorn has edited the Sūndhā hill inscription of Chāchigadēva² which helps to determine the order of succession and the relationship of the various princes, whose inscriptions had been published, but whose connection with one another had long remained unknown. We are now aware that they were all of the Chāhamāna dynasty. But there were several families of the Chāhamānas that reigned in Rājputānā. It was, therefore, necessary to distinguish the line that ruled over Mārwar from other branches ruling elsewhere. And Professor Kielhorn chose to group them together under the title "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla." But some of these Chāhamānas reigned at Naddūla (Nādōl), and some at Jābālipura (Jālor). Strictly speaking, they should, therefore, have been called "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla and Jābālipura." The descendants of the former are called Nādōliās, and of the latter Sōnagarās. Again, at Sānehōr, inscriptions are found of a Chāhamāna prince who seems to be neither a Nādōliā nor a Sōnagarā, but rather a Sānehōrā, another subdivision of the Chōhāns. Under such circumstances, it is best to designate these Chōhāns as "the Chāhamānas of Mārwar."

The subjoined inscriptions were discovered during the two tours undertaken by me in 1907-08 and 1908-09 in the southern and south-eastern parts of Mārwar, and this paper is really a supplement to that of Professor Kielhorn, without which it would not have been possible to make my article interesting.

I AND II—SĀDADĪ AND NĀDŌL INSCRIPTIONS OF JŌJALADĒVA , [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1147³

The first of these inscriptions was found at Sādadī, and the second at Nādōl, both in the Dēsūrī District, Gōdvād Division, Jodhpur State. The former is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgēśvara, but as all the materials of this temple are said to have been brought from ruins elsewhere, it is clear that the inscription did not originally belong to Sādadī. It contains

¹ See *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 10, note 57

² Above, Vol IX p 70

³ [For short notices of these two records see above, Vol IX p 158 f.—Ed.]

11 lines of writing, which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $6\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The second inscription is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmēśvara, and bears 13 lines of writing which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $9\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The letters of the first are deeply cut, and, excepting two or three *alsharas* at the beginning of lines 8-10, the record is well preserved. The second is weather-worn and has not yielded satisfactory impressions. The whole of it, however, is intact. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and both the inscriptions are in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*. Of words unknown or rarely employed, we may note the following: (1) *yātrā*, (2) *sāṭha*, (3) *ṛadāharaka*, (4) *śūlapāla*, and (5) *pramadāhula*. *Yātrā* is a festival which is held on different days for different gods¹. The word is frequently met with in the Bhīmāl inscriptions. *Sāṭha* of course means "belonging to," and, though foreign to classical Sanskrit literature, is found in later inscriptions and in Jaina literature. *Vadāharaka*, I think, is the Sanskritised form of the Mārwarī word *baderō*, meaning "an old man." The word *śūlapāla*, which occurs only in No II, is given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary to mean "the keeper of a brothel or frequenter of brothels," but the sense intended here seems to be that of "associates of courtezans, who accompany them on musical instruments while singing or dancing." *Pramadāhula* means obviously a host of courtezans, and is used in this sense also in the Bhīmāl inscriptions.

The contents of both the inscriptions are, most identical. They are dated on Wednesday, the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha i² the [Vikrama-] year 1147 and refer themselves to the reign of Jōjaladēva, who, in No I, is styled *Mahārāja* and, in No II, *Mahārājādhirāja*. They lay down the order of the king with regard to the management of festivals in connection with all the gods, such as Lakshmanasvāmin and others. The order is that when the festival of any particular god commences, the courtezans attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *śūlapālas* to celebrate it by instrumental music, dancing, singing, and so forth. Jōjaladēva goes even to the extent of conjuring his descendants and other princes to keep the festivals of all the gods going in this manner, and warns them by adding that he, who, at the time of a festival, attempts to abolish this practice, be he an ascetic, an old person, or a learned man, should be prevented from doing so by the reigning ruler. The inscription ends with a curse on these princes who will not maintain this practice.

In the temple of Jāgēśvara at Sādadi, where No I was engraved on a pillar, other inscriptions also are found, but incised on another pillar of exactly the same style. From them it is clear that the temple of Lakshmanasvāmin was at Nadūla, i.e. Nādōl. Again, in order that the festival of one god may be celebrated by courtezans attached to other temples, all the temples must be in one and the same town, i.e. in Nādōl. The name of the god Lakshmanasvāmin suggests that he was so called after Lakshmana, the founder of the Mārwar branch of the Chōhāns.

I

TEXT³

- 1 श्रीं⁴ सवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुदि २ बुधवासरे⁵ महा-
- 2 राजश्रीजीजलदेवेन श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृति-
- 3 समस्तदेवानां यात्राकालव्यवहारो लेखितः ॥
- 4 यत्र दिने यत्र देवे यात्रा भवति तत्रापरसमस्तदे-

¹ [This word has become *jātra*, *jātre* or *sāttaras* in the Dravidian languages of the South—Ed.]—

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read शुष^०

- 5 वानां सत्कप्रमदाकुलैः सर्वैः साकल्यैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्याव-
 6 द्धियागत्य वाद्यनृत्यगानादिविधि[न]ा यात्रा कर्त्तव्याऽग्रे
 7 च सर्वकालमस्मद्दशजैरन्यैर्वा भाविभूमिपालैरित्यं
 8 [सर्व]देवेषु यात्रा कारयितव्या यात्राकाले तपस्वी वड-
 9 — — —¹विद्यावान्वाऽपरोपि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य
 10 — —²[नि]ग्रहः करणीयः । य[द्य] राजाऽनेन³ क्रमेण यात्रा
 11 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥—

II.

TEXT⁴

- 1 श्रीं⁵ संवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुदि २ बुधवास-⁶
 2 रे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजोजलदेवः सम-
 3 स्तदेवानां श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृतीनां यात्राव्य-
 4 वहारं लिखयति यथा ॥ यत्र घस्त्रे यत्र [दे]वे
 5 यात्रा भवति तत्र समस्तदेवानां सत्कप्रमदाकु-
 6 लैराकल्पसयुक्तैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्यावद्भिश्च सशूल-
 7 पालैरागत्य नित्यं वाद्यनृत्य[गीत]ादिविधिना यात्रा
 8 करणीया । अग्रे च सर्वकालमस्मद्दशजैरन्यैर्वा भा-
 9 विभूमिपालैरि[त्यं] सर्वदेवेषु यात्रा⁷ कारयितव्या ।
 10 यात्राकाले तपस्वी वडहरको विद्यावान्वाऽपरो-
 11 पि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य राज्ञा निग्रह⁸ कर-
 12 णीयः । यद्य राजाऽनेन क्रमेण सर्वदेवेषु यात्रा
 13 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥०॥

III —SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF AŚVARĀJA,
 [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1167.

This inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of a subsidiary shrine in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvira at Sēvādī, a village about 5 miles to the south-east of Bāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōdvād Division. It contains 3 lines, and the writing covers a space of 3' 6" broad by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The inscription is, on the whole,

¹ Restore वडहरको.

² Supply राज्ञा

³ The *akshara* न is entered below the line and is different from the other n's in the inscription

⁴ From the original stone.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Read बुध^o

⁷ There is a break in the middle of the vertical line which denotes the *ā* of *trā*

⁸ Read नियह

well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *d* is worthy of note (e.g. in Padrādā, Chhēchhadiyā, and so forth), and occurs in the Nādōl copper-plate inscription of Kirtipāla. Some of the letters are partially engraved. To take an instance, the left upper stroke of *ma* in *Padrādā-grāmē* in l 2 is missing, and the letter looks like *na*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole record is in prose except the concluding benedictory verse. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed: *jagatī* and *mahā-sāhaniya* in l 1, and *java* and *hāraka* in l 2. *Jagatī* is found in many inscriptions in the sense of "the grounds". It corresponds, in my opinion, to the Hindi word *jagah* or *jagyā* and the Marāthī word *jāgā*¹. *Sāhaniya* most probably corresponds to the *dēsi* word *sāhani*, meaning "master of stables". The same word occurs as a title of two Paramāra Rājputs in an inscription incised on a jamb of the hall door of the Nilakantha-Mahādēva temple at Nanā. *Java* and *hāraka* are also found in another inscription in the same temple at Sēvādī. They occur as *hāraka* and *java* in No XV below. Both are used in connection with an *arahaṭa* (*arahaṭa*), i.e. a well with a wheel attached thereto for drawing water. From this it appears that *java* or *javā* must be taken in the sense of *yava*, barley-corn. *Hāraka* seems to be the same as the Marāthī word *hārā*, a large basket of a particular form and of loose texture, often used in measuring corn. This receives confirmation from No XV.

The inscription is dated on the first of the bright half of Chaitra of the [Vikrama] year 1167, when Aśvarāja was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and Katukarāja the *yuvarāja* or hen-apparent. It then records a grant by Uppalarāka, son of Uttimarāja and grandson of Pūavi, the Great Master of Stables (*mahā-sāhaniya*), together with his family, the names of some of whose members are specified. The gift was made for the daily worship of Śrī-Dharmanāthadēva in the temple of Samīpātī, and what was granted was barley-corn equal to one *hāraka* from everyone of the wells (*arahaṭa*) belonging to the villages of Padrādā, Medramchā, Chhēchhadiyā and Maddadī.

Of the localities mentioned, Samīpātī is doubtless Sēvādī, which is also pronounced as Semvādī. And Dharmanāthadēva must be unquestionably the divinity installed in the cell, above the door of which the inscription is engraved. Chhēchhadiyā again must be Chhēchhli, about 4 miles to the north of Sēvādī. The rest are unidentifiable.

TEXT²

1 श्री³ ०॥ स ११६७ चैत्र सु १ महाराजाधिराजश्रीअश्वराजराज्ये । श्री-
कटुकराजयुवरा[ज्ये⁴ ।] समीपाटीयचैत्ये जगती⁵ श्री[ध]र्मनाथदेवसां⁶ नित्य-
पूजार्थं (।) महासाहणियपूअविपौत्रे[ण] ⁷कत्तिमराजपुत्रेण उपपलराकेन
(।) मागट आवल (॥⁸)

¹ Above, Vol I p 277, note 18² From the original stone³ Expressed by a symbol⁴ Read ०धौवराज्ये⁵ Read जगती

⁶ [On the impressions which Mr Bhandarkar has kindly sent me for reference, the reading intended is ०देवस्य, though the subscript *y* is not properly formed. Other instances of such careless engraving are noticed by Mr Bhandarkar himself. There is a dot which may be taken for an *anusāra*, but it is not quite pronounced and may be due to accident.—Ed.]

⁷ [The *y* of पुत्रेण looks like *च*—Ed.] As most of the inscriptions here published do not aim at giving grammatically correct Sanskrit text, the places, where no attempt at observing the rules of *sandhi* is made, will be passed over, and only violations thereof will be noticed.

⁸ [These two strokes look like *र* in the impression.—Ed.]

- 2 वि० सलखणजीगरादि कुटुवसम¹ (I) पद्राडायामि (I) तथा मे[द्रं]चाग्रामे
 (I) तथा क्केडियामहडोग्रामे (II) [अ]रहट अरहटं प्रति [द]त्त. जवहारका:
 (II) एकः १ ॥ यः कोपि लोप[य]यति (I) स गोस्त्रीत्रा[ह्य]णविनाश-
 पापिनात्मा[न]²
- 3 एतत् ये (I) प्रतिपालयि[य]ति (I) तेस्मदीयधर्म[भ]ाग्याः सदा भविष्यन्ति ॥ इति
 मत्वा प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।
 बहुभिर्वसुधा [भु]क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥ १ ॥ छ ॥

IV—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUKARĀJA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1172

The inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sēvādī. It is highly weather-worn and cannot consequently be easily deciphered. It was again bedaubed with redlead, when I was there, I do not know for what purpose. An estampage taken of it with my own hands has, however, enabled me to read almost the whole of it with certainty. It consists of 8 lines, and covers a space of 2' 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *b* occurs in the inscription, *eg* in *vibudha-pati*¹ in l 1, *bal-ādhipah* in l 4, and so forth. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the opening *Om* and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered and are 15 in all. One solecism occurs in *srīy-ādihārō* in l 2. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of the letter *v* both for *v* and *b*, and (2) the substitution of *n* for *ṇ* in conjunct consonants, *eg* in *punya-vismītaḥ*, l 3, *vitīrnam*, l 6, and so forth. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *hattaka* occurring in l 7. I came across the same word in an inscription in a shrine of the Jaina temple at Pāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jōdhpnr State. This word occurs also in the Ābū inscriptions, *eg* it is used in l 40 of Inscription No I (above, Vol VIII p 213), where the meaning of 'niche' appears to be all but certain.⁵ This sense fits here exactly. In line 3 again, is the word *bhukti*, which does not here simply denote a territorial division as elsewhere, but rather a province or a group of villages enjoyed as *jāgīr*. Lastly, the curious expression *Māghē Tryambaka-samprāptau* in l 6 also deserves to be noticed in this connection. It literally means "in Māgha on the arrival of Tryambaka (Śiva)," and I am all but certain that it denotes what is popularly known as the Śiva-rātri, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tirthamkara. Verse 2 gives the name of Anahila, and his son named Jimda is mentioned in the verse following as proficient in polity and as belonging to the Chāhamāna dynasty. His son was Aśvarāja, and the son of the latter was Katukarāja (vv 4-5). In verse 6 we are told that in his *bhukti*, *ie* the province enjoyed by him, was the town named Śamīpātī (Sēvādī), and at this place there was a temple of Viranātha (Mahāvīra), bearing comparison with paradise. From verse 7 onwards we are introduced to a different line of descent. In this verse we are informed that there was one Yaśōdēva, leader of the army (*bal-ādhipa*), of pure soul, and foremost in the

¹ Read कुटुव°

² Read °नाह्यण°

³ Supply here some such word as लोपयैत्

⁴ Read बहु°, the lines are here reversed

⁵ [See also above, Vol VIII p 200, and the note on p 200 in the 'Additions and corrections' to that volume

assemblies of kings and *mahājanas* (banias) The next verse says that he, of equable mind, was never flagging in conferring favours on the relatives, friends, and virtuous people of the Shandēraka *gachchha* His son was Bāhada, who was well known amongst the learned like Viśvakarmā (verse 9), and the son of Bāhada was Thallaka, who was devoted to the Jaina religion and was an object of the king's favour (verse 10) To Thallaka an annual benefaction of eight *drammas* was made by Katukarāja on the Śīva-rātri day in the month of Māgha (vv 11-12) Verse 13 expresses a wish for the continuance of the gift so long as the sun and the moon last, made for the worship of Śāntinātha in the *khattaka* of Yaśōdēva In the next verse we are told that the image of Śāntinātha in the temple of Jina in Śamipātī was caused to be made by his grandfather The last is an imprecatory verso, threatening with punishment those who would resume the grant The inscription ends with the more date Samvat 1172, corresponding to A D 1115

It will be seen from the above account that the grantor was Katukarāja, son of Aśvarāja But he does not appear to have been a ruler at the time For in none of the verses is he spoken of as king, and in verso 6 we are informed, as we have seen, that Samipātī (Sēvādī) was in his *bhukti* Here neither the word *rājya* which would have suited the metre, nor any other term synonymous with it is used This shows that even in A D 1115, the date of the inscription, he was a *yūtarāja* enjoying some villages as *gāgīr*

Shandēraka-sad-gachchha is no doubt the same as the Sandēraka *gachchha* of the Nādōl plates of Āhanadēva dated V E 1218, and the Sandēra or Shandēraka *gachchha* of the Mount Abu inscriptions Saudera or Shandēraka is to be identified with the present Sāndērāv, 10 miles north-west of Bāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōdvād Division The name occurs also in an inscription in the temple of Mahāvira at that place (below No XVI) It is one of the many instances in which the Jaina *gachchhas* are called after the names of places in Mārwar

TEXT 1

- 1 श्री०² ॥ स्वजन्मनि जनताया जाता परतोषकारिणी शान्ति । विबुधपति-
विनुतचरण स शान्तिनामा जिनी जयति ॥१ आसीदुग्रप्रतापाद्यः
श्रीमदणहिलभूपति ।
- 2 येन प्रचडदोईडपराक्रम[जि]ता मही ॥२ तत्पुत्रः ³चाहमानानामन्वय
नीतिसद्वह(ह) । जिदराजाभिधो राजा सत्यसौ(शौ)र्यसमाश्रयः ॥३ तत्त[नू]ज-
स्ततो जातः प्रतापाक्रातभूतलः [1*] अ[श्र]राजः श्रियाधारो⁴ [भू]-
- 3 [प]तिर्भूता वरः ॥४ ततः कटुकरालेति त[त्पु]त्रो धरणीतले । जज्ञे स त्याग-
सौभाग्यविख्यातः पुन्यविस्मित⁵ ॥५ तद्भुक्तौ⁶ पत्तन र[म्य] शमीपाटीति-
नाम[कं] । तत्रास्ति वीरनाथस्य चैत्य स्वर्गसमोपम ॥६
- 4 इतश्चासीत् वि[श्र]द्धात्मा यशोदेवो बलाधिपः । राज्ञा मह्राजनस्यापि सभायाम-
ग्रणीस्थितः ॥७ श्रीषडेरकसद्वच्छे बधूना सुहृ[दा] सता । नित्योपकुर्वता
येन न श्रात ⁷समचेतसा ॥८

¹ From an estampage ² Expressed also by a symbol [On the impressions the reading seems to be यस्वजन्मनि instead of स्वजन्मनि —Ed]

³ Read °पुत्रयाह°

⁴ Read श्रयाधारी, but it will not suit the metre

⁵ Read पुण्य° [On the impressions the first *akshara* of the word विस्मित looks more like नि than मि —Ed]

⁶ Read तद्भुक्तौ

⁷ [On the impression the first *akshara* of this word seems to be .श.—Ed]

- 5 तत्सुतो बाहडो , जातो नराधिपजन[प्रिय]: । विश्वकर्मेव सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धो
विदुषां मतः ॥८ तत्पुत्रः [प्र]थितो स्त्रिके जैनधर्मपरायणः । उत्पन्नः
[य]ज्ञको¹ राज्ञः प्रसादगुणमदिरं ॥
- 6 १० दयादान्निन्वगाभीर्यवुद्धिचिद्गानसंयुतः² । श्रीमत्क[टु]कराजेन तस्य दानं³
[क्तं] शुभं ॥११ माघे च्यवकसप्राप्तौ⁴ वितीर्न⁵ प्रतिवर्षक । द्रन्माष्टक
प्रमाणेन यज्ञका-
- 7 य प्रमोदतः ॥१२ पूजा[र्घ्य] शान्तिनाथस्य यशोदेवस्य ख[त्त]के । प्रवर्द्धयतु
चंद्रार्कं यावदादानसु[ज्व]ल⁶ ॥१३ पितामहे[न] तस्येदं शमीपाद्यां जिनालये ।
कारित शान्तिना-
- 8 यस्य बिंबं जनमनोहर ॥१४ धर्मेण लिप्यते राजा पृथ्वी भुनक्ति यो
यदा । ब्रह्महत्यासहस्रेण⁷ पातकेन विलोपय[न्] ॥१५ सवत् ११७२

V—BĀLĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀŚVĀKA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1200

This inscription was found at Bālī. It is engraved on one of the lintels resting on the pillars of the *sabhā-mandapa* of the temple of Bōlā *alias* Bahuguna-mātā. It contains 6 lines of writing, which cover a space of 7" broad by 2' 2½" high. Excepting the greater portion of line 1 and a few letters in line 5, it is well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose, excepting one verse in ll. 4-5. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *grāsa* in l. 2, which corresponds to the modern *gurās*, signifying the landed possessions of a member of one of the ruling tribes. In lines 3 and 4 occur some abbreviations such as *bho*°, *pu*°, *va*°, and so forth. I do not know what their full forms are.

The inscription opens with the date, of which all the details are lost, except the [Vikrama-] year 1200. It refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārāja-dhruva* Śrī-Jayasīhadēva, of course, of the Chaulukya dynasty and speaks of the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Āśvāka as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet," *i.e.* as his feudatory. At that time the village of Vālahī was being enjoyed as *gurās* by the queen Śrī-Tihunaka. It then records a grant of four *drammas* by Bōpanava-sthabhana, son of Pālā, in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahughrīna. Further details of the grant are given but are not quite clear, but it appears to have been laid down that at the time of the horse-fair (lit. selling of horses) one *dramma* was to be given to the goddess, two *drammas* to the *samgha-pati* Galapalyādīyā, son of Chōhadī, and resident at the village of Thāmbhīla, one *dramma* to Vālhana and Gāravāta, sons of Mōhana, one *dramma* each to the machine-wells, such as

¹ Read उत्पन्नस्यज्ञको

² Read °दाचिख°

³ [On the impressions the reading is तस्यादान° —Ed.]

⁴ Read च्यवक°

⁵ Read वितीर्ण°

⁶ [The *akshara* in brackets looks like घा —Ed.]

⁷ Read ब्रह्म° and °सहस्रेण.

those named S tka, Bhariyā, Bōhadā, Mahiyā, and so forth, one *dramma* to the *bhūmdāri* Būtī, and so on. The record was written by one Kulachandra

The fendatory chieftain Āśvāka referred to herein is doubtless identical with the Āśvarāja of the two previous inscriptions. Valahū must be the modern Bālī, and the goddess Bāhughūṃṃ the same as Bahuguna or Bōla-mātā, in whose temple the inscription is engraved

TEXT.¹

- 1 संवत् । [१२]०० [समस्त]राजा-
वलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजश्रीज[य]-
- 2 सोह्वेदकल्याणविजयराज्ये² तत्पा[ट]पञ्चोपजीवि[नि मङ्ग]राजश्रीआश्याके³ । एव
काले प्रवर्त्तमाने 'राजश्रीतिहुणकग्रासाभुज्यमानवा[ल]होत्रा[म]स्य सञ्जश्री-
वहु[वृ-]
- 3 ण[ट](टे)वी[यात्रा]निवि(मि)त्त भो० पाल्हासुत भो० वीपणवस्यभनेन वालही प्रति'
प्रदत्त द्रां ४ तथा घोडाविक्रए द्रा १ [त]या च याभिल[अ]म-
वास्तव्यसघपतिचोहडिपुत्रगलपल्यादिया[इ]
- 4 प्रति प्रदत्त द्रा २ [पू० मो]हणसुतवाल्ह[ण]गार[वा]ट प्रति द्रा १ सीक्कभरिया-
वोहडामहियाप्रभृति अरहटप्रत्ति प्रदत्त द्रा १ भा० वूटा प्रति द्रा १
व० उदकपीहया० आ० ते० पली १ प्रदत्त ॥ यस्य यस्य
- 5 [य*]दा भूमि तस्य⁴ तस्य तदा फलं । यस्तु एत लोपयति⁵ तस्य ब्रह्मह-
त्यादय⁶ ॥१⁷ श्रीकुलचद्रेण लिखित ॥ सदयणा वा० रा० कातियस
. . . . लाही प्रति द्रा १ अरठपा-
- 6 दणा० उ ॥ भौसै ४ घाटधरणप्रति द्रां १।

VI—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUDĒVA,

[SIMHA-]SAMVAT 31

This inscription also was found at Sēvādī, near a house in front of the Jaina temple of Mahāvira. It is what is called there a *surabhi* stone, i.e. a stone which is surmounted with

¹ From the original stone ² Read 'सीहदेव'

³ [On the stampage which Mr Bhandarkar has sent me, the reading मचि instead of राज is also possible.—Ed.]

⁴ [The *akshera* क of तिहुणक is not on the line. There is a letter or symbol above the line which Mr Bhandarkar takes for क, and this is how he gets तिहुणक.—Ed.]

Read वालहीं प्रति, as the text was never intended to be grammatically correct, such inaccuracies will not be corrected unless it is absolutely necessary to do so

⁵ Read भूमिसस्य ⁶ Read एतलोप'

⁷ Read ब्रह्म, the metre of these lines is violated

⁸ [On the stampage the reading seems to be ॥ छ ॥ कुल०.—Ed.]

the sculpture of a cow and her calf and with the sun and the moon on each side. The inscription is mutilated in several places, and the letters have become very much worn out. The inscription is of no importance except for what is contained in the first three lines, about the reading of which there remains no doubt. They give the date Sam 31 Bhāda[va]dā [su]dī 11, and state that Katudēva was at that time *Mahārājādhirāja* and reigning at Nādūla (Nādol) and that Samipātī was being enjoyed by (his son) Jayatasīha, the *Yuarāja*, or heir-apparent. This Katudēva is the same as the Katukarāja of Nos III and IV, above, and, as we know that he was the *Yuarāja* from V E 1167 to 1172, the only era, to which we can refer the year 31, the date of this inscription, is that started by the Chaulukya sovereign Siddharāja-Jayasīma, commonly known as Sīma-Samvat. It then becomes equivalent to V E 1200 or A D 1143. That the province of Gōdvād was included in the dominions of Siddharāja-Jayasīma is proved by the preceding inscription. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the year 31 of our record belongs to the Sīma era.

TEXT.¹

- 1 सं ३१ भाद्रद^२ [सु]दि ११ ऽद्येह श्रीन[डू]ले ।
- 2 ^३— [हा]राजाधिराजश्रीकटुदेवविजयोद[यो] त—
- 3 — — ^४[ज]यतसीहयुवराजभुज्यमानसमीपाटया^५ श्रीम-
- 4 — —रपा[ल]: समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिप[ययन्]^६ ।
- 5 [श्री]वे[आ]भटसमस्तमहाजनप्रभृती[न्] । [त]-
- 6 — —[व]ार: सिधुराज — — । तस्मिन् काले प्रव[र्त]माने
- 7 लि[ष]ति च पूर्वधर्मशासन — — — यतु घाणक प्र-
- 8 [ति]सूण सर्वप्रमाण श्या—हलखेटलनिषे[ध:] एत-
- 9 — —प्रतिपालयन्ति [स] आत्मानं पुण्येन लिप्यते ज
- 10 कोपि लोप[य]स्यति स ब्रह्महत्यापापेन गृह्यते ॥ मंगलं
- 11 महाश्री ॥

VII—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1189

This inscription was found in a Jaina temple at Nādūlāi, 8 miles to the north-west of Dēsūrī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōdvād Division. The temple is now dedicated to Ādinātha, but there can be no doubt, as will be seen from other inscriptions, that it was originally dedicated to Mahāvira. The inscription in question is engraved on a lintel standing on two pillars in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*. The lines of the inscription run parallel to one another but not to the edges of the lintel, and the tops of some of the concluding letters in the first line have been cut off, necessarily being outside the upper edge of the lintel. This points to the conclusion that the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* was rebuilt some time after the date of

¹ From the original stone² Read भाद्रपद³ Read महा^०⁴ Restore तस्सुत^०⁵ Read °पाट्यां⁶ Read परिपययन्, further grammatical inaccuracies are better left uncorrected.

the inscription, and that the lintel on which it is incised is no longer preserved in its original form.

The record contains 6 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 5½" broad by 4½" high. The surface of the stone does not appear to have been dressed before engraving the inscription, and the letters also do not seem to have been carefully incised. The characters are Nāgarī. Of these *y* is written as if it were *p*, as is often seen in Sanskrit manuscripts. Next, the form of the letter *d* in *Nadūladāgikā*, l 2, is worthy of note and is exactly like that noted in No III. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting a verse at the end, which, however, offends against the metre. In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noticed first that there is but one *b* in the inscription and it is denoted by the sign for *v*, in *vrahama(hma)*°, l 5, and secondly, that the final consonant is represented by the addition of the suffix *u* as, eg *yad* by *yadu* in l 5. The same orthographic peculiarity I have noticed in the later copper-plate inscriptions of the Guhlet princes, which are found in Gōdvād. As regards lexicography, the words *pala* and *palikā* employed in l 3 doubtless denote some kind of liquid measure. Details of it have been set forth in Berūni, *Indica*, Vol I p 164. Attention may also be drawn to the abbreviated forms herein employed, *bham*°, l 3, and *rā*° and *vi*°, l 4. *Bham*°, of course, stands for *bhamdārī*, the name of a well-known subdivision of the Ōsvāls, and *rā*° for *rāuta*, which is supposed to be a corruption of *rājaputra*, and is the same as the modern *rāvat*, one of the designations borne by Rājput jāgirdārs. I do not know the full form of *vi*°. In l 3 is used the word *ghānaka*, which corresponds to *ghānī* and signifies an oil-mill. It is frequently met with in inscriptions.

The inscription is dated the 5th of the bright half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1189, and speaks of a grant made by Rudrapāla and Amritapāla, sons of the Mahārājādhrāja Rāyapāla of the Chāhamāna dynasty, in conjunction with their queen-mother Mānsadēvi. The gift was of two *palikās* out of those due to the royal family from each oil-machine (*ghānaka*) and was made for the (Jaina) saints in and outside Nadūladāgikā (Nādīlāi). The witnesses to this religious benefaction were the villagers (*grāminaka*) Ttmatā, a *rāuta*, Siriyā a *vi*°, Pōsari a *bama*, and Lakshmana, headed by Nāgasiva, a *bhandārī*. They apparently formed the *pañcha* of the village.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री° ॥ संवत् ११८९ माघसुदि पंचम्यां श्रीचाहमानान्वय(१)श्रीमहाराजा-
धिराज[रायपा]ल(१)-
- 2 देव° तस्य पुत्रो° रुद्रपालश्चतुतपा[लौ] (१) ताभ्यां माता श्रीराज्ञीमा[न]न-
देवी तथा [नदू]ल[डा]गिका-
- 3 यां (१) सतां परजतीनां [रा]जकुलपल[स]ध्यात् पलिकाद्वय(१) वाण[कं] प्रति
धर्माय प्रदत्त° । भं० नागसि-
- 4 वप्रमुखसमस्तग्रामीणक (१) रा० त्तिसटा वि० सिरिया वणिक° पोसरि(१)
लक्षण एते सा ।

¹ From the original stone

² Read पुत्रो.

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read प्रदत्त

⁵ Read °देव

⁶ Read वणिक.

- 5 खि¹ क्त्वा दत्त [1] लोपकस्य यद् पाप² गीहत्यासहस्रेण । ³ब्रह्महत्या-
सतेन च (i) तेन
6 पापेन लिप्यते सः⁴ ॥ ० ॥ श्री ॥

VIII—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1195

This inscription also was found at Nādlāi, but in the temple of Nēminātha, locally known as Jādvaṅjī, situated on a small hill to the south-east of the village. It is engraved on a pillar, and is, on the whole, well preserved. It consists of 26 lines of writing, and covers a space of 9¼" broad by 1' 11¼" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *matu* for *mat(d)* in *matudattam*, l. 22. Of unknown or rare words *bhōktāri*, l. 9, *sēha*, l. 11, and *ābhāvya*, l. 12, may be noticed. For the first I can suggest no meaning. *Sēha* is perhaps the same as the Sanskrit *sihya* meaning "a kind of loop or swing made of rope and suspended from either end of a pole or yoke to receive a load (also applied to the load so carried)." The word *ābhāvya* has, in my opinion, the sense of "income, proceeds," and occurs in no less than three different compounds in a Māngol inscription of V E 1202⁵. It is also employed as a component of another compound in Blinnmāl inscriptions Nos XII and XV⁶. Perhaps another word may also be noticed, *viz* *rāuta*, which occurs in ll. 8 and 21. It is evidently a corruption of *Rājaputra* and is the same as Rājput, but is here used to denote apparently a *jāgnādīr*.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the Omniscient, who is here Nēminātha. It then gives the date, *viz* Tuesday, the 15th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1195, and refers to the rule of the *Mahārājādhrāja* Rāyapālādēva over Nadūladāgikā (Nādlāi). It then states that for lamp, incense, offering, flowers, worship and so forth of Sri-Nēminātha, the *thakkura* Rājādēva, son of the *rāuta* Ūdharana of the Gūhila family, granted for his spiritual merit one-twentieth part of the income (*ābhāvya*) derived from the loads on bullocks going on their way or coming to Nādlāi. Then a request is made to future rulers for the preservation of the grant, and Pāmsila is given as the name of the individual who wrote the record. Then comes the sign-manual of Rājādēva, who is here called a *rāuta*, which is followed by the name of the witness Gūgi, son of the astrologer Dūdūpā. The last three lines are not intelligible to me.

TEXT⁷

- 1 ओ⁸ नम सर्वज्ञाय ॥ सवत् ११
2 ८५ आमउज⁹ वदि १५ कुजे ॥
3 अद्यह श्रीन[इ]लडा[गि]काया महा-
4 राजाधिराजश्रीराय[पा]लदेवे । विज-

¹ Read एतान्सान्निप

² Read यत्पाप

³ Read ब्रह्म^o and शतेन

⁴ This whole verse is corrupt. It also occurs at the end of some of the following inscriptions. Perhaps it may be restored as follows — गीहत्याना सहस्रेण ब्रह्महत्याशतेन च । लोपकस्य तु यत्पाप तेन पापेन लिप्यते ॥

⁵ *Bharoqar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp 158-9

⁶ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I pt I pp 480 and 485

⁷ From the original stone

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read आसीज^o

- 5 यी¹ राज्यं कुर्वतीत्येतस्मिन् काले श्री-
6 मदुर्जिततीर्त्यः² श्री[ने]मिनाथदेव-
7 स्य दीपधूपनैवे[द्य]पुष्पपूजाद्यर्थे गू-
8 हिलान्वयः³(1) राउ० ऊधरणस्तु-
9 ना भोक्तारि(२)ठ० राजदेवेन स्वपु-
10 खार्थे स्त्रीयादानमध्यात्⁴ मार्गे [ग]-
11 च्छतानामागताना⁵ वृषभाना शेके[पु]⁶
12 यदाभाव्यं भवति तन्मध्यात् विं[श]-
13 तिमो⁷ भागः चंद्रार्क⁸ यावत् देवस्य
14 प्रदत्तः ॥ अस्मदंशोयेनान्येन वा
15 केनापि परिपथना न करणीया ॥
16 अस्मदत्त⁹ न केनापि लोप[नी]यं ॥
17 स्वहस्ते परहस्ते वा य कोपि लोप-
18 यिष्यति¹⁰ । तस्याहं करे लग्नी
19 न लो[प्यं] सम शासनमिद¹¹ ।[1*] लि०
20 [पा]मिलेन ॥० स्वहस्तोयं साभि-
21 ज्ञानपूर्वक राउ० रा[ज]देवे-
22 न मतुदत्त¹² ॥ अत्राह¹³ साक्षि[णा]
23 ज्योतिषिक[दूदू]पास्तुना गूगि-
24 न[ः]¹⁴ । तथा पला० [प]ाला० । पृथि
25 वा १ सागु[ल]ा ॥ देपसा । रा
26 यसा ॥ मगल महा[श्री.] ॥

IX —NĀDŌL STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1198

This inscription was discovered at Nādōl, about 10 miles north-west of Dēsūrī, and is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmēśvara. A transcript of the first 3 lines has been given by the late Professor Kielhorn, above Vol IX p. 159. The record contains 39 lines of writing, which cover a space of 9" broad by 2' 3' high. The letters are so weather-worn that even a satisfactory estampage is not possible, but with a little care and patience the whole of the

¹ Read विजयि

² Read °दुर्जिततीर्त्य°

³ Read °न्वय°

⁴ The *sandhi* has here been disregarded. Such omissions will not be further noticed.

⁵ Read गच्छतामागताना.

⁶ The letter पु is engraved between lines 10 and 11.

⁷ Read विशतितमो°

⁸ Read चन्द्रार्कौ

⁹ Read अस्मदत्त

¹⁰ Read °यिष्यति

¹¹ The word हृद is superfluous and not needed for the metre.

¹² Read मया दत्त

¹³ Probably अत्राय was intended.

¹⁴ Read गूणिना

inscription can be read with certainty on the original stone. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. Some of the collocations that occur in the record are *nirgamatī*, l. 20, *nirgamamānīnī*, l. 15, and *nirgamāpayamīnī*, l. 19. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note (1) that *t* is (correctly) doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *pravaritamāne*, l. 3, (2) that the dental *s* is frequently substituted for the palatal *ṣ*, (3) that the sign for *v* is used also for *b*, and (4) that there is a curious tendency exhibited here of ending proper names with *u* or *ā*. The *d-*1 words employed are (1) *śāśā* or *śāśu*, *vāsu* and *pāśi* (ll. 4-8) which still in Māwār have the sense of wards or localities in a town, (2) *pīṣa*, a belly, (3) *avasara*, l. 21, *v e śrī* or *śrī*, ante chamber or porch (above, Vol. I p. 165), and (4) *chaukadāśa*, l. 13, of uncertain meaning, but apparently signifying a *pañchāyat*. The unusual words used in the inscription are (1) *Viṣṭāṭika*, l. 12, a pilgrim or caravan of pilgrims, (2) *daucāśika*, donkey-ride of kings, known as *daudāśa* in Rājputānā, and (3) *kāyavratā* l. 21, which doubtless has the same sense as that of the word *trayā* or *chānde*, *v e* a kind of privation and self-immolation so commonly practised once in Rājputānā and Gujārāt by Brāhmanas and Bhats to force the kings to relent and grant their wishes. Two curious expressions occurring in the record also deserve to be noticed. The first is *pīṣam darśayati*, ll. 20-21, and the second is *balī par bhī gāṁṣhī naśī*, l. 23, both of which are *u-*1 idioms unknown to Sanskrit literature. The former consists of two separate expressions (1) *pīṣam darśayati* — lit. "shows his belly" but really "asks for means of livelihood," and (2) *pīṣam darśayati* — lit. "shows his back," *v e* "flia away and thus absolves his responsibility." The second exactly corresponds to the Hindi phrase even now in use, in Rājputānā at any rate, *viz* *bal par bhī gāṁṣhī naśī*, which is employed for absolving a man from all blame.

The inscription opens with the date, *viz* Sunday, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvana in the [Vikrama] year 1198, and refers itself to the blessed and victorious reign of the *Mahārāja-dhīrāja* Śrī-Rāyapālādēva. It then makes mention of sixteen Brāhmanas of the town of Dhālopa, residing in eight different wards. Viṣṭāṭika and Prabhākara belonged to Mitrivādā, Anāṭika and Mahadū to Dipavādā, Dōṣu and Ghūhadī to Dandānāvāsū, Mubhankara and Divākara to Bhāngūlavādā, Dōvācha and Dhāra to Pipalavādā, Nārāyana and Mahācha to Ambilavādā, Āśiga and Āsapāla to Khāikhannilāvādā, and Dēvaingū and Āmīgū to Bhūndāvādā. Headed by all these Brāhmanas, two from each of the eight wards of Dhālopa and with Dēvācha as the mediator, the whole people of the town tendered a document written (*v e* signed) with their own hands. It contains a solemn promise on their part to find out, in accordance with the custom of the country, by means of the *chālakāśī* or *pañchāyat* system, whatever is lost by, or snatched away from, the *bhāta*, *bhāṭaputra*, *daucāśika*, *kārpāśika*, *Varuṇāśika* and others on their way. If it was, however, lost at their own place, *v e* at any particular ward in Dhālopa, the responsible individuals thereof already named were to find it out in person. Money, weapons, watchmen, and so forth were supplied by the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Rāyapāl to them for tracing things lost, and so there was no need of assigning the duties of a watchman to any one amongst them. A declaration was also made to the effect that, if any Brāhmana amongst them, when being asked by chiefs (*rānaka*), to find out some lost property, refused to do so, asked for means of subsistence or fled away, or, if apprehended, had recourse to *kāyavratā* or self-immolation, he would die like a car, donkey, or *chanḍāla*, and the chiefs (*rānaka*), such as Rāyapāla and others, would in no wise be open to blame. Then is given a list of the names of the individuals who bore witness to the document. They are as follow: (1) Katuka and the Brahmana Sājau come from, *v e*, representing the *bhāṭāraka* Ilā (residing) in the *avasara* (*ōsrī*) of the temple belonging to Śrī-Jayasimhadēva, (2) the *bhāṭāraka* Varuṇasū of (the temple of) Anahilēśvara, (3) the *bhāṭāraka* Mahēśvarasū of (the temple of) Jēndrarājēśvara, (4) the *bhāṭāraka* Jūnāsū of (the temple of) Anupam-

vēśvara, (5) the *bhattāraka* Īśānū attached (*pratibaddha*) to the *bhattāraka* Bhōpā of (the temple of) Prithvipālēśvara, (6) the *bhattāraka* Muktidēu of (the temple of) Jōjalēśvara (7) the *bhattāraka* Vināyaka and Sāmtisiū of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (8) the *bhattāraka* Mūladēu of (the temple of) Āsalēśvara, (9) the *bhattāraka* Tatpurusha of (the temple of) Padmalēśvara, (10) the *bhattāraka* Kēdāru of (the temple of) [Tripālā]kēśvara, (11) the *bhattāraka* Brahmarāśi of (the temple of) Āsapālēśvara, (12) the *abōtī* Sāgāhāri belonging to Dvāravatī and of (the temple of) Prithvipālēśvara, (13) the *abōtī* Jagadhāru belonging to Dvāravatī and of (the temple of) Āsalēśvara, (14) the *abōtī* Śīi-Vachhū belonging to Dvāravatī and of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (15) the whole class of bankers (*mahājānu*), such as Dēvadhara and others, belonging to Anahillapura, and (16) the whole class of bankers such as Seth Jasadhavala Katakavāla, and so forth. Then in ll 37-39 we are informed that the record was written, & drawn up, I think, by the *thakura* Pēthada, son of Vādiga, a Gauda Kāyastha, with the consent of the people of Dhālōpa. At the end is a line, stating that the record is approved by all the people of Dhālōpa.

Of the places mentioned, Dhālōpa is obviously the village of that name, about 4 miles to the south-south-west of Nādōl. Anahillapura is, of course, Anhilvādā near the modern Pātnā, in the Kadi Division, Baroda State. Dvāravatī is doubtless Dvārkā on the western coast of Kathiāvād. Of the caste names mentioned, *bhāta* is the same as bhāt or bard. *Bhatta-putra* is most likely intended for Bārhot, the higher class of professional panegyrists. *Dauvārīka* is probably not a caste-name, and signifies here what are known as *dūdīdārs* in Rājputānā. *Vanyjāraka* is Vanjāris, whose hereditary calling is that of carrying grains on pack-bullocks. The name occurs under the form of *vanajāraka* in No. XI below and *vanyjāraka* in a copper-plate grant of Tribhuvanapālādēva.¹ *Abōtīs* are an inferior class of Brāhmanas, who are generally temple servants, and are still chiefly found in Dvārkā. Of the names of the *bhattārakas* of temples, many end in *śū* (Śīva), two in *dēu* (*dēva*), and only one in *vāsi*. I have elsewhere said that of the four well-known sects of the followers of Śīva those whose names ended in Śīva were Śāivas, and those whose names ended in *vāsi* were Lakulīśa Paśūpatas. But to what sect the ascetics who bore the honorific suffix *dēu* (*dēva*) belonged is not clear. Again the gods, to whose temples the *bhattārakas* were attached, were, it will be seen named after the kings. The god Jayasimhadēva was doubtless called after the Chaulukya sovereign Jayasimha, Anahilēśvara after Anahilla, great-grandson of Lakshmana, the founder of the Chahamāna family of Mārwar, Jēndrarājēśvara after Jēndrarāja or Jindurāja, son of Anahilla, Prithvipālēśvara and Jōjalēśvara, after the first and second sons of Jēndrarāja, and Āsalēśvara, who is the same as Āsapālēśvara of l 32, after Aśvapāla, elder brother of Anahilla. Anupamvēśvara, Padmalēśvara and [Tripālā]kēśvara must similarly have been named, but traces of these names have not yet been traced in inscriptions.

TEXT²

- 1 श्री³ संवत् ११८८ आवणवदि ८ खाद्येह स-
- 2 हारा[जाधि]राजश्रीरायपालदेवः कल्याणविजय-⁴
- 3 राज्ये एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीधालोप-
- 4 स्थाने ६नेरीवाडा विप्र० वीरिगु प्रभाकर । डी[पा]-
- 5 वाडा आसदेउ महडू⁵ । दुंडणवासु देउ वाहडि । श्री-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 210² Expressed by a symbol³ The loop of the letter से is not entire⁴ From the original stone⁵ Read ६देवकल्याण⁶ The reading नरडू⁶ is also possible

- 6 गूरवाडउ मुहकर टिवाकर । पीपनवाडा देवाइ[चु]
 7 धारउ । आंवलवाडा नारायण महाद्रच । खइखनला-
 8 वाडा आसिगु आसपालु । भुंडवाडा देवगु आंविगु । एवं
 9 पाडि ८ सत्कविप्रजन १६ आदी कृत्वा मसस्तलो-
 10 को मध्यकदेवाइचसहितः खहस्ताक्षरपत्रं प्र-
 11 यच्छति यथा ॥ मार्गे गच्छमानभाट[भट्ट]पुत्रदौ-^१
 12 वारिककार्पटिकवणिज्जारकादिसमस्तलोक-
 13 स्थ च सत्कं गतसपहत च देशाचारेण चौकडि-
 14 काप्रवाहेणास्माभिः निर्गमनीयं^२ । तथा स्वस्थाने
 15 गत स्वागेनापि निर्गमनीय । एतत् निर्गमतानां म[हा*]-
 16 राजाश्रीरायपालेनास्माक रक्षाकारा[स्त्र]ाद्यं द्र[व्य]का-
 17 टिक मुक्तं नास्माक मध्ये रक्षाकारो मोक्तव्यः ॥ एतद-
 18 स्माभिः स्वयमपि लोहमयमगीकृत निर्गमनीय च ॥
 19 अनया^३ विधिना राणकाना निर्गमापयताना अस्माक मध्या-
 20 त् यः^४ कोपि ब्राह्मणो^५ [न] निर्गमते^६ पेट पृष्टि वा दर्शय-
 21 ति गृह्यमाणस्तु कायव्रत कृत्वा मृत्यते^७ च स च सर्वोपि
 22 खानगर्हभचाडालो^८ भूत्वा मृत्यते^९ । राजाश्रीरायपालादी-^{१०}
 23 ना राणकाना वालेपि^{११} अधिर्नास्ति न च दू[ष]ण किमप्य-
 24 स्तोति । अत्र साक्षि० श्रीजयसिंहदेवीयदेवगृहावसरो-
 25 यभट्टारकईलासत्कसमायातकटुकविप्र०साजणु । त-
 26 या^{१२} श्रीअणहिलेश्वरीभट्टारकवरुणसिउ । श्रीजेन्द्रराजे-
 27 स्वरीयभट्टारकमहेस्वरसिउ^{१३} । अणुपस्वस्वरीयभट्टारक-^{१४}
 28 ज्ञानसिउ ।^{१५} पृथ्वीपाले[स्त्र]रीयभट्टारकभोपाप्रतिवद्धभट्टार[क]-^{१६}
 29 ईशानू । जोजलेश्वरीयभट्टारकमुक्तिदेउ । त्रिपुरुपीयभ-
 30 ट्टारकविनायकसांतिसिउ । आसलेश्वरीयभट्टारकमूलदेउ ।
 31 श्रीपद्मलेश्वरीयभट्टारकतत्पुरुषु । [त्रिप]ालाकेश्वरीय[भ]ट्टार-
 32 ककेटारु । आसपाले[श्व]रीयभट्टारकत्र[ह्म]रासि^{१७} ॥ पृथ्वीपाले-

^१ Read गच्छडाट°

^४ Read °राज°

^७ Read मध्याय

^{१०} Read मृत्यते

^{१३} Read °राज्या°

^{१६} Read °श्वरीय° and °महेस्वर°

^{१७} Read °प्रतिपद°

^२ Read °स्माभिर्निर्गम°

^५ Read अनेन

^८ Read ब्राह्मणो

^{११} Read श्वान°

^{१४} Read °बालेऽपि

^{१७} Read °श्वरीय°.

^{२०} Read °ब्रह्म°.

^३ Read एतन्नर्गमयतां

^६ Read निर्गमयतामस्माक.

^९ Read निर्गमयति

^{१२} Read मृत्यते

^{१५} Read °श्वरीय°

^{१८} Read °श्वरीय°

- 33 श्वरीयद्वार[व]तीमत्कश्वोटीमागाहारि¹ । 'आसलेश्वरीद्वारव-
 34 तीमत्कश्वोटीजगधरु । त्रिपुरुषीयद्वारवतीमत्कश्वो-
 35 टीश्वोवृ³ ॥ श्वीश्वणहिल्लपुरीय — — देवधरादिसमस्तमहा-
 36 जन⁴ । तथा कटकवालश्वे० जमधवशादिसमस्तमहाजनश्व ।
 37 श्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य संमतेन लिखितं श्रीगौडा-
 38 न्वकायस्थठकरपेयडेन⁵ वा[दि]गसुतेन जनाधि-
 39 कं प्रमाणमिति । समस्तश्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य मते⁶ ॥

X—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA,
 [VIKRAMA-;SAMVAT 1200

This inscription was found in the temple of Ādinatha at Nādlaī, and is engraved on a lintel just opposite to that on which No VII is incised. It contains 5 lines⁷ of writing which cover a space of 1' 9" broad by 1½" high. The letters were filled with plaster when I first saw the inscription. The plaster had afterwards to be scraped off for enabling us to read the inscription. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose excepting the verse at the end, the last *pāda* of which sets the metre at naught. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *javu* for *yad* and (2) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant. In line 3 occur the curious words *vala* and *plī*, of which the first appears to be incorrectly used for *pala* and the second apparently an abbreviated form of *palikā*. In line 2 the word *pālā* is used, which seems to signify a certain kind of weight. The same word occurs in the same sense in No XI. In the Sūnak grant of the Chanikya king Karnadēva, we have the following *pālām 12 vuhantī(tī) hala 4 uti hala-chatushtaya-bhūmi*. Here also the word has apparently the same meaning. Local inquiries in Gōdvād have given me the following table —

4 <i>pālā</i> = 1 <i>pāyalī</i>		4 <i>munā</i> = 1 <i>sē</i>
5 <i>pāyalī</i> = 1 <i>mānā</i>		2 <i>sē</i> = 1 <i>man</i>

Another word that may be noted is *vimsōpaka*, which not infrequently occurs in other inscriptions also. It is doubtless a coin, which is equivalent in value to 1/10th of the rupee that was then current.

The inscription opens with the date, viz. Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Jēshta (Jyaishtya) in the [Vikrama] year 1200, when the *Mahārōjādhirāja* Śrī-Rāyapālādēva was reigning. It then records that the *rāuta* Rājādēva, who had come on the occasion of the *rathayātrā*, i.e. the car festival, made, for the sake of his mother, in the presence of the bankers (*mahājanas*), villagers and the people of the province, a religious benefaction consisting of one *vimsōpaka* coin from the value of the *pālās* accruing to him and two *palikās* from the *palas* of oil due to him from every *ghānaka* or oil mill.

TEXT⁸

1 श्री⁹ ॥ सव[त] । १२०० जेष्ट¹⁰ [सु]दि ५ गुरौ श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरायपाल-
 देवराज्ये — — हास — — —

¹ Read °श्वोटी°

² Read °श्वरीय° and °श्वोटी°

³ Read °श्वोटी°

⁴ Read °जन

⁵ Read °गौडान्वय°

⁶ Read मत

⁷ [The number of lines in the impression is 6—Ed.]

⁸ From the original stone

[For a Nādōl inscription of the same king, dated in the same year, see above,

⁹ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁰ Read °जेष्ट°

- 2 समए¹ रथयात्रार्या आगतेन (1) रा० राजदेवेन (1) आत्म(1)पाइलामध्यात् । [सर्व-
साउतपुत्र²] विंसी-
- 3 पकी³ दत्तः ॥ आत्मीयघाणकतेलव[ल]मध्यात्⁴ । मातानिमित्तं⁵ पल्लिकाद्वयं (1) म्नी २
दत्तः(त्तं) ॥ म(॥)-
- 4 हाजन(1)ग्रमीण⁶ । जनपदसमचाय⁷ । धर्माय⁸ निमित्तं विंसीपकी⁹ १
पल्लिकाद्वयं (1) दत्तं ॥ गोह(॥)-
- 5 त्यानां सहस्रेण¹⁰ ब्रह्म[ह*]त्यासतेन¹¹ च । स्त्रीहत्याभ्रूणहत्या च¹² जतु¹³ पापं (1)
तेन पापेन लिप्यते स¹⁴ ।[1]¹⁵

XI—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1202

The inscription is engraved on the same lintel as No X. It contains 5 lines of writing, covering a space of 1' 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the usual imprecatory verse at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that in l 5 *jatu* is used instead of *yat*. Of rare and unusual words herein employed and not previously noticed, *dēśi* occurs in l 3, and *kirādaū* and *gōḍa* in l 4. The last is used in the sense of "cart" and *kirāḍau* is, I am told, the same as *kirīḍavā* or *kirānā*, employed to denote substances, such as gum, dry ginger, black pepper, coriander, and so forth. The meaning of the word *dēśi* is not quite certain. It seems tempting to take it in the sense of a guild, in which it occurs in the Pēhēvā inscription of the imperial Pratihāra Bhōjadēva I (*above*, Vol. I p 137, l 8) and the Harsha inscription of the Chāhamāna Vīgraharāja (*above*, Vol II p 124, l 36). And this meaning suits here excellently. The same word occurs in another inscription found in the same temple as this, and apparently in the same sense. Another expression that requires to be noted is *la(lā)ga-māna*, the meaning of which seems to be "the measure or proportion (*māna*) of cess (*lāga*)".

The inscription opens with the date, viz Friday, the 5th of the dark half of Āsōja (Āśvina) in the [Vikrama] year 1202, when Rāyapālādēva was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and the *rāula* Rājadēva was the *śahura* of Nādūladāgikā (Nādlāi). The object of the inscription is to record that the Vanajārakas (Vanjāris) of Abhinavapurī, Badārī and Nādlāi having assembled together into a guild (*dēśi*), Rājadēva granted, for the sake of the pious and the ascetics in the temple of Mahāvīra, rupees two for each twenty *pālās* loaded on bullocks and rupee one for each cart filled with commodities, coming under the class of *kirānās*.

Badārī is probably Bōrlī, 8 miles north of Nādlāi. Abhinavapurī is unknown to me.

¹ Read समये

² Read °विश्रीपकी°

³ Read °ग्रामीण°

⁴ Read विश्रीपक° [The space between °की and पल्लिका° is too big for the numeral १ alone—Ed.]

⁵ Read °हत्यासहस्रेण

⁶ Read यत्पाप

⁷ [There are two more *aksharas* in this line and another line below the 5th which may be transcribed as follows

⁸ I am not quite certain of this reading

⁹ Read °तेलपल°

¹⁰ Read °समच.

¹¹ Read °शतेन

¹² Probably °हत्याभ्यां was intended

¹³ The letters पापेन and स are not needed for the metre

¹⁴ [There are two more *aksharas* in this line and another line below the 5th which may be transcribed as follows

(l 5 अस्मि-

(l 6) नृ वंसे चरा चौणे(1)य. कीपि नृपति[भं]वेत् । तस्याह च करे [ल]ग्रः (1) शासन न[व्य]तिक्रमे[त्] । ॥ .

—Ed.]

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ संवत् १२०२ आसोजवदि ५ शुक्ले (1) श्रीमहागजाधिराजश्रीराय-
पालदेवराज्ये प्रवर्त्त[माने] ।
- 2 श्रीनदूलडागिकायां(1) रा० राजदेवठकुरेण प्रव[र्त्त]मानेन(1) [श्री]महावीरचैत्ये(1)
साधुत-
- 3 पोधननि[ष्टार्थे] (1) ³श्रीअभिनवपुरीय(1)वदार्या(1) अ[त्रे]षु⁴ स[न]स्तवणजारकेषु(1)
देसी मिलित्वा⁵ वृ-
- 4 [ष]भ[भ]रित(1)जतु⁶ पाइलालगमाने⁷(1) ततु⁸ वीस प्रति(1)रूआ २ किराडउआ(1)
गाडं प्रति रू १ वण-
- 5 जारके⁹ [ध]र्माय प्रदत्तं ॥ लोपकस्य ज[तु]¹⁰ पापं [गो]हत्यासहस्रेण ॥ ¹¹ब्रह्म-
हत्यासतेन(1) पापेन(1) लिप्यते सः¹² ॥

XII—KIRĀDŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀLHANADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1209

This inscription was found in a Śaiva temple standing amidst the ruins of Kirādū near Hāthmā, about 16 miles north north-west of Bādīnēr, the principal town of the Mallāni District, Jodhpur State. A transcript and translation of it have already been published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p 172 ff. But this, like almost all the inscriptions in this book, is edited in a slovenly manner and I, therefore, make no excuse for re-editing it here.

The inscription consists of 21 lines, covering a space of 1' 5½" broad by 1' 2" high. The middle portion of the stone as far as line 17 has peeled off. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been destroyed, and the purport of the inscription is clear enough. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note (1) that a consonant following *r* is doubled and (2) that the sign for *v* is employed also for *b*, except once in *labdha* in l 2. In l 13 occurs the word *amāra-rūḍhi*, which, though known to Jaina scriptures, is foreign to Sanskrit literature. It means "the edict of the non-slaughter (of animals)."

The record opens with the date, viz Saturday, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1209, when Kuma(mā)rapāla was the paramount sovereign and Mahādēva was doing all the business of the seal, relating to the drawing up of documents, etc. Lines 4-6 speak of his feudatory, the *Mahārāja Śrī-Ālanadēva*, who obtained Kirātakūpa, Lātarhada and Śivā—through his (i.e. Kumārapāla's) favour. Then we are told that Ālanadēva, on the aforesaid date, which was the *Śuarātri* day, thinking the granting of security to animals to be the highest gift, issued injunctions, for the increase of his spiritual merit and fame, to the *mahājanas*, *tāmbūlikas*, and other subjects, forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the

¹ From the original stone

² Expressed by a symbol

³ From here onwards many grammatical inaccuracies occur, which need not all be corrected

⁴ Read अचल्येयु

⁵ दिश्या मिलितेषु would have been expected.

⁶ Read यत्

⁷ Read °लागमान.

⁸ Read तद्°.

⁹ Read °जारकेधं°

¹⁰ Read यत्.

¹¹ Read ब्रह्म° and °सतेन

¹² The verse obviously violates the metre

8th, 11th and 14th days of both the fortnights of every month in the three towns named above and threatening with capital punishment those who killed or caused others to kill living beings. The Brāhmana priests, ministers and others were also ordered to respect this edict of non-slaughter. And amongst these, he who commits the sin of taking life, should, it is stated, be fined five *drummas*, but if the sinner be one attached to the king, he should be fined one *dramma* only. Then comes the sign-manual of the personage who issued the edict, who is here called *Mahārāja Śrī-Ālhanadēva*, followed by the approval of the great princes (*mahā-rājaputra*) *Kēlhana* and *Gajasimha*. The edict was written by the *thakkura Khēlāditya*, minister for peace and war. Then we are informed, in a postscript, that this gift of safety to animals was caused to be proclaimed, with the permission of the king, by *Pūtiga* and *Śāliga*, sons of *Subhamkara*, of the *Pōrvād* caste and residents of *Nadūlapura* (*Nādōl*). The inscription ends with the information that it was engraved by the *sātradhāra Bhāila*. *Pūtiga* and *Śāliga* are no doubt the same individuals that had a similar edict promulgated through *Girijādēvi*, queen of *Pūnapākshadēva*, a feudatory of *Rāyapāla* and ruling over the province of *Ratnapura*, the southernmost district of *Marwār*¹.

It is worthy of note that the edict in question is to be made applicable to two distinct classes with varying degrees of rigour. The class to which it is to be applied with the greatest rigour is, of course, that of the merchants (*mahājanas*) and betel-sellers (*tāmbūlikas*), who doubtless must have then as now, been Jains and consequently supposed to be the greatest respecters of animal life. The class, with reference to which the rigour is relaxed, is that of the ministers and priests. Of the first of these we cannot be certain whether they were recruited from the Brāhmana caste. But the priests unquestionably can be no other than Brāhmanas, and when they are asked to respect animal life, it is plain that some Brāhmanas of *Marwar* at any rate were then in the habit of eating flesh, which is now looked upon with abhorrence by them—due no doubt to the influence of Jainism which has been predominant in *Kujputānā* for the last six centuries, if not longer.

Next, the edict was to be in force at the three places, *viz* *Kirātakūpa*, *Lātahrada*, and *Śivā* the towns which *Ālhanadēva* secured through the favour of *Kumārīpāla*. *Kirātakūpa* is undoubtedly *Kirādū*, where the present inscription was found. It is mentioned twice in another inscription in the same temple, dated V E 1235, and pertaining to the reign of the *Chaulukya* sovereign, *Bhīmadēva*. *Lātahrada* must doubtless be the same as *Lātahrada*, occurring in *Bhinmal* Inscriptions Nos XI and XII, and *Rātahrada* in the *Sūndhā* hill inscription of *Chachigadēva*. Professor *Kielhorn*, when he edited the last inscription, was unable to identify it. But, as suggested to me by *Munshi Devī Prasad* of *Jodhpur*, it must be identified with *Rāddhadā*, which was the original name of the district round about *Nagar-Gudhā* in the *Mallān* province, *Māwāi*. The third place is *Śivā*—The full form of the name is unfortunately not preserved, but I have no doubt that it must have been some name corresponding to the modern *Sheo*, a town of antiquity and even now of some importance, and the headquarters of a district of the same name.

TEXT²

- 1 श्री० ॥ सव[त्] १२०८ माघवदि १४ शनी अद्येह श्री[म] .
 हाराजाधिराजप-⁴
 2 रमेश्वरउमापतिवरलक्ष्मप्रशा(सा)दप्रौढप्रताप
 निर्जित[श]कभरी-

¹ *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p 206

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read °सहाराजा°.

- ३ शूप्रान्नीमत्कुसरपालदेवकत्याणविजय¹
 पञ्चीमहादेवे [ञी]-
- 1 श्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्रायापारान् परि[र्ष]²
 [प्र]भुप्रसादावा-
- 5 मञ्चीकिराटकूपलाटर्हदशिवा
 ³राजञ्चीआलण-
- 6 देवः शिवरात्रिचतुर्दश्यां शुचिर्द
 [पु]ण्ययशोऽभि-
- 7 वृद्धये प्राणिनामभयप्रदान म⁴
 [हा]जनतावूलि-⁵
- 8 कसमसप्रकृतीन्⁶ सवीध⁷ अभय⁸
 [से]⁹ मासे उभ-
- 9 योः पक्षयोः अष्टमीएकादशीचतुर्द[शी]
 दत्तं अतोऽनत-
- 10 र एतासु तिथिषु नगरत्रयेषु जी[ठ]
 [जा]¹⁰ च व्यतिक्रम्य जी-
- 11 वाना वध¹⁰ कारयति करोति वा स व्यापा¹¹
 आचद्रार्कं याव-
- 12 त् केनापि न लोपनीय । अपरं पुरोहिता [अमा]¹²
 सर्वैरपरैश्च ए-
- 13 या अमारिरुद्धिः प्रमाणीकार्या । [यः को]
 कालेन क्षीयते
- 14 फलं । एषस्याभयदानस्य¹³ क्षय
 स्य प्रदत्ताऽभ-
- 15 यदक्षिणा न तु विप्रसहस्रेभ्यो
 कोपि पापिष्ठतरो जी-

¹ Supply °रान्ये after °विजय°

² Restore परिपन्थयति

³ Restore °महाराज°

⁴ Supply मत्सादान मत्वा°

⁵ Read तामूलि°

⁶ Read °समसप्रकृती°

⁷ Read सवीध

⁸ Supply °दानशासन प्रदत्त after अभय°

⁹ Read मासे

¹⁰ Read वध

¹¹ Read व्यापादनीय°

¹² Read अमात्या

¹³ Read एतस्या°

- 16 ववधं कुरुते तदा स पंचद्रुमैर्दंड[नीयः]¹
 [दर्वी] माहराजिकस्यैको
- 17 द्रुमोस्ति ॥² स्वहस्तोयं महारा[जश्रीआल्लहणदेवस्य] ॥ श्री महा-
 राजपुत्रश्रीकेल्लहण-
- 18 देवमतमेतत् ॥+ महाराजपुत्रगजसिंहस्य [म]तं ॥ सांधिविग्रहिक ठ०
 खेलादित्येन लि-
- 19 खितमिदं ॥ ³श्रीनदूलपुरवासिप्राक्वाटवंशप्रभृतसु(शु)भंकराभिधानश्रावकः
 तत्पुत्री लि-
- 20 तितलधर्मतया⁴ विख्याती पूवि(ति)गशालिगौ [।*] ताभ्यामतीवक्क[प]पराभ्यां
 प्राणिनामभयप्रदानशा-
- 21 शनं⁵ विज्ञप्य⁶ कारापितमिति⁷ ॥ ॥⁸ उक्तीर्णं सूत्र० भाइलेन ॥

XIII —SĀNDĒRĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1221

This inscription was found at Sāndērāv, about 10 miles north-west of Bāli. It is engraved on a lintel in the *sabhā mandapa* of the temple of Mahāvira

The record contains 4 lines of writing, which covers a space of 3' 11" broad by 3½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards lexicography, *kalyānika* or *kalyānaka* occurs in ll. 1 and 3, and *yugamdhari* and *hāēla* in ll. 2 and 4, and *talārābhāvya* in l. 2. *Kalyānika* is a term peculiar to Jaina theology. *Kalyānikas* are the auspicious days, five in number, on which took place (1) the *chyavana* (conception), (2) *janma* (birth), (3) *dīkshā* (initiation), (4) *kēvalajñāna* (enlightenment), and (5) *nirvāna* (final beatitude) of each of the Tirthamkaras. The expression occurs in No. II of the Mount Ābū inscriptions edited by Dr. Lüders,⁹ and on the door jambs of the subsidiary cells in the temple of Tējapāla at Dēlvādā, the *pañcha-kalyānikas* are specified of all the Tirthamkaras, to whom they are dedicated. The meaning of *yugamdhari* and of *hāēla* is unknown to me. But I surmise that *hāēla* here stands for *hala* and that *yugamdhari* is the name of a specific kind of corn known as *juār*. The sense of the remaining word, *viz.*, *talārābhāvya*, is also not certain. The expression no doubt occurs in a Māngrōl inscription published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 158, where it is translated by "the revenue of Talārā" which hardly helps us. The same inscription is published in *Bhāvnagar Prāchīna-Śōdhasangraha*, *Bhāga I* p. 5 ff. It is translated in Gujarātī on p. 9 by *khusakī jakātānī-ūpaja*, *viz.* the income or revenue from tolls. In the English rendering of it in the same volume, it is stated that *talārā* is the same as the modern *talōdarā*. The same

¹ Read °द्रुमैर्दंड°

² This is followed by the mark of a spear

³ Read °प्राग्वाट°

⁴ Read चितितले.

⁵ Read °शासन°

⁶ Read विज्ञाप्य

⁷ Read कारित°

⁸ [There are some symbols engraved between the two double strokes, but they are not quite clear.—Ed.]

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII p. 206

word occurs as *talāra* or *talārahsha* in the Chirwā inscription edited by M Geiger in the *Vienna Or. Jour*, 1907, pp 143 ff The authority of Hēmachandra and Trivikrama is quoted there to show that it is equivalent in meaning to *purādhyakshah* or *nagararakshakah* This would correspond to the office of a *kotwāl* or city magistrate But *tala* is often used in inscriptions to mean the "suburbs of a town." A *talāra* would thus be to the suburbs what a *kotwāl* is to a city

The inscription is dated on Friday, the 2nd of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1221, and refers itself to the reign of Śrī-Kēlhanadēva It states that Ānaladēvi, queen-mother of Kēlhanadēva granted one *hāēla* (i e as much land as could be tilled by a single plough in one day) of *yugamdhari* or *ṃār* corn from the king's personal property (*bhōga*), to the god Mahāvira, *mūlanāyaka*, the primeval leader, of the Shamdēraka-*gachchha*, to celebrate the *kalyānika* corresponding to the 13th of the dark half of Chaitra One *dramma* was also given from the revenue of *talārā* by the Rāshtrakūtas Pātū and Kēlhana and their brother's sons Ūttamasiha, Sūdraga, Kēlhana, Āhada, Āsala, Anatiḡa and others with reference to the same *kalyānika* Similarly one *hāēla* of *yugamdhari* was also granted by the *rathakāras* or cart-builders, Dhanapāla, Sūrapāla, Jōpāla, Sigadā, Amyapāla, Jisahada, Dēlhana, and so forth, all residing at Shamdēraka, in connection with the *kalyānika* falling on the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra

Ānaladēvi, mentioned in this inscription as the queen-mother of Kēlhanadēva must undoubtedly be the same as Annaladēvi spoken of in the Nādol plates as the consort of Ālhana, father of Kēlhana¹ In this last inscription, she is represented to have been the daughter of Sahula of the Rāshtrauda family Rāshtrauda is obviously the same as Rāshtrakūta, and the Rāshtrakūtas, Patū, Kēlhana, and so forth, referred to in our inscription, must, therefore, be taken to be her relatives on her father's side

TEXT²

- 1 श्री³ ॥ सवत् १२२१ माघवदि २ शुक्ले अद्येह श्रीकेल्लणदेवविजयरा[ज्ये] ।
तस्य मातुराज्ञीश्रीआन[ल]देव्या⁴ श्रीषंडेरकीयमूलनायकश्रीमहावीरदेवाय
[चै]त्रवदि १३ कल्याणिकनि[मि]त्तं राजकीय-
- 2 भोगमध्यात्(।) युगधर्या. हाएल एक[:*] प्रदत्तः । तथा राष्ट्रकूटपातूकेल्लणत[ज्ञा]-
तजजत्तमसीहसूद्रगकाल्लणआहडआसलअणतिगादिभिः तलाराभाव्यथस(?)गट-
- 3 सक्तात्(।) अस्मिन्नेव कल्याणके द्र १ प्रदत्तः ॥१ तथा श्रीषंडेरकवास्तव्य-
रथकारधणपालसूरपालजोपालसिगडाअमियपालजिसहडदेल्लणादिभिः [चै]त्र-
सुदि १३ कल्याणके
- 4 युगधर्याः [हाएल] ए[क १ प्र]— —⁵

XIV —NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANA,
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1228

The subjoined inscription was found near the temple of Mahādēva, about one mile south-west of Nādīlāi. The shrine of it is really a natural cave, and this is the reason why it is also

¹ Above, Vol IX p 68 ff and *Ind Ant* Vol XL p 144

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ The letter *la* of °*Ānala*° is engraved above the line

⁵ Supply °दस.

called *bharmyar-kā-mandar*, i. e. a subterranean temple. It originally had a *sabhā-mandapa*, which is now well-nigh destroyed. And the stone, on which the inscription is engraved, appears to have been a lintel somewhere in the *sabhā-mandapa*.

As I received news of this inscription just as I was on the point of leaving Nādlāi, I was not able to take any impressions of it nor to take its measurements. It contains 3 lines of writing. The characters are Nāgarī. The record is in prose. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly vernacular. One curious thing in this connection is that *svasti* is twice used like *svī*, as an honorific prefix to the names of places. Thus the forms *Svasti-Sōnānā*^o and *Svasti-Nādūlā* are employed instead of *Śrī-Sōnānā*^o and *Śrī-Nādūlā*. As regards orthography, it may be noted that (1) *Kumara*^o is used for *Kumāra*^o in l. 1, (2) *ṣāhā* for *ṣhatakā*, and (3) the date 1228 in l. 1 is written half in ciphers and half in letters. With reference to rare or unusual words, the following may be noticed: (1) *akshasāma*, (2) *lāpanīya*, (3) *damā*, and (4) *chahūtā-pana*, the meaning of none of which is known to me.

The inscription opens with the date viz. Monday the 13th of Mārgaśirsha in the [Vikrama] year 1228, during the victorious reign of the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārapāla, when Kēlhana was ruler of Nādūlya, and Rānā Lakhamana of Vōripadyaka, and Anasiha was the *thihur* of Sōnānā. It then states that the *mandapa*, *akshasāma*, and *damā* of the temple of Bhivadēsvara were constructed by Pāhini, son of the *sūtradhāra* Mahadūa and his wife Jasadēvi. They consisted of stones and bricks, and their construction cost 330 *drammas*. He was helped in this religious work by the *sūtradhāra* Mahadarā and Imdarāka.

Of the localities herein mentioned, Nādūlya and Sōnānā are, of course, Nādōl and Sōnānā. Vōripadyaka is probably to be identified with Bōrli, about 8 miles north of Nādlāi.¹

TEXT²

- 1 ओ³ सवत १२ अठा(।)वीसा वरषे⁴ मागसिर सुदि १३ सोमे श्रीभिव-
उेश्वरदेवस्य । १ श्रीकुंवरपालदेवविजयराज्ये । श्रीनाडूल्यपुरात्(।) श्री-
केल्हणःराजे⁵ वीरिपद्यके(।) राणा-
- 2 लखमण(।)राजे⁶ । स्वस्तिसोनाणग्रामे(।) ठा अणसीहुस्य । स्वस्तिनाडूले
सूत्रमहडूअ (।) भार्या जसदेवि(।)सुतपाहिणी मंडपः करापनीयः⁷ ।
अक्षसामलापनीयः डमा
- 3 । कर्त्तव्या पाषाणइटकायां घटितः चहूटापने द्र ३३० लागे । धर्मसखा
इत⁸ सूत्र महिदरा तथा इंदराको घटित कार्य । — — —
कापाडीय ।

¹ [On p. 42 above, Bōrli has been identified with Badārī.—Ed.]

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ As the inscription does not aim at giving a grammatically correct Sanskrit text, it is not desirable to correct all inaccuracies

⁵ Read °केल्हणराज्ये

⁶ Read °राज्ये.

⁷ Read कारणीय

⁸ Probably अत्र was intended

XV —LĀLRĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233

This inscription was found amidst the scattered ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāī, 5 miles south-east of Bāli. It contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space of 10½" broad by 1' 2½" high. Up to line 8, the inscription is intact, and of the two lines following only a letter or two are gone. But of ll 11-18, the whole of the proper right half is destroyed. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *ç* is here throughout denoted by the curious sign which has been noted above, and which contains a loop on the left side. The whole of the record up to line 16 appears to have been in prose, and the last two lines, occupied by a well-known imprecatory verse. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, it is worthy of note that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that the sign for *ṛ* is used both for *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the word *urahāri* and the expression *Gūjara[tri]-hāra[ka]* occurring in l 8, and *javā*, in l 9, may be noticed. *Urahāri* appears to me to be the name of an *araghaṣa* or a well with a wheel to raise water up. In fact, in Gōdvād I found many such wells given strange names. *Gūjara[tri]*, I think, is the same as *Gurjaratrā*. *Hāraka*, as suggested above in No III, denotes a certain kind of measure, and *java*, of course, stands for *yava* or barley corn.

The record is dated Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Jyaisṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Kēlhanadēva, ruling at Nādūla. It then tells us that the *rājaputra* Lākhanapālha and the *rājaputra* Abhayapāla, proprietors (*bhōkṛt*) of Sinānava, and sons of Kīrtipāla, doubtless younger brother of Kēlhana and donor of the Nādōl plates (above, Vol. IX p 68 ff.) made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahībaladēvi in the presence of the village *pañcha* (*pañcha-lūla*) for celebrating the festival of the god Sāmtinātha. The grant consisted of barley corn measuring one *hāraka* as used in (the country of) Gūjaratrī, from the *araghaṣa* or machine-well called *Urahām*¹ and belonging to the village of Bhadiyāuva. The names of those who were witnesses to this benefaction are lost.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, Sinānava, which is also called Samnānaka in No XVI, is doubtless Sōnānā, mentioned in the last epigraph. Bhadiyāuva also occurs in No XVI, and is to be identified with Bādīvā (Barwa), 5 miles south-west of Lālrāī. Samīpātī, which occurs in l 13, has been shown to be Sēvādī. Gūjaratrī is mentioned also in No XVI, and is the same as *Gurjaratrā* of the Daulatpurā charter of the imperial Pratihāra Bhōjadēva I, which comprised the modern districts of Parbatsar, Mārōt and Dīdwān. Nādūla is, of course, Nādōl.

TEXT²

- 1 षीं³ ° ॥ संवत् १२३३ जे(ञ्ये)ष्ठवदि १३ गुरौ [I*]
- 2 अद्येह [श्री]नडूले महाराजाधिराजश्री(॥)-
- 3 केल्लणदेवरान्ये वत्तमानः⁴ श्रीकीर्त्तिं(॥)-
- 4 पालदेवपुत्रे⁵ सिनाणवभोक्ताराजपु⁶(॥)-
- 5 [त्र]लाक्षणपा[ल्ल]राजपुत्रअभयपाल⁷ रा-

¹ [Perhaps the field or fields irrigated by the machine-well had to supply the barley corn required for the festival.—Ed.]

² From inked impressions

⁴ Read वत्तमाने.

⁶ Read °भीक्तु°

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ Read °पुत्रे.

⁷ Read °पाले

- 6 स्त्रीश्रीमहिवलदेविसहितैः¹ श्रीशांति-
 7 नाथदेवयानानिमित्तं भडियाडव[अ]-
 8 रघटउरहारिमध्यात् गूजर[तृ]हार-
 9 ².१ जवा ग्रामपंचकुलसमन्ति³ एतत्
 10 . . दानं⁴ क्ततं पुण्याय [1*] सात्ति⁵ अत्र वास्त-
 11 [ह]ण . . .
 12 सी० देवल[वि]०
 13 समीपाटीय-
 14 पाजून ग्राम-
 15 [स]मत्तं आदानं
 16 मितस्य २ त . . .
 17 हत्यापातकेन लि-
 18 ॥ [११]

XVI—LĀLRĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LĀKHANAPĀLA AND ABHAYAPĀLA, [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233

This inscription was, like No XV, found amidst the ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāi It consists of 13 lines of writing, covering a space of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high The characters are Nāgarī From the word *tathā* in l 10 onwards, all the lines appear to have been afterwards added and are engraved in smaller characters The peculiar form of the letter *d* noticed above also occurs here The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose As regards orthography, it may be noted that *sha* is used for *lha* three times (ll 1, 2 and 6) In respect of lexicography, the following words deserve to be noticed (1) *sira* in ll 5-6 and 12, which seems to have been used in the sense of, not 'a plough,' but 'a ploughman or cultivator' and (2) *sē* in l 7 which stands for *sēz*, a kind of weight mentioned in my remarks on No X

The record is dated on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and speaks of the prince (rājaputra) Lākhanapāla and Abhayapāla as the proprietors (*bhōktri*) of Samnānaka (cf No. XV) It then states that Bhivadā, Āsadhara, and other cultivators granted for their spiritual merit, four *sēz*s of barley-corn from (the field called) *Khādīsira* to the god Śāntinātha in connection with the festival of the Gūjaras The postscript (ll 10-13) records that Āsadhara, Sirōiya and other cultivators granted for the spiritual merit of Vilha, one *harōthu* (*hāraka* ?) of barley-corn from the machine-well of Bhadyāna (Bādva)

TEXT 6

- 1 संवत् १२३३ वैशाखसुदि ३(?)
 2 संनाणकभोक्ता राजपुत्रलाखण-

¹ Read °वलदेवी°

² Read °हारक.

³ Read °समत्त.

⁴ Supply महा° before दानं.

⁵ Read साची

⁶ From inked impressions

⁷ Read °भोक्तात्.

- 3 पालराजपुत्रअभयपाल¹ तस्मिन्-
 4 न् राज्ये वर्तमाने चा० शीवडा प-
 5 डिदेह[व]सी सू० आसघरं सम[स्त]-
 6 मीरमहितै³ स्वाडिमीरजवमध्या-
 7 त् जवा⁴ से ४ गूजरीजात्रानिमित्तं
 8 [त्री]शातिनाथदेवस्य दत्ता⁵ पूर्याय⁶ [।⁷]
 9 यः कोपि लुप्यते⁷ स पापेन⁸ क्षिय-
 10 ते ॥ म[ग]ल⁹ भवतू¹⁰ ॥ तथा भडियाड्य-
 11 अ[र]हदे ग्रामधरमीरोदयसम[स्त]-
 12 मीरण जवा¹¹ ह[रो]द्यु १ गूजरतृयात्रहि¹²
 13 वीन्ह[स्य] पुग्शार्थं ॥१

XVII.—SĀNDERĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1236

This inscription, like No XIII, was found at Sānderāv, and is incised on a pillar in the *sabhāmandapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra. The record contains 10 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 3" broad by 8" high. The first 4 lines are well preserved and can be easily read, the remainder being too weather-worn to be deciphered with perfect confidence. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only point that requires notice is the doubling of a consonant following an *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the words *drāḷā*, l 8, and *sīrā*, l 9. The latter occurs also in the Mount Ābū inscription No II (above, Vol VIII p 220, l 9), where the sense of 'care, supervision' has been assigned to it by Prof Lüders¹³.

The first line of the inscription is an independent record in itself, and speaks of a column having been presented by Rālhū and Pālhā, sons of Thāmthā, in memory of their mother. The second line contains the date, Wednesday, the 2nd of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1236, and the inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhrāja* Śrī-Kēlhanadēva of Nadūla. Then we are told that his own house was placed by Rālhāka, son of Thāmthā, together with his brother Pālhā and his sons Sōdhā, Śubhamkara and others at the disposal of Śrī-Pārśvanātha, the god of Shamdēraka (Sānderāv) in the *bhukti* or personal property of the queen Jālhanadēvī. Four *drāḷas* were to be given to the god annually by people residing in Rālhā's house. Lines 9-10 are apparently connected with line 1 and inform us that the pillar was restored for the spiritual benefit of Dhāramatī on Saturday, the 12th of the bright half of Jyāsthā in the [Vikrama] year 1266. Dhāramatī is called *mātrī* and was probably the mother of Rālhā and Pālhā.

¹ Read °पालौ

⁴ Read ज(य)वा

⁷ Read लीपयति

¹⁰ Read भवतु

¹¹ I do not understand for what °यात्रहि is intended. Does it stand for यात्रायै ?

¹² [See also above, Vol VIII p 205, note 2—Ed.]

³ Read °आसघरे

⁵ Read दत्ता

⁸ Read पापेन,

¹¹ Read ज(य)वा

³ Read °सहितै.

⁶ Read पूर्याय

⁹ Read सगल

TEXT.¹

- 1 ॥ [थां]यासुतराल्हापाल्हा[भ्यां] माठप[द]श्रीनिमि[त्ते] [स्तं]भको² प्रदत्तः³
 2 [सं]वत् १२३६ का[त्]कवदि [२] बुधे अ[द्ये]ह श्रीनडूले महारा[जा*]धिराजश्री-
 3 केल्हणदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने [राज्ञी] श्रीजाल्हणदेवि-
 4 भुको⁴ श्रीष[डेर]कदेवश्रीपार्श्वनाथप्रतापतः थाथासुतराल्हाके[न] भा(भ्रा)तृ-
 5 पाल्हापुत्रसोढासुभकररा[म]देवधरणि[यवो]हीप्रवर्द्धमा[न]लक्ष्मी-
 6 धरसहजिगस[ह]देव[सहियग]छा(२)[रा]सांधीरणहरिचद्रवरदेवादि-
 7 भिः युतेन म — — परमश्रेयोर्थे⁶ विदितनिजगृ[हं] प्रदत्तः⁷ ॥ राल्हाश(स)-
 8 [क्त]मानुषै⁸ वसद्भिः व[र्ष] प्रति द्राण्त्ता ४ प्रदेया⁹ [1*] शेषजनानां वस-
 9 तां साधुभिः गोष्ठिकैः¹⁰ सारा कार्या ॥ सवत् १२६६ वर्षे द्ये-
 10 ¹¹[ष्ट]सुदि १३ शनौ सो[यं]¹² मातृधारमति¹³ पुनः स्तंभको उधृत]¹⁴ [1*]

XVIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1239.

This inscription was found at Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jōdhpur State. It is incised on two lintels, one above the other and standing upon pillars near the north end of the principal cloister of an old mosque, now used as a *tōphānā*. The mosque is evidently constructed of materials supplied by demolishing old temples, and these two lintels appear to have been brought from an old Jaina shrine, as will be seen from the contents. Portions of these lintels have been cut off on their proper right in order to suit their new surroundings. The inscription on the upper lintel consists of 3 lines, and covers a space of 8' 2½" broad by 4" high, while the lower one is composed of 4 lines, and extends over a space of 8' 5" broad by 5" high. But though the inscriptions are thus engraved on two different stones, they really form one record. The portion extant is in a perfect state of preservation. The letters are here and there filled with mortar, but that does not prevent any one deciphering the record. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *sh* is incised at least twice instead of *kh*, as in later Rājputānā inscriptions. The sign for *b* occurs, and differs from *v* only by a minute dot in the loop of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are numbered, and are seven in all. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards

¹ From the original stone

² Read स्तंभक

³ Read प्रदत्त

⁴ Read शुकती. The akshara की may also be read क्ये. Between the aksharas सु and की there is a small circle

⁵ [The reading may also be पडेके —Ed.]

⁶ These six letters are doubtful [Perhaps परायणार्थे is meant —Ed.]

⁷ Read प्रदत्त

⁸ Read सरकमानुषै.

⁹ Read प्रदेया.

¹⁰ Read गोष्ठिकै

¹¹ Read ज्यैष्ठ

¹² [The reading here may be सोढामातृ —Ed.]

¹³ Some such word as श्रेयोर्थ has probably to be supplied after शारमति.

¹⁴ Read स्तंभक उधृत

lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word (1) *krama*, l 1, which is used in the rather rare sense of 'a foot,' and (2) *tashara*, l 2, which seems to have been employed in the sense of "banditti" or "unsettled tribes"

The record opens with an invocation (v. 1) to Nābhēya, i.e. Ṛishabhanātha, the first Tirthankara. It then refers itself in prose to the reign of the *Mahārāja* Samarasimhadēva, son of the *Mahārāja* Kirtipālādēva. The latter, we are told, was a son of the *Mahārāja* Āhana, who belonged to the lineage of the *Mahārāja* Anahila, "the moon in the sky (i.e. the family) of Chāhumāna". It further speaks of the Rājput (*rājaputra*) Jōjala as *rājya-chintaka*, i.e. apparently a person looking after the administration of the Kingdom. By the way we are informed that he held in scorn the multitude of the unsettled tribes (*tashara*) of the whole district of Pīlvāhikā. Then follow two verses, the first of which bestows conventional praise on Samarasimha and the second states that Jōjala was his maternal uncle. Pīlvāhikā is probably Pīlvā in the Parbatsar District of the Jōdhpur State on the frontiers of the Kishangadh State, and the *tasharas* are perhaps the Bāvris, who still abound there. Then follows a prose passage (ll 4-5) which says that 'this *mandapa*,' referring, of course, to the *mandapa* where the inscription was originally engraved and which had been dedicated to the first Tirthankara, as appears from the invocatory and also the last verse, was caused to be made by the devout *Śrāvaka* Seth Yaśōvira, son of Seth Yaśōdēva, of the Śrīmāla family. He had been joined in this work by all the members of the *gōshthi* and apparently also by his brothers Yaśōrāja and Jagadhara. Yaśōvira is spoken of as waiting upon Pūrṇabhadrasūri, pupil of Chamdrasūri, the foremost of the Chamdragachchha. The date of the erection of the *mandapa* was Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaisākha of the [Vikrama] year 1238. Three verses (4-6) are afterwards incised in praise of the *mandapa*, and verse 7 expresses a wish for its permanence. Then we are told that the inscription was a composition of Pūrṇabhadrasūri, and the record closes with a benediction in favour of the *sangha* or Jaina community.

TEXT 1

- 1 . . . [1] — — त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मीविपुलकुलगृहं धर्मद्वैतलवालं(1) श्रीमन्ना-
भयनाद्यक्रमकमलयुग मंगलं वस्तनोतु । मन्ये मगल्यमालाप्रणतभवभृतां
सिद्धिसौधप्रवेशे यस्य स्कंधप्रदेशे विलसति गधलश्यामला कुंतलाली ॥१
श्रीचाहुमानकुलावरमृगांकीश्रीमहाराजअणहिलान्वयोद्भवश्रीमहाराजआह्वणसुत
- 2 र्यावलीदुर्ललितदलितरिपुवलश्रीमहाराजकीर्त्ति-
पालदेवहृदयानदिनदनमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्यादपद्मोप-
जीविनि निजप्रौढिमातिरेकतिरस्कृतसकलपील्वहिकामंडलत[स्क]रव्यतिकरे(1)
राज्यचितके जोजलराजपुत्रे इत्येवं^३ काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [1*]
- 3 [f]रपुकुलकमलेदुः पुण्यलावण्यपात्र नयविनयनिधानं
धाम सौदर्यलक्ष्याः । धरणीतरुणनारीलोचनानंदकारी जयति समरसिंह-
क्षमापतिः सिंहवृत्तिः ॥२ तथा ॥ औत्पत्तिकीप्रमुखवृद्धिचतुष्टयेन निर्णीतभूप-
भवनीचितकार्यवृत्तिः । यन्मातुलः समभवत् किल जोजलाक्षी

¹ From the original stone

² Restore साक्षात्त्रैलोक्यं.

³ Read पुत्र इत्येव.

- 4 — — — १ खडितदुरतविपक्षलक्षः ॥३ श्रीचद्रगच्छसुखमंडनसुविहितयतितिलकसुगुरुश्रीचद्रसूरिचरणनलिनयुगलदुर्ललितराजहसश्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरिचरणकमलपरिचरणचतुरस्रधुकरेण समस्तगोष्ठिकसमुदायसमन्वितेन श्रीश्रीमालवंशविभूषणश्रेष्ठियशोदेवसुतेन सदाज्ञाकारिनिज-
- 5 — २ तृयशोराजजगधरविधोयमाननिखिलमनोरथेन ३ श्रेष्ठियशोवीरपरमश्रावकेण सवत् १२३६ वैशाखसुदि ५ गुरौ सकलत्रिलोकीतलाभोगभ्रमणपरिश्रा[त]-कमलाविलासिनीविश्रामविलासमंदिर अथ मंडपो निर्मापित ॥ तथा हि ॥ नानादेशसमागतैर्नवनवैः स्त्रीपुंसवर्गैर्मु[हु]र्वस्यै-
- 6 — — — वावलोकनपरैर्नीं वृष्टिरासाद्यते । स्मारं स्मारमयो यदीयरचना-वैचित्र्यविस्फूर्जितं तैः स्वस्थानगतैरपि प्रतिदिनं सोत्कंठमावर्ष्यते ॥४ वि[श्रं]-भरावरवधूतिलकं किमेतल्लीलारविदमथ कि दुहितुः पयोधेः । दत्त सुरैरमृतकुंडमिद किमत्र यस्यावलोकनविधौ विविधा विकल्पाः ॥५ गर्त्तापूरेण पातालं
- 7 . . . [ण]^४ महीतल । तुंगत्वेन नभो येन व्यानये भुवनत्रयं ॥६ किं च ॥ स्फूर्जद्गोमसरः समीनमकर कन्यालिकुभा[कु]लं मेघाद्य सकुलीरसिंहमिथुन प्रोद्यद्दृषालक्षतं । ताराकैरवसिदुधामसलिल सद्राजहंसास्यद यावत्तावदिहादिनायभवने नंद्यादसौ मंडपः ॥७ कृतिरियं श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरीणा ॥ भद्रमस्तु श्रीसंघाय ॥

XIX — JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1242

The inscription is incised on a lintel in the second storey over the *mihab* of the mosque referred to in No XVIII. It consists of 6 lines of writing, and covers a space of 2' 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to notice (1) that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*, and (2) that *n* is doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*.

The record contains four different statements, but all pertaining to one and the same temple. The first part speaks of a certain temple as having been built and consigned in the [Vikrama] year 1221 to the care of Dēvāchārya for the dissemination of the true Jaina law (*śad-vidhā*). The temple was known as Kuvara-vihāra and contained the principal image (*mūla-bimba*) of Pārśvanātha. The temple, we are told, had been constructed by the *Mahīrājādhrāja* Chaulakya Kumārapāla, the devout worshipper of the Arhats (*param-ārhatā*), the lord of the Gūrjara country, after being enlightened by *prabhu* Hēmasūri, upon the fort of Kāmchānagiri belonging to Jābālipura, i.e. Jālōr. It will thus be seen that it was called Kuvara-vihāra after the Sōlankī king Kumārapāla who built it. The second part says that it was rebuilt in V E 1242 by the *bhamdāri* Yaśōvira, son of the *bhamdāri* Pāsū, in accordance with the orders of the *Mahīrāja* Samarasimhadēva, the ornament of the Chāhamāna family and lord of "this

¹ Some such word as दीर्घ^० might be supplied here

² Read श्रेष्ठि^०

³ Restore °भातु^०

⁴ Restore विसारैण

country," etc apparently southern Mārwar. The third part informs us that on the 11th of the bright half of Jyāsthā in the [Vikrama] year 1256, the work of installation was done, according to the behests of the royal family, by Pūrṇadēvāchārya, pupil of Dēvāchārya, in the case of the *tōraṇa*, etc of (the image of) the god Pārśvanātha and also of the hoisting of the flag on the golden flag-staff on the original spire. The fourth or last part states that in V E 1268, on the day of the lamps festival (*dīp-ōtsava*), the ceremony of placing a golden cupola on the newly made central hall, intended for dramatic performances was carried out by Rāma-chandrāchārya pupil of Pūrṇadēvasūri.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री ॥ सवत् १२२१ श्रीजावालिपुरीयकाचर्न [ग]रिगढस्योपरि^३ प्रभुश्रीहेमसूत्रिप्र-
बोधितगूर्जरधराधीश्वरपरमार्जितचौहक्य(॥)^४
- 2 महारा[ज]ाधिराजश्री[कु]मारपालदेवकागिति श्रीपा[र्श्व]नाथमत्कसू[ल]विवसहितश्रीकु-
व्रविहाराभिधाने^५ जैनचैत्ये(१) सद्भिधिप्रव[र्त्त]नाय षट्छहच्छीयवा-
- 3 दीदश्रीदेवाचार्याणा पत्ने श्राचंद्रार्क ससर्षिते ॥ स० १२४२ वर्षे एतद्देसा(शा)धिप-
चाहमानकुलतिलकमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवादेशेन भा० पादपुत्र भा० यशो-
- 4 वीरेण स[सु]वृते । श्रीमहाजकुलादेशेन श्रीदेचार्यशिष्यैः^६ श्रीपूरणदेवाचार्यै (१)
स० १२५६ वर्षे ज्येष्ठस० ११ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवे तोरणादीना प्रतिष्ठा-
कार्यं कृते । मूलशिशु-
- 5 रे व^७ वनवासयध्वजादडच्च ध्वजारोपणप्रतिष्ठाया कृताया ॥ स० १२६८ वर्षे
दीपोत्सवदिने अभिनवनिश्चनप्रेक्षामध्यमडये^{१०} श्रीपूरणदेवसूरिशिष्यै श्रीराम-^{११}
- 6 चद्राचार्ये सुवर्णसयकलमारोपणप्रतिष्ठा^{१२} कृता ॥ सुभ^{१३} भवतु ॥ छ ॥

XX—BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASIMHADĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1306

This inscription was found in the walled enclosure of the temple of Nilakantha-Mahādēva, about a mile from the city of Bhinmāl, in the Jaswantpurā District of the Jōdhpur State. It seems to have escaped the notice of the late Sir James Campbell when he visited the place, and has not, so far as I know, yet been published. It contains 25 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 4" broad by 1' 9½" high. The inscription is somewhat weather-worn, and its proper right side is a little mutilated. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been lost, and, with the help of the other Bhinmāl inscriptions which have been published, nearly the whole of the record can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. It is worthy of note that in lines 12 and 19 occurs the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, and in l. 15 the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$, which are both denoted, according to the *rē/hē* system, the first by two and the second by one vertical stroke. Of these, the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$ occurs along with an integer, whereas the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ stands by itself, and hence the two strokes denoting $\frac{1}{2}$ are preceded by a zero, represented by a small circle. Excepting the

¹ From the original stone

² Read °जावालि°

³ Read °कुहू°

⁴ Read °देवाचार्य°

⁵ Read °राम°

² Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read °प्र-बोधित°

⁵ Read °शिव°

⁷ The *śamdhā* is omitted here, such omissions need not be further noticed

⁸ Read °च.

¹⁰ Read °निष्पन्न°.

¹¹ Read °चार्ये सुवर्णसयकलगत°

¹³ Read शुभ

verse in lines 1-3, the record is in prose. The language is Sanskrit, interspersed with solecisms and provincialisms. With regard to orthography, it is sufficient to say that a consonant is but occasionally doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* and that in l 17 *divasa* is used instead of *dvasa*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed (1) *gōdhūma pakva*, l 11, which seems, I think, to mean a crop of wheat ready for being reaped, (2) *muga* in ll 11 and 19, obviously the well-known *mūng* pulse, (3) *chōshā*, i.e. *chōkhā*, ll 11 and 19, a *dēśī* word meaning 'rice', (4) *vyāsa*, ll 12 and 22, a Brāhmana, who recites the Purānas in public, (5) *nrvāpa*, ll 12 and 19, a dole, and (6) *amga-bhōga*, unguents to be applied to the body immediately after bathing. Again, abbreviated forms of some words are used. Thus, *dra* stands for *dramma*, *ka* for *kalāśa*, *mā* for *mānā*, *pā* for *pāyalā* or *pāyalī*, and *sē* for *sēī*. For the table of weights still observed in Gōdvād, see my remarks on No X. *Kalāśa* is of course a measure of capacity.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Sūrya, and then follows a verse in praise of the same deity. The date is afterwards given, which is the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1306. The *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Udayasimhadēva was the king and the *pañcha* consisting of the *mahaṃta* Gajasimha and others appointed by him was exercising local authority at Śrīmāla (Bhinmāl). The object of the inscription is to record two benefactions. One was made by two brothers, the name of the first of whom is gone but that of the second is Mahanasīha. They were both sons of the *thakura* Udayasīha, and were Māthura Kāyasthas by caste. Forty *dramma* coins were deposited in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin, which was the name of the Sūrya divinity of Bhinmāl, as is proved by other inscriptions and the *Śrīmālapurāna*. Out of it were to be defrayed the expenses of the *divasa-bali* and so forth on the 14th of the dark half during the *yātrā* festival of Āśvina. As regards the fixed allowance of provisions for the *bali*, there was to be wheat 2 *sēī*, and boiled ghee 8 *kalāśas*. For *navēdya* or offering to the god, *mūng* pulse 1 *mānā*, rice (*chōkhā*) 2 *pāyalīs*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalāśa* were to be taken. The *vyāsa* and the *abōtī* were to be given each a dole of 1 *dramma*. For the *amgabhōga* or application of unguents, aloe-wood, camphor and saffron were to be used each worth 2 *drammas*. Flowers were to be bought worth 2 *drammas*, and betel-leaves and betel-nut each worth 1 *dramma*. As regards the bevy of courtezans, each was to be paid 1 *dramma*. All this arrangement was to be carried out every year.

The second benefaction was made on the same day for his spiritual merit by one Tathāka, who deposited 15 *drammas* in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin. Out of it, the expenses of the *bali* on the 5th of the dark half of Māgha were to be borne. The allowance fixed for the *bali* was wheat $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sēī* and boiled ghee (?) *kalāśa*. The *navēdya* was to consist of *mūng* pulse 3 *pāyalīs*, rice 2 *pāyalīs*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalāśa*. The dole for the *abōtī* was 1 *dramma*. As to the *amgabhōga* or unguents, the ingredients were to be each worth 1 *dramma*. The *vyāsas*, *abōtīs*, *selīs*, and members of the *gōshthī* are then conjured to look after this arrangement. The *praśasti* was written by Dhruva Nāgula, son of Bāhada. This Nāgula is no doubt the same as Nāgula, father of Dēdāka, who wrote some of the other published Bhinmāl inscriptions.

TEXT 1

- 1 . . . नमः [सूर्य]र्था[य] ॥ यस्योदयास्तसमये सुरमुकु[ट][नि-
- 2 धृष्टचर*]एकमलोपि । कुरुतेऽजलिं त्रिनेत्रं स जयति[त]
- 3 [धाम्ना नि*][धिः] सूर्यः² ॥ सवतु(त्) १३०६(1)वर्षे अश्विन³वदि १४ अद्य-
- 4 [ह श्रीश्री*]माले महाराजाधिराजश्री[उद]यसिंहदेवकल्या-

¹ From the original stone

² The *Laghu Jātaka* of Varāhamihira commences with this verse

³ Read अश्विन

- 5 [एविज*]यराज्ये तन्नियुक्तमहं०[गजसीहप्र]भृतिप[चकु]लप्र-
6 [तिपत्ती*] मायुरान्वय[क]ायस्यजातीयठकु[रउद]यसीहपु[त्र]
7 — — — मोह [तथा] भा(भ्रा)वृ० सहणसीहाभ्या [त्री]भान[वे] योह
8 — — [ज*][ग]त्स्वामिदेवीयभाडागारे [चेपित] द्र४० चत्वारि[श]-
9 — — [] अश्विने¹ या[त्र]याया ²अश्विनवदि १४ दिने दिवसव-
10 [लि*]— —मालयो देवेन स्वकीयभाडागारात् कारापनी(कारणी)या [।*] व-
11 [लिनि*]वधे गोधूम शेर पक्के घृत क८ नैवेद्ये सुग मा१ [च]ी-
12 [पा*] पार घृत क०॥ तथा व्यासनिर्वाप १ अवीटीनिर्वाप १ तथा [अ]ग-
13 भोगे अगर्कपूर[कुं]कुमप्रत्यं द्र२ तथा पुफप्रत्य द्र १ तथा पत्र
14 पुगप्रत्य द्र १ तथा प्रमदाकुलप्रत्यं द्र १ एतत् सर्वं प्रतिवर्ष [दि]-
15 वेन कारापनीयं³ । तथा दिने तथाकेन श्रीजगत्स्वामिदेवीय-
16 भांडागारे आत्मन⁴ [त्रे]यार्य⁵ चेपित⁶ द्र १५ पंचादश द्रमा⁷ । [म]-
17 [हा]मासे माघवदि ५ दिने दिम्बसवली⁸ देवेन स्वकीयभा[डा*]-
18 गारात् कारापनीया¹⁰ । वलिनिबंधे गोधूम से १। पक्के घृत क.
19 [ने]वद्ये¹¹ सुग पा ३ चीपा पार घृत क० ॥ तथा अवीटीनिर्वाप १ [त*]
20 [था] अगभोगप्रत्यं द्र१ एतत् सर्वं द्वी वली [पाल ए]कासत्क-
21 — भांडागारात् देवेन वर्ष वर्ष प्रति आचद्रार्ककालं याव[त्का]-
22 [रा]पनीय¹² । व्यासअवीटीश्रेष्ठिगोष्ठिकतथासमस्तप्रमदा[कु*]-¹³
23 [लि]न वर्त्तापनीयं¹⁴ । परिपथा केनापि न करणीया । लिखितं*]
24 ¹⁶— ०वाहउसुत० ध्रुव० नागुलेन हीनाक्षरमधिकाक्ष[र*]
25 ¹⁶[प्र*]म्वारणमिति ॥

XXI—SĀNCHĪR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1345

The stone on which the subjoined inscription is engraved was found at Sānchōr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jōdhpur State It was lying loose in the prison-room attached to the local *kachēri*

The inscription contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1, 2¼" high Though a few letters are weather-worn, and some are here and there mutilated,

¹ Read आश्विने

² Read पुष्प^०

³ Read कारणीय

⁴ Read आत्मन

⁵ Read श्रेयार्य

⁶ Read चेपिता

⁷ Read द्रमा

⁸ [What is preserved of the first letter of this line looks like य — Ed]

⁹ Read दिवसवलि [I think the reading is दिवस^० —Ed]

¹⁰ Read कारणीय

¹¹ Read नैवेद्ये

¹² Read कारणीय

¹³ Read श्रेष्ठिगोष्ठिक^०

¹⁴ Read वर्त्तनीय [The reading may also be च आपनीय —Ed]

¹⁵ Supply ध्रुव

¹⁶ Read प्रमाण^०

nearly the whole of the inscription can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of a consonant following an *r*, and (2) the use of the form *sāmanta*¹ for *sāmanta*². As to lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *śīlata* in ll 5, 7, 8 and 11, and (2) *sēlahāthā* or *sēlahasta* together with their abbreviated forms in ll 10, 12, 13 and 15. The first word seems to have been used in the sense of "a grant in perpetuity," and occurs in other inscriptions also, e.g. the Cintra *praśasti* of Sārangadēva,¹ verses 53, 60, 61 and 66. The meaning of *sēlahasta* is not certain. And I know of only two records, viz. the Bhinnāl inscriptions Nos XII and XV² where the word occurs. In the first of these, line 12 has *Śrīkaraniya-pañchakula-sēlahatha-Dābhīnarapālam cha*. Here it is worthy of note that *sēlahatha* occupies a position between *pañchakula*, i.e. the modern *pañcha* and *Dābhīnarapāla*, i.e. a king of the Dābhī race. And it seems tempting, therefore, to suppose that *sēlahasta* was an officer of high rank, higher at any rate than the village *śrīharana*, which was held by one of the *pañchakula*. Again, the expression *sēlahath-ābhāvya* occurs in both the Bhinnāl inscriptions just referred to. It must be taken to mean "the income collected by a *sēlahatha*." Probably he was connected with the revenue department. Some of the abbreviations are worth noting. Thus in l 8 we have *Viśā*³ *dra*, which, I think, stands for *Viśālaprīya-dramma*, a kind of coin, mentioned in Bhinnāl Inscription No XVI, ll 23-24. Again, in l 12 *ka* is used in connection with *mūga*, i.e. Phaseolus mungo. Here *ka* cannot be taken to denote *karsha*, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ *karshas* of *mūga* would be a ridiculously small quantity, but *kalasa* which had till lately been employed for measuring corn.

The inscription commences by specifying the date, viz. Monday, the 14th of the bright half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1345. The *Mahārājakula* Sāmvasatīmadēva was the king, and at the holy place (*mahāsthāna*) of Satyapura (Sānchōr), the *pañcha*, consisting of the *malanta* Hīrā and others appointed by him, was exercising local authority. The epigraph then records a grant in perpetuity of 8 *Viśālaprīya drammas* by the Mēharas³ Prabhā, Padama and Āsapāla. All the Mēharas are requested to see to the continuance of this grant. According to this endowment, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kalasas* of *mūga* were to be given annually, and the *sēlahasta* was requested to look after this matter. The *sēlahasta* is also desired to supervise personally the *yātrā* festival of the god Vāśēvara. Then follow, in token of approval, the sign-manuals of at least four Mēharas, of whom three were the donors named above and the fourth was the *sēlahasta* Pātala.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 श्री⁵ संवत् १३४५ वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि १४ सोमे
- 2 अद्येह श्रीनत्वपुरमहास्य[नि] महा[रा]जकुल-
- 3 श्रीसाभवतसिहदेवकन्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नि-
- 4 युक्त [म]ह० श्रीगप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ [1*] एवं
- 5 काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [स्त्र]तकश्चराणि प्रयच्छति [य*]-
- 6 था । मे० प्र[भ]ः मे० पदम मे० [आ]सपाले[न] (॥)
- 7 द्यागुअरहाहुनवास्य⁶ वर्ष प्रति स्थितके ह-

¹ Above Vol I p 280 ff

² *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I pt I, pp 480 and 485

³ For the tribe Mēharas or Mōr, see *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 360

⁴ From the original stone

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ The meaning of this is not apparent to me

- 8 [त] वीस० द्र ८ अष्ट [द्रम्भा][:]* स्थितके कृता¹ । एतत् [स्थि]-
 9 त्कं वर्षानुवर्षे² मेहरै³ पालनीयं । केनापि न
 10 लोपनीयं ॥ अन्यत⁴ यः [कोपि से]ल[हाया]⁵ अस्य
 11 ६था[न]के भवि [।*] सांप्रतं सैल० सीधुराकेन स्थित[के]
 12 कृत⁷ वर्षे प्रति मुग क १॥ सैलह[स्ते]न पालनीयः ।
 13 सैलहस्तेन उपविश्य देवश्रीवाएस्त्र(श्च)रे यात्रा का[रा]-
 14 पनीया⁸ ॥ अस्य विधि⁹ मे० प्र[भ]ाम[तं] । मे० पदमम[तं] ।
 15 मे० आसपालमतं ॥ सैल० पातलमत
 16 जासतं । मे० आस्वडमतं ।

XXII—JUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1352

This inscription was found at Junā or Junā Bādmēr, as the full name goes, in the Mallāni District, Jōdhpur State, about 12 miles south-west of Bādmēr, the principal town. It is engraved on a pillar in the porch of a dilapidated Jaina temple and contains 10 lines of writing which cover a space of 11¼" broad by 7¾" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting the benedictory verse at the end. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the employment of the sign of *v* for both *v* and *b*, and (2) the use of the number 2 after *Śrī* in l 3 to mark the repetition. As regards rare or unusual words, those that deserve to be noted are *pālā* and *Bhīmapriya vi(m)sōpaka* in l 7. *Pālā* and *vimsōpaka* have been already explained. *Bhīmapriya* appears to have been the name of a kind of *vimsōpaka* coin. Attention may also be drawn to the word *lāga* in l 8, which means a cess, as previously explained (No XI above).

The record opens with the date, the 4th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1352. On the aforesaid day, during the victorious reign of the *Mahārājakula Śrī-Sāmanta-simhadēva*, the *mahamta* Chīrāsēla, Vēlāula, the *bhamdāri* Migala, and others appointed by the king to draw up documents, made a religious grant at Bāhadamēru to the gods Viḡnamardana-Kshētrapāla and Chāumdarāja, in the temple of Ādinātha. The grant consisted of a *pālā* from every incoming or outgoing caravan exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks. In default of this payment in kind, ten *Bhīmapriya vimsōpakas* were to be charged. The grant was to be distributed equally between the two gods. In l 8 is recorded the approval of this cess (*lāga*) by the *mahājanas* or local bankers.

Bāhadamēru is, of course, Bādmēr, not the place now known by that name which is comparatively a modern city, but Junā Bādmēr, the old Bādmēr where the inscription was found.

TEXT 10

- 1 ओं¹¹ ॥ सवत् १३५२ वैशाखसुदि ४ श्रीवाहडमेरौ¹² सहारा-
 2 [ज]कुलश्रीसामतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नियु-

¹ Read कृता

⁴ Read अन्यतो

⁷ Read कृतो.

¹⁰ From the original stone

² Read वर्षानुवर्षे

⁵ Read सैलहायोऽस्य

⁸ Read कारणीया

¹¹ Expressed apparently by two symbols

³ Read मेहरै

⁶ Read म्यानके भविष्यति.

⁹ Read विधि

¹² Read 'वाहड'.

- 3 [क्त]श्रीरकरणे [मं०] चीरासेलवेलाउल्ल भां० रि[म]ग[नप्रभृत]यो
 4 ध[र्मा]चराणि प्रयच्छन्ति यथा । श्रीश्रादिना[य]मध्ये संति-
 5 ष्टमानश्रीवि[घ्न]मर्दनक्षेत्रपालश्रीचंडराजदेवयो[ः]
 6 उभयमाग्रीयसमायातसार्यउट्ट १० ह्य २० उभयदपि ऊर्ध्वं
 7 सार्यं प्रति द्वयोर्देवयो. पाइला [१*] पक्षे [भीम]प्रिय दशविशोपक [१०]
 8 अर्द्धोर्द्धेन^१ ग्रहीतव्याः । असी^२ लागो महाजनेन मनित^३ ॥ यद्योक्त [१*]
 9 बहुभि[र्व]सुधा युक्ता^४ राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भू०
 10 मी तस्य^५ तस्य तदा फल ॥१॥ छ ॥

XXIII—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1353

The inscription is engraved on a pillar in the *tōplhānā* at Jālōr in the main or western cloister near the south end. It consists of 27 lines of writing and covers a space of 4½" broad by 1' 8" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *sa* is used to denote *śh*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of *v* for *b* and (2) the doubling of *n* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *Suvarṇa-gīra*, l. 3. In respect of lexicography, attention may be drawn to the expression *nīśrā-nīśhēpa hatta*, in ll. 22-23, the meaning of which is uncertain, and to the word *bhāṣala*, in l. 24, which seems to have been used in the sense of *bhādā* or rent. The following sense of the phrase *nīśrā-nīśhēpa-hatta* may, however, be suggested as probable. *Hatta* is, of course, a bazar. *Nīśrā* is probably the same as *nīśr*, which, in Mārṅwār at any rate, seems to mean an export in contradistinction with *paśār* which signifies an import. The expression might, therefore, mean a place in, or a portion of, the bazar for storing goods to be exported.

The record opens with the date, viz. Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1353. It then speaks of the *Mahārājakula* Sāma(n)tasimha as reigning at Suvarṇagiri and Kāṅhadadēva as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet and bearing the burden of administration (*rājya-dhurā*)"¹⁰ Suvarṇagiri is the same as Kāṅchanagiri of No. XIX, and is the name of the hill on which the fort of Jālōr stands. Kāṅhadadēva, as we shall see further on, was a son of Sāmantasimha. The object of the inscription is to state that a certain Narapati made, for the spiritual welfare of his wife Nāyakadēvi, the grant of a bazar building or warehouse for storing goods to be exported. Out of the rent accruing therefrom was to be offered the *pañchamī-bali* every year in the temple of the god Pārśvanātha by the members of the *gōshālī*. Narapati, in making this donation, had been joined by the members of his family and

¹ Read प्रयच्छन्ति

² Read °नार्गीय°

³ Read ऊर्ध्वं

⁴ Read अर्द्धोर्द्धेन

⁵ [On the impression the reading seems to be श्रीसी — Ed.]

⁶ Read मानित

⁷ Read वट्ट°

⁸ Read मुक्ता

⁹ Read भूमिस्तस्य

¹⁰ This shows that Kāṅhadadēva was the *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent and had been given an actual share in the administration of the kingdom. This is quite clear from a short inscription found at Chōhtan, 30 miles south west of Bādmēr, the transcript of which is as follows —

- 1 श्री स १३५५ वर्षे फागुण
- 2 [व]दि ११ [अ]शुद्ध महाराज-
- 3 कुल[श्री]साम्बतसिधदेव-
- 4 राजश्रीकान्हडदेवराज्ये

by a certain Gunadhara, who is called a *samghapati* and was a resident of Suvarnagiri itself. A list of the members of his family is also given, as well as a genealogy of them. The father of Narapati was the *sōni* Mahanasīha, who was a son of the *ṣhakura* Jasa, who again was a son of the *ṣhakura* Āmbada. Mahapasīha had two wives, named Mālhanī and Tihunā. From the first he had the sons Ratanasīha, Nākhi, Mālhanā and Gajasīha, who are called *sōnis* and from the second, Narapati, Jayatā and Vijayapāla, who are also called *sōnis*. Narapati had two wives named Nāyakadēvi and Jāghanadēvi. His sons from the former only are mentioned, *viz* Lakhamidhara, Bhuvanapāla, and Snhadapāla. This and the mention of the spiritual benefit (*śrēyas*) of Nāyakadēvi as the object of the record perhaps show that, at the time of the donation, the latter was dead and the second wife had but recently been married and that he had no children from her. Of the members of his family, Narapati thus appears to have been joined, in making the gift, by his second wife and his sons from the first wife.

It is worthy of note that Narapati himself, his brothers and his father are called *sōnis*. *Sōni* cannot possibly mean a goldsmith here, as both the grandfather and the great-grandfather of Narapati are styled *ṣhakura*. Now, *Sōni* is a well-known clan amongst the three Bania classes of Mārwar, *viz* Ōsvāl, Sarāvgī, and Mahēsari. The last may be left out of account, because they are not Jainas. Sarāvgīs, though they are Jainas, are, however, not found in the southern parts of Mārwar. Narapati and others were consequently, in all likelihood, Ōsvāl *Sōnis*. Of the Mahēsari *Sōnis* it is stated that their *nakh* or original tribe was *Sōngarā*. What is true of the Mahēsari *Sōnis* is, in all probability, true of other *Sōnis* also. It is a well-known fact that many Rājput tribes, for avoiding Muhammadan oppression and so forth, became Jainas, and merged themselves into the Bania classes. *Sōngarā* appears to be the name of one of such tribes. It is the name of a celebrated clan of the Chōhāns, and is commonly but correctly derived from *Sōngar*, *z e* Suvarnagiri, the hill of the Jālōr fort itself. Narapati's inscription was doubtless engraved in some temple on this fort, though the pillar, on which it is incised, seems to have been taken away to serve as material for the construction of the mosque, now called *tōphānā*, in the city of Jālōr. When Narapati, his father, and brothers are called *Sōnis*, what is meant is that they were Ōsvāl *Sōnis*, but that they were perhaps originally *Sōngarās*, and that amongst them Mahanasīha first became a Jaina, as he is called a *Sōni* and his father and grandfather, *ṣhakuras*.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री^३ ०॥ [स]वत् १३५३ [वर्षे]
- 2 वै[शा]खवदि ५ [सोमे] श्री-
- 3 सुवर्णगिरौ^३ अद्येह महा-
- 4 राजकुलश्रीसामतसिंह^४-
- 5 कल्याणविजयराज^५ त-
- 6 त्पादपद्मोपजीविनि (॥)
- 7 [रा]जश्रीकान्हडदेवरा-
- 8 ज्यधुरा[सु]दहमाने इहै-
- 9 व वास्तव्यसघपतिगुणघ-
- 10 रठकुरआंवडपुत्रवकुर^६-

¹ From the original stone^२ Expressed by a symbol^३ The *sandhi* is here omitted, such omissions need not be further noticed^४ Read °सामत°.^५ Read °विजय°.^६ Read °ठकुर°.

- 11 जसपु[त्र]सोनीसङ्गमोह-
 12 भार्यामाल्हाणपुत्र[सोनी]रत-
 13 न[सि]हणाखीमाल्हाणगजसीह-
 14 तिहुणापुत्र[सो]नीनरपतिज-
 15 यताविजयपाल[न]रपतिभा-
 16 र्यानायकदेवि'पुत्रलखमीध-
 17 रभुवणपाल[सु]हडपालद्वि-
 18 तीय[भ]ार्याजाल्हाणदेवि(वी)इ-
 19 त्वादिकुटवसहिते[न]² भा-
 20 र्यानायकदेवि[श्रे]योर्थे'¹
 21 देवश्रीपार्यनायचैत्ये पच-
 22 मीवलिनिमित्त¹ निश्रा[नि]जे-
 23 प[ह]इमेक नरपतिना दत्त⁵
 24 तत् भाटकेन⁶ देवश्रीपा[र्य]-
 25 नायगोष्टि[नि] प्रतिव[र्ष]⁷
 26 आचाद्राक⁸ पचमीवलिः⁹
 27 कार्या¹⁰ ॥ [सुभ] भव[तु] ॥ छ[॥]

XXIV—KŌT-SŌLANKIYĀ INSCRIPTION OF VANAVĪRA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1394

This inscription was found at Kōt-Sōlankiyā, about 15 miles north-east of Dīsūrī. It is engraved on a pillar of a Jaina temple now in ruins. I edit the inscription from two excellent estampages, kindly supplied to me by Munshi Devī Prasad, Munsiff of Jōdhpur.

The record contains 8 lines of writing, which cover a space of 11" broad by 5½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose except one verse in ll 7-8 at the end. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*, in *ā-chamdrārkkam*, l 6.

The inscription is dated Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1394 elapsed, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Vanaviradēva. It then states that at Āsalapura, the *rāuta* Mūlarāja, of the family of the *rāuta* Mālhana, grandson of the *rāuta* Sōma and son of the *rāuta* Bāmbī and his wife Jākhaladevi, granted, for the spiritual merit of his parents, Dhikuyau together with a *ṛādī* or orchard, on the occasion of hoisting the flag of the temple of Pārsvanāthadēva, in the presence of the *rāuta* Bālā, Lumbhā and Nimvā.

¹ Read °देवी°

² Read °निमित्त

³ Read °गोष्ठिके and °वर्ष

⁴ Read कार्या

⁵ Read °कुटव°

⁶ Read दण

⁷ Read आचन्द्राकं

⁸ Read °देवी°

⁹ Read नहाटकेन.

¹⁰ Read °वलि

Dhikuyau seems to be the name of a machine-well. Āśāhīpura occurs also in another inscription at Kōt-Sōlankiyā, and appears to have been the old name of the village.

TEXT¹

- 1² श्री³ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमकालातोदभवत् १[३]८४ व[र्षे] चै[त्र]शुद्धि १३
शुक्ले
2 श्रीआसलपुरे(1) महाराजाधिराजश्रीवर्णवीरदेवराज्ये [1⁴] राउत-
3 साल्हणान्वये राउतसोमपुत्रराउतवावीभार्याजाखलदेवि-
4 पुत्रेण राउतमूलराजेन [श्री]पाश्र्वनायदेवस्य ध्वजारोपणमन्त्रे
5 राउतवालाराउतहा[या]कुमरलूभानीवाममत्त मातृपित्रो.⁵ पु-
6 खार्थं ढिकुयड वा[ड]ीसहित. प्रदत्त. । आन्द्रादि.⁶ यावदिय व्य-
7 वस्था प्रमाणा⁷ ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । य-
8 स्य यस्य यदा भूमी(1) तस्य तस्य तदा फल ।⁸ सुभ भवतु ॥ श्री ॥

XXV—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀNAVĪRĀDĒVA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1443

This inscription was found at Nādlāi, and is, like No. VIII, engraved on a pillar in the temple of Nēminātha called Jādvāji, situated on a hillock to the south-east of the village. It contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 8' broad by 1' 2" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. It is worthy of note that each line begins with two vertical strokes. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that consonants following *r* are as a rule doubled, and that the final *d* is twice represented as if it were *da*, *Śrīmadā*⁹, l. 7, for *Śrīmad*⁹ and *prāsāda*⁹ l. 11 for *prāsāda*⁹.

The record commences by specifying the date, which is Friday, the 14th of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1443 elapsed. It speaks of the Rāja Paṇavīradēva, son of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vanavīra of the Chāhamāna lineage as then reigning. It then records the rebuilding of the structure (*prāsāda*) of Śrī-Nēmiśvara, the ornament of the Yādu race by Vinayachandrasūri, the occupant of the *patta* or pontifical seat (*i.e.* the successor) of Dharmachandrasūri. The latter, we are told, belonged to the line of Māratungasūri, the son in the sky of the Brihadgachchha.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 श्री¹¹ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसम-
2 यातीत स [१]४४३ वर्षे कार्ति-
3 कवदि १४ शुक्ले श्रीनडूलाई-

¹ From estampages kindly supplied by Munshi Devī Prasad of Jaipur.

² Above the commencement of this line, the first eight symbols of the *prāsāda*.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *सप्त*.

⁵ Read *मातृपित्रो*.

⁶ Read *चन्द्रार्क*.

⁷ Read *प्रमाणा*.

⁸ Read *सुभिनस्य*.

⁹ [In both of these cases as well as in the case of the *त* or *न* following it, the *da* is written as *da* to show a stroke at the bottom of the letter which may be meant for the *da*, *āda* or *lāda*.]

¹⁰ From the original stone.

¹¹ Expressed by two symbols.

- 4 नगरे चाहुमानान्वयमहा-
- 5 राजाधिराजश्रीवणवीरदे-
- 6 वसुतराजश्री[र]णवीरदेववि-
- 7 जयराज्ये ¹अ[नस्थ]स्वच्छश्रीमद-
- 8 वृहद्द[च्छ]नभस्तलदिनकरी-
- 9 पमश्रीमानतुगस्त्रिवंशोद्भ[व]-²
- 10 श्रीधर्मचंद्रसूरिपट्टलक्ष्मीश-
- 11 वणोत्पलायमानैः³ श्रीविन-
- 12 यचंद्रसूरिभिरल्पगुणमाणि⁴-
- 13 क्यरत्नाकरस्य यदुवशशृंगा-
- 14 रहारस्य श्रीनेमोश्वरस्य निरा-
- 15 क्तजगदविषादः⁵ प्रासाद⁶ स-
- 16 सुहृद्भे⁷ आचद्रार्कं नदतात⁸ ॥श्री॥⁹

XXVI AND XXVII—SĀNCHŌR STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF PRATĀPASIMHA,
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1444

These inscriptions are engraved on two pillars, which now form part of the stables attached to the *kachēri* at Sānchōr. Doubtless they originally belonged, as will be seen in the sequel, to an ancient temple, not a trace of which now remains. The first record contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1' 9¼" high, and the second 17 lines of writing which cover a space of 10" broad by 1' ¾" high. The latter is in good preservation, but the former has about the middle of it a few letters here and there mutilated. The two together really form one record. This is evident from the fact that the last verse which occurs at the end of the first part is numbered 3, and the verse with which the second part opens is marked 4, instead of 1 as it would have been if the latter had really been intended to be a separate record. We shall, therefore, speak of the whole as one inscription. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the initial words *Om namah Śivāya*, the inscription is in verse up to l 32, and the rest in prose. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note that a consonant is but twice doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and that *y* is substituted for *ṛ* once in *Yyēshta*(tha)^o, l 33. In respect of lexicography, the following words may be noticed (1) *grāsa*, l 10, and (2) *pālā*, l 11. *Grāsa* here seems to be used in the sense of "gift," and not in its usual sense noted above in my remarks on No V. *Pālā* has already been explained (above No X).

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Śiva, and then, curiously enough, is cited a verse which forms the well-known benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. This is followed by a verse (2) which invokes the protection of Nilakantha for the then reigning Chāhamāna prince Pratāpasimha, and of Pārvatī for his queen Kāmalladēvī, daughter of Subhata. In the

¹ Read अचल्य^o and श्रीमहृद्^o

² Read श्रीमहृद्ग^o. [The necessity for this correction is not apparent—Ed.]

³ Read श्रवणोत्पलाय^o.

⁴ Read रनल्प^o

⁵ Read जगदविषाद

⁶ Read प्रासाद

⁷ Read समुहृद्भे

⁸ Read नदतात्

⁹ [There seem to be two more indistinct *alsharas* at the end of the line—Ed.]

next verse we are told that in the family of Lakshmanasimha, the best of Chāhamānas and King of Nadūla, which had many branches, there was one Sālha, son of Sōbhita Verse 4 informs us that he liberated the people of Śrīmāla (Bhūnmāl) from the Turushkas (Muhammadans) The verse following states that his son was Vikramasimha The eldest son of the latter was Samgrāmasimha, who had at least one elder brother, viz Bhīma (v 6) The son of Samgrāmasimha was Pratāpasimha, reigning at Satyapura (Sānchōr). We are then introduced to a different family, the family to which Pratāpasimha's queen belonged And the verses descriptive of her family are separately numbered Of these, verse 1 says that there was one Virasiha of Karpūradhārā, that his son was a king named Mākada, and that the son of the latter was Vairisālya The son of Vairisālya was Suhadaśalya and his daughter was Kāmaladēvī, who was the wife of Pratāpasimha, and it was she who renovated the temple of Vāēśvara together with the *linga* inside (vv 2-3) The second part begins with a verse, which says that the fruit accruing from restoring is eight-fold that of merely building a temple, well or tank This is followed by the date, viz Friday, the 8th of the dark fortnight of Jyāishtha of the [Vikrama] year 1444 On this date we are again told in prose that Bāī Kāmaladēvī, the crowned queen of Pātā (i e Pratāpasimha), the ornament of the Chāhūāna dynasty, and daughter of Suhadasala (Subhata or Snhadaśalya), the ornament of the Ūmata family, rebuilt the dilapidated temple of the god Vāyēśvara We are further informed that, for the daily offering to the god, a gift was made of (1) a field, and (2) two *pālās* on every mannd of each commodity from the customs house The grant was approved of by sē° (i e sēlahasta) Vadrādā, a Paramāra, Mam° Chaiadā, and sē° Sāmala, a Pratihāra The *āchārya* in connection with this matter was Rāma, a *vyāsa* of the Satyapura *jñātī* The composer of the *prasasti* was *vyā*° Nārāyanadēva The person who wrote it out was *vyā*° Kānhāka, and the person who engraved it was the *sūtradhāra* Mādhaba

It is worthy of note that Suhadaśalya, father of Kāmaladēvī, is called an ornament of the Ūmata family. Ūmat is still the name of a *sākhā* or subdivision of the Paramāras, and we have still two tracts of land named after them, one Umatawādā in Mālwa and the other Umtāti round about Bhūnmāl As Bhūnmāl is not far from Sānchōr where Pratāpasimha was reigning, it is more reasonable to suppose that his father-in-law was a chief of Umtāti than of Umatawādā Karpūradhārā, which had been held by the great-grandfather of Suhadaśalya, must be located somewhere near this Umtāti Next, Sāmala, one of the persons who approved of the grant to the god Vāyēśvara, is in the inscription called a Pratihāra Pratihāra must here be taken, I think, to be not a Padihār but a Padihāriyā, as only Padihāriyās are found in the southernmost parts of Mārwar, i e round about Bhūnmāl and Sānchōr Satyapura *jñātī*, to which the *āchārya* Rāma belonged, is obviously what is now known as Sānchōrā, a caste of Brāhmanas, who abound in the districts of Mallāni and Sānchōr

TEXT 1

XXVI

- 1 ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ या सृष्टिः सष्टुराया पि[ह]-
- 2 ८² विधिहुत या हविर्या च होवी ये द्वे काल विध-
- 3 —[]³ श्रुतिविषयगुणा⁴ या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वं । याम[र]-
- 4 हुः सर्ववीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणव-
- 5 तः प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रसन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिर-

1 From the original stone

2 Read विधत्

3 Read वदति

4 Read श्रुति°

- 6 ष्टाभिरीशः । [१*]१ श्रीनीलकण्ठीऽवतु चाहमानप्रता-
 7 पसिहं रिपुदंतिसिंहं । गिरीन्द्रपुत्री सुभटस्य पु-
 8 त्रीं कामलदेवीं ससुतां [पु]नातु । [१*][२] नडूलभूसीप-
 9 तिचाहमानशिखामणेर्ल[क्ष]णसिंहनाम्नः ॥(1)
 10 अनेकधाविस्तृत[वंश[वृद्धेः] कुले वभौ सोभि-
 11 तसूनुसाल्द. । [१*]३ यो जात[वांत]द्विवमावदाने^१ (1)
 12 दाना[द्व]सूना यशसो — — । तुरष्कवदीक्ष-
 13 तवि[श्र]लोकान् श्रीमाल[त]ी मोचयति स्व धीर-
 14 ॥४ — — [लजो]^२ विक्रमसिंह आसीन्नाम शु[तिं]-
 15 — उ उ — उ भोगी । यः श्रीयशोविक्रम[रागभो]-
 16 गैरस्मारय[ङ्गुपतिवि]क्रमाकं । [१*]५ तदंग[जः शूरवरो]-
 17 तिदानि^३ भो[मा]ग्रजन्मा कुल[कैरवेन्दुः] । स-
 18 ग्रामसिद्धोऽ[भव]दुग्रवैरि[सं]ग्राम[निराजकु]^४-
 19 [लै]कनेता । [१*]६ [त]नंदनी नदति सुप्रता[प]: प्र-
 20 तापसिह[ः प]रचक्रमर्ही । यस्मिन्नुपे सत्यपुरी-
 21 [य]लोका लोकाय न स्वः स्पृहयत्यश्लोकाः । [७]
 22 कर्पूरधाराधरवीर[सीह](1)सूनुस्तुरगोद्रकहे-
 23 [म]वर्षी । आसीन्नृपो साकडनामधेयस्तत्रद-
 24 नोऽभूद्भुवि वैरिशल्य. । [१]१ तस्यात्म[ज]: सुहृड-
 25 शल्य इति प्रसिद्धः शुद्धः समर्द्धितजनोऽधिक-
 26 देशभोक्ता । देवद्विजातिवहुभक्तिपरः परो-
 27 पतापी सृष्टे नृपतिनीतिविचक्षणोऽस्ति ॥२ त-
 28 स्यात्तजा सच्चरिता प्रतापसिहप्रिया कामल-
 29 देविनाम्नी । प्रासादमेन विधिव[त्स्व]लिंगं वाए-
 30 श्वर जीर्णकमुद्धार ॥३

XXVII.

- 31 ॥ प्रासादकूपसरसां यत्फलं नवनिर्मि-
 32 तौ । ततोष्टगुणमाप्नोति जीर्णोद्दारे पुनः
 33 कृते । [१*]४ स्वस्ति सवत् १४४४ [व]र्षे व्येष्ट^५वदि-
 34 भृगौ चाह्णकुलतिलकराजश्रीपाता-

^१ Read जातवाकद्विवसा°^२ I am not certain of this reading^३ Restore तस्यात्मजी^४ Read ज्येष्ठ°^५ Read °दानी

- 35 पट्टराज्ञी १कमटवशभूषणराजश्रीसुहृड-
 36 सलसुता वाईकामलदेविनाम्नी भगवती
 37 वायेश्वरस्य प्रासादस्य जीर्णोद्धारं करो-
 38 ति च । अयं प्रासादः कामलदेवीसंतानेन स-
 39 ह्य आचद्राक्षं मदतु ॥ तस्य देवस्य नित्य पू[जा]-
 40 नैवेद्यार्थं कृतो यासः(1) एकक्षेत्र ॥०॥
 41 मडपिकायां वस्तु(?)मयं प्रति पाइलार षडा स-
 42 वैं; पालनीय । से० परमारवद्रडामतं । मं०
 43 चरडामतं । से० प्रतीहारसामलम[तं] । श्रीसत्य-
 44 पुरजातीय व्या श्रीरामोऽत्राचार्यः । [व्य]।
 45 नारायणदेवः प्रशस्तिकर्त्ता । व्या० कान्हा-
 46 की लेखकः । सूत्रधारमाधवस्य कृतिः [1*]
 47 चेस कल्याणं भवतु । शुभ भवतु ॥श्रीः॥

HISTORY OF THE MĀRWĀR CHĀHAMĀNAS

All records—epigraphic and bardic—agree in looking upon Lakshmana as the founder of the Mārwar branch of the Chāhamānas. The Nādōl plates of Kirtipāla³ inform us that in the town of Śākambharī, i.e. Sāmbhar in the Jōdhpur State, there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna lineage, king Vākpatirāja, and his son was Lakshmana, who was king at Naddūla (Nādōl) This Vākpatirāja was, in all likelihood, the Chāhamāna king of that name mentioned as the grandfather of Vīgraharāja, for whom we have an inscription dated V E 1030 in a temple on the Harsha hill in the Śékhāvāti province of the Jaipur State⁴ No record of Lakshmana has as yet come to light But on the Sūraj-pōl at Nādōl is an inscription of the time of Kēlhaspa, dated V E 1223, which incidentally mentions the name Lākha and the date V E. 1039 for him⁵ The latter thus appears to have made some conquests for himself in Gōdvād and established himself at Nādōl where his memory is still preserved The Sūraj-pōl just alluded to is said to have been erected by him The fort of Nādōl also bears his name, and he is supposed to have constructed it In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,⁶ Colonel Tod says "I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nādole, one dated S 1024, the other 1039 They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Patun, and levied tribute from the prince of Cheetore" But it is by no means clear how far Tod's statement as to the contents of these inscriptions is to be trusted.

Lakshmana's son was Sōbhita, also called Sōbhita and Sōhīya. He is represented in the Sūndhā hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of Himādrībhava, i.e. Ābū⁷ From him sprang Balrāja, who is represented in the same inscription to have defeated an army of Muūjarāja The latter must be the same as the Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amōgha-

¹ From here the rules of *sandhi* have been neglected

² Read ०कर्ता

³ Above, Vol IX p 68

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. II p 119 ff.

⁵ *Director General's Annual* for 1907 S, Part II p 228.

⁶ Vol I p 232, note (S. K. Lahiri & Co's edition, 1894).

⁷ Above, Vol IX p 71.

varsha of Mālava, for whom we have dates ranging from A D 974 to 993. The invasion of Muñjarāja here referred to is in all probability the same as that mentioned in the Hāthundi inscription of the Rāshtrakūta princes¹. Therein Dhavala is said to have checked the further progress of Muñjarāja, when he attacked Mēdapāta (Mewār) and destroyed its capital called Āghāta². Bahrāja was succeeded by Mahēndra also called Mahīndu, son of Vīgrahapāla, who was the paternal uncle of Balhāja. As was first pointed out by Prof Kielhorn, this Mahēndra is no doubt the same as his namesake, referred to in v 11 of the Hāthundi inscription. It speaks of Dhavala as having protected Mahēndra when he was being harassed by the army of Durlabharāja. This Durlabharāja can be no other than the Chaulukya king Durlabharāja, the brother and successor of Vīgraharāja of the Harsha inscription³. Mahēndra's son was Āsvapāla⁴. His son was Ahīla, who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, defeated the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva I. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle, Anahīla,⁵ who was a son of Mahēndra. He, too, is spoken of as having vanquished Bhīmadēva I, seized Śākambhari, slain Sādha, a general (*dand-ādhiśa*) of the Mālava king Bhōja, and defeated a Turushka, i.e. a Muhammadan king⁶. After him came to the throne his son Bālaprasāda. He compelled Bhīmadēva I to liberate from prison a king named Krishṇadēva. As shown by Professor Kielhorn, the last king is the Paramāra Krishnarāja, son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Dēvarāja, for whom we have two inscriptions at Bhūmāl dated in A D 1060 and 1067. It can hardly be doubted that he must have been a brother of the Paramāra prince, Pūrnapāla, who was a son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Mahipāla, and for whom we have the dates A D 1042 and 1045⁷. Both the dates and the names of the father agree with one another. Krishnarāja must, therefore, be taken to be a younger brother and successor of Pūrnapāla. The discrepancy in the names of their grandfathers—that of Krishnarāja's being Dēvarāja and that of Pūrnapāla's being Mahipāla—is not of any serious importance, as we have several instances of one and the same prince bearing more than one name, not only of identical, but also of different import.

Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother Jindurāja also known as Jindarāja or Jēndrarāja⁸. He gained a victory at Sandēra, which, as I have already said, is Sāndērāv in the Bāli District, Gōdvād division, Jōdhpur State (No IV above). There is an inscription in the temple of Kāmēśvara-Mahādēva at Āuwā in the Sōjat District. It is dated Saturday, the 15th of the dark fortnight (*amāvāsyā*) of Āsvayuja (i.e. Āśvina) in [Vikrama-] Samvat 1132, and refers itself to the reign of Jindrapāla,⁹ son of Anahīla. Jindrapāla is the same as our Jindurāja,

¹ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol LXII pt I p 311 ff., also see above, Vol X p 18.

² Āghāta is the same as Ād or Āhad now represented by the present Udaipur station. A well known sept of the Ghilōts called Āhadiyā is named after it. The place is described by Tod in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 745.

³ The author of the *Diyāśrayakōśa* says that, along with his brother Nāgarāja, he attended the *svayamvara* of Durlabhadōvī, sister of Mahēndra, king of Nādōl in Mūrwar. The princess chose Durlabha, and Mahēndra gave his younger sister Lalshmi to Durlabha's brother, Nāgarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol IV p 113). The hostilities between Durlabha and Mahēndra thus ended in matrimonial alliance, as was often the case in Rājputānā in later times. [See also above, Vol X p 18. The Durlabharāja and Vīgraharāja of the Harsha inscription were Chāha mūnās—not Chaulukyas—Ed.]

⁴ The Śiva temple of Āsāṭṭēśvara or Āsāpūlēśvara at Nādōl (No IX above) was apparently called after him.

⁵ The Śiva temple of Anahīlēśvara at Nādōl (No IX above) seems to have been built during his reign and called after him.

⁶ This must refer to the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni. The *Tauārīkh-i-Farīshāh*, according to Tod, refers to his fight with the king of Nādōl (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 656 and note).

⁷ [For this date of Pūrnapāla see the *Director General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II p 226—Ed.]

⁸ In No IX a Śiva temple called Jēndrarājēśvara is mentioned. It was built apparently during the reign of Jēndrarāja and called after him.

⁹ The name engraved appears, however, to be Khundrajāla and not Jindrapāla. It is again curious that no titles whatever are added to the names of Jindrapāla and Anahīla. The probabilities, however, are that these names are of the Chāha kings referred to in the text.

and V E 1132 (A D 1075) is the earliest hitherto known date for a Mārwar Chāhamāna king derived from a contemporary record

His son and successor was Prithvīpāla, who defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Karna, *ie* the Chaulukya king Karna-Trailōkyamalla, son of Bhīmadēva I, a contemporary of Ahīla, Anahilla and Bālaprasāda. Like many of his predecessors, he too seems to have erected a temple to Śiva at Nādōl and called the deity Prithvīpālēśvara after himself. He was succeeded by his brother Yōjaka, also known as Jōjala, or Jōjalla. He is mentioned as having by force occupied Anahillapura (Anhilvādā). Nos I and II give for him the date V E 1147, *ie* A D 1090, which contain his mandate for the observance of festivals in connection with the gods Lakshmanasvāmin and others at Nādōl. Jōjala seems to have dedicated a temple to Śiva at Nādōl, and named the latter Jōjalēśvara after himself. After him came to the throne his brother Āśvarāja, also called Āśvarāja and Āśvāka. Three inscriptions of his time (Nos III-V) have so far been discovered, with dates ranging from A D 1110 to 1143. Of these, two were found at Sevādi in the temple of Mahāvīna and the third at Bālī in the temple of Bolā or Bahuguna *mātā*. The last speaks of him as subsisting on the lotus-like feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayasiha. We have already seen that up to the time of Jōjala, brother of Āśvarāja, the Mārwar Chāhamānas were constantly at war with the Chaulukyas. They were consequently till then not subordinate to the Chaulukyas, but owed fealty to some other supreme power. And it was Jayasimba, son of Karna, who appears for the first time to have subjugated Gōdvād and made the Mārwar Chāhamānas his tributaries. Of the two Sevādi inscriptions the earlier is dated in A D 1110 and the later in A D 1115. The former refers to the reign of Āśvarāja and speaks of his son Katukarāja as *yuarāja* or lieutenant. In the latter a grant made by Katukarāja, but as he is not mentioned as king and as Sevādi (*Sevādi*) is stated to have been in his *bhukti*, *ie* the district assigned to him for maintenance, it seems that even in A D 1115 he was not reigning as a ruler, but was merely, as *yuarāja*, holding the province round about Sevādi. But, from No VI, it is evident that he did reign as king at Nādōla. He is there called *mahārājādhirāja* Katudēva, and his son, Jayatasiha, is mentioned as *yuarāja*. The date of this inscription is Samvat 31, which, as stated above, must be taken to be Simha Samvat. It thus becomes equivalent to V E 1200, *ie* A D 1145,—exactly the year in which the Bālī inscription of his father Āśvarāja is dated. Āśvarāja must, therefore, be supposed to have died and his son Katukarāja to have become king in the same year, *ie* A D 1143. But there are as yet no other inscriptions of his reign. For no less than seven inscriptions have been found, which refer to his reign, ranging from A D 1132 to 1145 which refer themselves to the reign of one or the other. These overlap the period which other inscriptions give for the reigns of both the father and the son. In point of rank and dignity as determined by his titles, Rāyapāla appears to be in no way inferior to either Āśvarāja or Katukarāja, and in No VII he is spoken of as belonging to the Chāhamāna lineage¹. It is thus inexplicable how he reigned at the same place and synchronously with the father and son. Perhaps the following explanation may be offered for what it is worth. Instances are not wanting of friction taking place between a feudatory chieftain and his overlord, and consequently of the former being ousted by the latter, for some time at least, from the province held by him. Such a thing might perhaps have taken place here. Āśvarāja or Katukarāja might have for some time lost the favour of their paramount sovereign and for

¹ During the excavations at Mandōr, 6 miles north of Jōdhpur, a few fragments of an inscription stone were found, which show that Prithvīpāla, the eldest brother of Āśvarāja, had a son named Ratnapāl. Ratnapāla's son was Rāyapāla, and Rāyapāla's son was Sahajapāla, who apparently was reigning at Mandōr and to whose reign the inscription referred itself. There can hardly be a doubt as to the Rāyapāla of Nos VII—XI being this Rāyapāla, grandson of Prithvīpāla.

that reason been replaced by Rāyapāla, one of their relatives. From No VII it seems that this Rāyapāla had a queen named Mānaladēvi, and at least two sons, named Rudrapāla and Amritapāla by her. Under him was the *rāuta* Rājādēva, son of the *rāuta* Ūdharāṇa of the Guhila family. He was a *ṭhakur* of Nadūladāgikā, which, as stated above, was the Sanskritised form of Nādālī. In an inscription found at Nādōl, a certain *rānaka* Bhūnana is mentioned as belonging to the Karnāta country and as a contemporary of Rāyapāla. This prince cannot be identified, but appears to have come to Nādōl to pay a friendly visit to the Chāhamāna king.

From V E 1203 (A D 1146) to 1218 (A D 1161) not a single inscription has been traced in Gōdvād of the Chāhamāna princes of Nādōl, but we have found instead no less than four records of a person who is variously called Vajjaka, Vaijā, Vajjalladēva and Vayajaladēva. He is spoken of as a *dandanāyaka* or general of Kumārapāla and as reigning at Nādōl, i.e. exactly in the capital town of the Chāhamānas described above. This change of rule over Gōdvād may perhaps be explained as follows. We know from Gujjarāt accounts that Kumārapāla invaded the Sāmbhar territory and defeated Arnōrāja.¹ This event is alluded to in a Chitōrgadh inscription of Kumārapāla dated V E 1207,² and is spoken of as having taken place shortly before this date. Rāyapāla perhaps sided with Arnōrāja and brought about Kumārapāla's indignation. And Kumārapāla might have deprived him of his territory. At Pāli in the temple of Sōmēśvara there is a much abraded inscription of the reign of this Chaulukya sovereign with the date V E. 1209. An epigraph in a dilapidated temple at Bhātund in the Bāli District is dated V E. 1210, refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and mentions his *dandanāyaka* Vajjaka as being in charge of the district of Nadūla (Nādōl). The temple of Mahāvira at Sēvādi contains a record dated in Samvat 1213, which speaks of *damda*^o (i.e. *dandanāyaka*) Vaijā as ruling at Nadūla. Another Jaina temple at Ghānērāv in the Dēsūri District has an inscription dated the same year as the last and referring itself to the reign of the *dandanāyaka* Vajjalladēva. On a lintel of the *sabhāmandapa* of the temple of Bōlā or Bahugana *mātā* at Bāli is engraved an epigraph which specifies the date Samvat 1216, makes mention of the paramount sovereign Kumārapāla and speaks of *damda*^o Vayajaladēva as exercising local authority at Naddrūla (Nādōl). It will thus be seen that from about V E 1209 to 1216 Kumārapāla deprived Rāyapāla, or some other Chāhamāna prince of his ancestral dominions, and stationed Vajjalladēva as *dandanāyaka* over that province. But, though Kumārapāla wrested Gōdvād from the Chāhamāna ruler of Nādōl, he was well-disposed towards Ālanadēva or Ālhanadēva, son of Aśvarāja and younger brother of Katukarāja. For, an inscription in a Śiva temple at Kirādū-Mallāni (No XII above) tells us that Ālhanadēva was then in possession of Kirātākūpa (Kirādū), Lātarhadā (Rāddhadā) and Śivā (Sheo) and that he obtained these places through the favour of his overlord (*prabhu*) Kumārapāla.³

When exactly Ālhanadēva came into possession of his paternal dominions is not known, but certain it is that the Nādōl province came under his sway some year between V E 1216 (A D. 1159) the last date of Vajjalladēva in Gōdvād that we know of⁴ and V.E. 1218 (A D. 1161) the date of Ālhanā's Nādōl copper-plate grant which is the earliest of his inscriptions in Gōdvād. Ālhanā is called Āhlādana in the Sūndhā hill inscription. He is there spoken of as having assisted the Gūrjara king every now and then. The Gūrjara king at this time was Kumārapāla, and as help was constantly given to him, it explains why Ālhanadēva stood high in his favour and was restored to his ancestral territory. Ālhanadēva is also mentioned in the Sūndhā hill inscription as having built a temple of Śiva at Naddūla and as having put down disturbances

¹ Above, Vol I p 295

² *Ibid* Vol II p 422

³ No 133 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol V, above

⁴ [The *mahāmandalēśvara* Vajjalladēva of the Chāhuyāns family is mentioned with the date Vikrama-Samvat 1231, corresponding to A D 1175, in a copper plate grant of the Chāulukya king Ajayapāla (*Ind. Ant* Vol XVIII p 81) —Ed.]

in the mountainous part of Surāshtra. The latter event is alluded to in the Nādōl copper-plate inscription of Kirtipāla noted above. The *Prabandhachintāmani* speaks of Kumārapāla as having sent his general Udayana against Sausara, king of Surāshtra, with whom he was at war. In this fight Kumārapāla's army was defeated, and Udayana was mortally wounded. In the end, however, Samara (Sausara), as the *Kumārapālacharita* says, was defeated and his son placed on the throne. It was probably Ālhana who proved instrumental in securing this victory for Kumārapāla. Ālhana seems to have suffered for his allegiance to the Chaulukya dynasty at the hands of Vīgraharāja, son of Arnōrāja of the imperial Chāhamāna family. For the latter, as the Bijōlā inscription¹ informs us, made Naddūla (Nādōl) a *nadvata*, i.e. a bed of reeds and Jābālipura (Jālōr) *jālāpura*, i.e. a city of flames. Ālhana is there said to have married Annaladēvi, daughter of Sahula of the Rāshtrauda² family. Ālhana had three sons by her, viz. Kēlhana, Gajasimha and Kirtipāla. Ālhana appears to have given a share in the administration of his kingdom to his first two sons. For, in No XII, the sign-mannual of Ālhanadēva is followed up by the approval of both his sons, Kēlhanadēva and Gajasimha. Even the villages round about Nādōl, made over to Kirtipāla for his maintenance in the Nādōl plate, were granted to him not by his father Ālhana alone, but also by Kēlhana, his brother. It is curious that Gajasimha is not mentioned in this connection. He must doubtless have been alive at this time, otherwise his name would not have been specified in this inscription in l 14³. Probably Kēlhana's name alone is here mentioned because he was the *yuvārāja* or heir-apparent, as is quite clear from l 16 of the record.

Of Kēlhana no less than six inscriptions were found by me with dates ranging from V.E. 1221 to 1236. Ālhanadēva thus died in some year between V.E. 1218 and 1221. Kēlhana appears to have remained tributary to Kumārapāla, for No XIV refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and speaks of Kēlhana as ruler of Nādūlya (Nādōl). This record is dated in Samvat 1228, which is, in fact, the latest authentic date we have for the Chaulukya sovereign, who, according to Gujariit chronicles, died a year later. The Sūndhā hill inscription represents Kēlhana to have routed a Turushka king and erected a golden *tōrana*, "like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sōmāsa". His brother Kirtipāla also is spoken of in the same inscription as having vanquished a Turushka army at Kāsahrada. Both these descriptions must refer to one and the same event, for about this time only one

¹ No 154 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol V, above.

² Rāshtrauda, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is the same as Rāshtrakūta. There were two Rāshtrakūta families reigning in Rānūtānā. Munshi Devi Prasad, in his Hindi work entitled "Antiquarian Discoveries in Rājputānā" tells us that at Dhanōpa, 16 miles north of Shāhpurī, two inscription stones had been found as early as A.D. 1873, which gave an account of a Rāshtrakūta family ruling there. Four names had therein been traced, viz. those of Bhallīla, his son Dantivarmā, and his sons Buddharāja and Gōvinda. One of the inscriptions was dated *Samvat 1063 Fosāga vadi 5 Saurē (Ind Ant Vol XL p 175)*. Another inscription was found at Hāthundi near Bijāpur in the Bāli District which describes a new Rāshtrakūta family. This has been referred to above. A part of this inscription was published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol LXVII, part 1, pp 309-314, and the complete text has recently been edited by Pandit Ram Karra of Jodhpur (above, Vol X, pp 17 ff). This contains three dates, the last of which is V.E. 1053 (A.D. 991), and pertains to the reign of the Pāsātrakūta Dhavala of Hastikundi (Hāthundi). It is reasonable to suppose that the Rāshtrakūta family, to which Annaladēvi belonged, was the one reigning at Hāthundi in Gōdvīd, and not the other one reigning so far north as Shāhpurī. We have already seen that it was a king of this Hāthundi Rāshtrakūta family, viz. Dhavala, who helped no less than two princes of the Marwār Chāhamāna dynasty. The two families were thus reigning close to, and were also allied to, each other. But this matter is placed beyond all doubt by No XIII, which records a grant of Ānaladēvi, unquestionably the same as Annaladēvi, who is called mother queen (*mātri-rājūi*) of Kōlhana. This inscription also records a benefaction by certain Rāshtrakūta princes. The mention of Rāshtrakūta in the same epigraph with that of Ānaladēvi or Annaladēvi, who was of the Rāshtrauda dynasty shows that Rāshtrauda is the same as Rāshtrakūta and that these Rāshtrakūtas were not far from Sāndērā. No XIII was found. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable to suppose that these Rāshtraudas or Rāshtrakūtas, of whom Sahula, father of Ānaladēvi, was one, reigned at Hāthundi, or Hastikundi as it is called in inscriptions.

³ Above, Vol IX p 69.

Muhammadan invasion took place. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh* tells us that in A H 574, i.e. A.D. 1178, Muhammad Ghōrī "marched to Oocha and Moultan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The prince Bhīmadēva (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevy), advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter"¹ Now, at Kirādū there is, in the temple of Sōmēsvara, a mutilated inscription, which is dated in Samvat 1235 and refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II. It makes mention also of his feudatory chieftain Madanabrahmadēva and his subordinate Tējapāla. We are further told that the image of Sōmēsvara, which was in the temple, had been broken to pieces by the Turushkas, but a new one was caused to be made and installed by Tējapāla's wife, whose name is unfortunately lost. It will be seen that the imago must have been broken by Muhammad Ghōrī. For, the date of his expedition is A.D. 1178 or V.E. 1234-35, and the date of the Kirādū inscription, as we have observed, is Samvat 1235. There is thus a correspondence of dates. Secondly, as stated in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh*, the route of Muhammad Ghōrī lay through the sandy desert. This means that on his way to Gujarāt he passed through the Mallānī District of the Jodhpur State, which is nothing but a *thal* or desert. And, as Kirātakupa or Kirādū was in ancient days a place of great importance in that region, it is natural to suppose that the Muhammadan emperor captured the town and destroyed the image in the principal temple there. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh* further says that Bhīmadēva II defeated the Muhammadan army with great slaughter. Kēlhana, being a feudatory of the Chaulukya family, must have gone to the help of Bhīmadēva and must have been accompanied also by his brother Kīrtipāl. And, as is very often the case with tributary princes, who take the credit of winning a battle fought by their overlord whom they have but assisted, both Kēlhana and Kīrtipāl are represented to have vanquished the Turushkas at Kāsahrada. Now three Kāsahradas are mentioned in inscriptions, and there are at least three places which may be modern equivalents of them. Thus there is a place called Kāsindra-Pālādī near Ahmedābād, and this may represent the Kāsahrada of the Kapadvanj grant of the Rāshttrakūta prince Krishna II and the Kasahrada of the Baroda grant of Dhruva II. There is again in the Sirohi State a village, at the foot of Mount Ābū, of the name of Kāyadrām, which is also known as Kāsadrām. With this must be identified the Kāsahrada of the inscriptions in Tējapāla's temple at Dilvādā on Mount Ābū. There is yet a third place named Kāsandrā on the road from Dhōlkā to Fāltūnā. This must be the Kāsahrada of Arisimha's *Sukritasamkīrtana*. Which one of these is the Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill inscription depends upon the route taken by Muhammad Ghōrī after leaving Kirādū. In the *Tāj-ul-Ma-Āsir* it is stated that when Qutub-ud-Din left Ajmēr to direct an attack on Anhilvādā the Hindus "had collected under their leaders Rāi Karan and Dārābars in greater numbers "at the foot of Mount Ābū and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musalmāns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultān Muhammad Sam Ghōrī had been wounded, and it was considered a bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander"² From this it is evident that Muhammad Ghōrī sustained a reverse at the foot of Mount Ābū, and Karan and Dārābars mentioned here can be no other than Kēlhana and Dārāvarsha. The Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill inscription 'where Kēlhana and Kīrtipāla defeated a Turushka army' must, therefore, be identified with Kāyadrām (Kāsadrām). The Sūndhā hill inscription describes Kēlhana as having also defeated the southern king Bhūlima, who, as recognised by Professor Kielhorn, is the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhīllama. There are at least two inscriptions, which belong to the reign of this last king and which bear the date A.D. 1189. This date, it is expressly stated

¹ Biggs' *Firishtāh*, Vol I p 170

² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol II p 230

was the third year of his reign. From this it is concluded that Bhullama came to the throne in A D 1187. The last date we have for Kēlhana is V E 1219 = A D 1192, supplied by an inscription found at Pāladī in the Sirohi State. Kēlhana and Bhullama were thus contemporaries, and the Bhullama of the Sāndhī hill inscription can only be this Bhullama. One of Kēlhana's queens is named Mahībaladēvī (No XV). The name of another, viz Jālhana-dēvī, is given in No XVII.

Kēlhana was succeeded by his son Jayantasīha, for whom two inscriptions have been found, —one at Bhumāl and the other at Sādadī. The first is dated V E 1239 and calls him *maha-rājaputra*, indicative of his position as heir-apparent.¹ The second gives the date V E 1251 and styles him *vahārājādhirāja*.² This shows that he became king after the death of Kēlhana. About three years after this date, i.e. in A D 1197, we hear of the invasion of Qutub-ud-Dīn Ī-bak in Marwar. The *Tarikh-i-Firishtih* has the following: "Kootb-ood-Deen having recovered from his wounds pursued the besieging army to Nehwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadole." Baly, of course refers to Pali, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State, and Nadole is obviously Nadol. The *Taju-l-Ma-Asir* says that "when he reached the lofty forts of Pali and Nandul, he found them abandoned and the aloof of the walls for the people had fled at the approach of the Muslims."³ This means that Nadol and the surrounding district were for some time at least lost to the Chāhamāna family called Nādōhya. An inscription found at Achalēsvara on Mount Ābū says that Jaitrasimha of the Guhila dynasty destroyed Nadōla and defeated a Turushka army.⁴ From epigraphic and other records it appears that Jaitrasimha reigned from about V E 1270 to 1309. He thus comes quite close to the date when Qutub-ud-Dīn conquered eastern Māru. Jaitrasimha, therefore, seems to have destroyed Nadol when it was in the possession of the Muhammadans, and the Turushka army defeated by him must have been headed, if not actually by Qutub-ud-Dīn, at any rate by his governor at Nadol.⁵ From V E 1265 to 1283 Gōdvād was held by a prince named Dhāmdhaladēva, son of Visadhavaladēva.⁶ He was no doubt, as an inscription at Nānā tells us a Chāhama, i.e. I think, a Chāhamāna, but probably not of Kēlhana's lineage. From the same inscription it seems that in V E 1283 he was tributary to Bhyīva (Bhīma)dēva, son of Ajayā(ya)pala, i.e. the Chaulukya sovereign Bhīmadēva II. Kēlhana had, as we have seen above, a brother named Kutipala, who was the originator of the Sōngarī branch of the Chāhamānas. From his Nadol copper-plate inscription we learn that twelve villages, such as Nadlā and others in Gōdvād had been assigned to him for maintenance by his father Āllanadēva, and he must have continued to enjoy the revenues of these villages during his brother's regime also. His defeat of the Turushka army at Kasmāda has already been alluded to. In addition to it he is represented in the Sāndhī hill inscription to have conquered a Kirātākūpa chief named Āsala. Kirātākūpa is undoubtedly Kirādū, and Āsala was perhaps the successor of Mādanabrahma mentioned above. It is also

¹ *History of Gujrat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Pt I p 474

² This inscription is in the temple of Jāgēsvara, Dīsuri District, Jodhpur State. It is engraved on one of its pillars, which, no doubt, originally belonged to some temple at Nadol.

³ *Brihas' Tarikhāt*, Vol I p 196

⁴ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol II pp 229-30

⁵ *Bharuagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p 93, *Jour Beng As Soc* Vol IV Pt I p 49

⁶ From verse 16 of the Chuvā inscription (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, Vol XXI p 143 ff) it appears that Nāgahrada or Nāgdā, the ancient capital of the Guhilots, was destroyed by a Muhammadan army, when Pamaraja son of Yogēsvara, who was appointed a *talāra* of Nāgdā by King Padmasimha, fell in the battle. This event must have happened in the reign of Jaitrasimha, for we are distinctly told in the *Hamīra-mada mardana* that the Turushka army burnt the whole of Māru, which was then held by Jayatala, alias Jaitrasimha (Professor S R Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1901-05 and 1905-06*, pp 20 and 22). The subsequent defeat of the Turushka army by Jaitrasimha is also mentioned. It was at this time perhaps that Nadol was seized by him.

⁷ Two inscriptions of this prince have been found, one at Nānā and the other at Belār, both in the Bālī District, Jodhpur state (*Prog Rep Archaeol Surv Ind, West Circle*, for 1908, pp 49-50).

said about him that, although he was the lord of the Naddūla (Nādōl) kingdom, he established himself at Jābālipura, i.e. Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the southern part of Mārwār. According to Mūtā Nēnsī, he wrested it from the Paramāras. Certain it is that Jālōr was in the possession of the Paramāras till A.D. 1117, as an unpublished inscription found there shows¹. One of the inscription slabs of Kumbhakarna originally found at the temple of Māmādēva at Kumalgadh² informs us that the Guhilōt prince Kumārasimha expelled Kitū, who had occupied his country. In all the Sōugarā chronicles Kirtipāla is called Kitū, and Kumārasimha was only two generations prior to the Guhilōt chief Jaitrasimha for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 1213-1252. Kumārasimha can thus very well be a contemporary of the Chāhamāna Kirtipāla, who must, therefore, be supposed to have carried an expedition of conquest in the Guhilōt territory.

Kirtipāla had at least three sons and one daughter. Of the three sons, one was Samarasimha who succeeded him, and the other two were Lākhanapālha (or -pāla) and Abhayapāla mentioned in No. XV as the *jāgudīrs* of Sīnānava or Samnānaka, which, I think, has to be identified with Sōnānā. Sōnānā, it will be remembered, was one of the villages granted to Kirtipāla by Ālhanadēva, and Kirtipāla further seems to have made it over during his brother's régime to two of his sons. The name of his daughter was Rūdaladēvī, who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, built two temples to Śiva at Jābālipura (Jālōr).

After Kirtipāla, his son Samarasimha, as stated above, became king. Two inscriptions of this prince have been found at Jālōr (Nos. XVIII and XIX). One of these is dated in V.E. 1239 and the other V.E. 1242. The Sūndhā hill inscription says that he built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala. In the second of the Jālōr epigraphs just alluded to, the following words occur: *sri-Jābālipuriya-Kānchanagiri-gadhasy-ōpari*, etc. From this it is plain that Kānchanagiri or Kanakāchala was the name of the hill, on which the fort of Jālōr is situated. When Kirtipāla carved out a kingdom for himself, he established his capital at Jālōr, whose fortifications were commenced by him. But as he did not live long after it, this work had to be carried out by his son Samarasimha. The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of him as having weighed himself against gold and having afterwards founded the city of Samarapura, which has not yet been identified. A copper-plate charter of the Chaulukya sovereign Bhīmadēva II, dated V.E. 1263, makes mention of his queen Līlādēvī, who is spoken of as *Chāhān² rāna Samarasīhasutā*,³ i.e. the daughter of the Chōhān *rānā* Samarasimha. Professor Kielhorn was the first to identify him with the Mārwār Chāhamāna king of that name.

The Sūndhā hill inscription represents his son Udayasimha to have succeeded Samarasimha. But Udayasimha was not his eldest son, because a Mount Ābū inscription speaks of Mānavasimha, who is called a son of Samarasimha and the elder brother of Udayasimha⁴. Up to the time of Samarasimha, the power of the Sōugarā family had been confined to the Jālōr District and the territory intervening between it and Kirādū. And it was Udayasimha who greatly extended these dominions, which now included the districts originally held by the Nādōliyā branch. For, in the Sūndhā hill inscription, amongst the places held by him, Naddūla (Nādōl) is distinctly mentioned. The other places named are Jāvālpura, Māndavyapura, Vāgbhatamēru, Sūrāchanda, Rātabāda, Khēda, Rāmasamya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura and Satyapura. Almost all these places have been identified by Professor Kielhorn. Jāvālpura is Jālōr, Māndavyapura Mandōr, 6 miles north of Jodhpur, Vāgbhatamēru is Bādmēr, not

¹ This inscription stone is in the *tōpāhanā* at Jālōr and is put up upside down. This inscription will shortly be published by me.

² These slabs have now been deposited in the Victoria Hall, Ludhiana.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 195, pl. II, 11.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 80.

however the place which at present goes by the name, but Junā Bādmēr or simply Junā, as it is also called, about 12 miles south-west of the modern Bādmēr¹ Sūrāchanda is, of course, Surāchand in the Sanchor District Rātahraḍa has its name still surviving in Rāḍḍhadā, by which the district round about Nagai-Gudhā in Mallāni is still popularly known² Khēda is obviously the place of the same name in Mallāni, the ancient capital of that province Rāmasainya is Rāmsen, Śrīmāla Bhīmāi, and Ratnapura Ratanpur, all in the Jaswantpuri District And lastly, Satyapura is Sānchor The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of Udayasimha as having put an end to Sindhurāja and as not having been conquered by the Gūrjara king Sindhurāja may either be a ruler of Sindh, as Professor Kielhorn takes it, or an individual prince of that name In the case of the latter supposition, he may be identified with the prince of that name, whose son Śankha was defeated near Cambay by Vastupāla during the Vāghēlā king Lavanaprasāda's reign Udayasimha is also described in a general way as having curbed the pride of the Turushka This must simply be taken to mean that he had come into hostility with the Muhammadans, and not necessarily that he obtained any decisive victories over them The *Tauārth-i-Firishṭāh* refers to it as follows "Soon after this event, Oodyo Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwar, having refused to make the usual payments, the king was induced to march and reduce him to obedience"³ The king here alluded to is Shams-ud-Din Altamash, and Oodyo-Sa of Jalwar is unquestionably Udayasimha of Jālōr The same event is described in greater detail in the *Tājū-l-Ma-Āsir* as follows "After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jalewar (Jālōr) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne Shams-ud-din accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the state, such as Ruknu-d-din Hamza' Izzu-d-din Bakhtiyar Nasiru-d-din Mardān Shāh, Nasiru-d-din 'Alī and Badru-d-din S ukatigūn," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror on the forehead of an elephant" "The king took his way towards Jālewar by the aid of God," "and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design"

"Udī Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror" When the place was invested by Shams-ud-din, Udī Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour The Sultan granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rājā presented respectfully a hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service "The Sultān then returned to Delhi

"* This event came to pass between A D 1210 and 1216

We have seen above that Udayasimha is spoken of in the Sūndhī hill inscription as not having been defeated by the Gūrjara king This no doubt refers to the fact mentioned in the *Kīrti kaumudī* that four kings from Māraḍi conspired to advance against Lavanaprasāda while from the south the Yādava sovereign Singhana was marching against him The *Kīrti kaumudī* further says that the Vāghēlā prince succeeded in driving back the Mīrwān chiefs, of whom Udayasimha must undoubtedly have been one A few years later, Lavanaprasāda's son, Vīra-

¹ [On page 59 above, Bāhadamūri is identified with this Bādmēr —Td]

² See page 44 above

³ Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol I p 207

* Elliot's *History of India*, Vol II p 238

dhavala, had been placed in almost the same predicament, as we learn from the *Hammīra-madamardana*, when Simhāna again marched against him on one side, the Turushka called Mīlāchhikāra on another, and Dēvapāla, king of Mālūwā, on the third. The kings of Marudēśa were on the point of joining the Turushka army, when Viradhavala at once marched and won them over to his side. The names of these kings are Sōmasimha, Udayasimha, and Dhārāvarsha¹. Of these, Udayasimha is doubtless the Chāhamāna chief of Jālōi.

A manuscript of Rāmachandra's *Nubhayabhīmarajyōga* has the following

*Samvat 1306 varshē Bhādravā-vadī 6 Ravāv=ady=ēha Śrī-mahārājakula-Śrī-Udayasimha-dēva-kalyāna-vijaya-rājyē*²

It will be perceived at a glance that the Udayasimha here referred to is the Chāhamāna prince Udayasimha, for whom we have inscriptions with dates ranging from V. E. 1262 to 1306. Similarly, at the end of his work entitled *Vivēkhavilāsa*, Jinadatta tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of Dhanapāla of the Vāyada family, who was looked upon as son by Dēvapāla, the treasury minister of Udayasimha of the Chāhvāna dynasty and the lord of Jāvālpura³. It can hardly be doubted that the prince here alluded to is the Chāhamāna Udayasimha of Jāvālpura (Jālōi).

Udayasimha's queen was Prahlādanadēvī, who bore to him two sons, Chāchigadēva and Chāmundarāja. From Bhīmāl Inscription No XIII, we learn that Udayasimha had one more son at least, viz Vāhadasiha⁴. From other accounts it appears that he had also a daughter. For, it is stated by Rājasēkhara in his *Prabandhachaturī usatī* and by Harshaganī in *Vastupā-lacharitra* that the Vāghēlā king Viradhavala had two sons, viz Virama and Visala. The cause of the latter was espoused by Vastupāla, and the former had to flee for refuge to his father-in-law Udayasimha, chief of Jāvāli, but was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Vastupāla⁵.

Udayasimha was succeeded by his son Chāchigadēva. In the Sūndhā hill inscription he is described as "destroying the roaring Gūrjara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking Pātuka, depriving Sanga of his colour, and a thunderbolt to the mountain, viz the furious Nahara". Virama, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, is doubtless the son of Viradhavala just mentioned. Perhaps he was assassinated by Chāchiga at the instigation of Vastupāla during his father Udayasimha's reign. Śalya may be, as suggested by the learned doctor, the prince of the same name mentioned in verse 19 of the Dabhōī inscription as an enemy of Lavanaprasāda⁶. Pātuka is perhaps a *dēvī* form of the Sanskritised name Pratāpa. The only Pratāpa, who, I think, can be a contemporary of Chāchiga, is his cousin, who was the son of Manavasimha, the eldest brother of Udayasimha. Sanga is perhaps Sangana, a ruler of Vantali near Junāgadh, who was a brother-in-law of Viradhavala and was slain by him⁷.

Of the reign of Chāchigadēva five inscriptions have been found. The earliest is engraved in the temple of *mātī* on the Sūndhā hill in the Jaswantpurā District. It is dated in the akshaya-tṛtīyā of the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1310. The second is dated

¹ Prof S. R. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, p. 16 ff. Dhārāvarsha and Sōmasimha were, of course, Prāmara kings and were father and son. Sōmasimha was, in all likelihood, the *yuvarāja* at that time and had some share in the administration.

² Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 81.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p. 156.

⁴ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Pt. I p. 482, here Chāmunda rāja is also referred to.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 190, Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p. 156.

⁶ Above Vol. I, page 23.

⁷ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Pt. I p. 200.

V E 1326 It was found by me at Sēvādi, but was originally lying at Karādā in Mewār, doubtless Karahādā mentioned therein. No less than three of his records have been discovered at Bhinmāl, with the dates V E. 1328, 1333 and 1334. In the last inscription are mentioned his mothers Vābadasīha and Chāmundarāja, the last of whom has, as we have already seen, been referred to in the Sūndhā hill inscription.

From an inscription originally found at Budhatrā but now deposited at the Ajmēr museum it appears that Chāchigadēva or Chācha, as he is there called, had a queen named Lakshmīdēvi from whom he had a daughter called Rūpādēvi¹. The latest date we have for Chāchigadēva is V E 1334, and after it we find inscriptions of a king who is named Sāmamtasimha, Sāmvatasimha or Sāmyantasimha with dates ranging from V E 1339 to 1353. Unfortunately no epigraph has been found which tells us how he was related to his predecessor Chāchigadēva. But all the bardic chronicles that I have seen in Mārwar are unanimous in saying that Sāmamtasimha was a son of Chāchigadēva. He was thus a brother of Rūpādēvi, to whose reign her inscription belongs. The last of Sāmamtasimha's records dated V E 1353 is interesting (No. XXIII). It expressly refers itself to the conjoint reign of Sāmamtasimhadēva and Kānhadādēva. The same thing is done in another inscription found at Chōhtan and noted in connection with No XXIII. Bardic chronicles tell us that the latter was a son of the former. Kānhadādēva must, therefore, have been *yutarāja* or heir-apparent since V. E. 1353, the date of the latter inscription. No inscription has as yet come to light of this prince when he was on the throne. But he is twice referred to in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh*. While speaking of the conquests, in A D 1304, of Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, a chieftain of Alā-ud-Dīn, it says "Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwar, panic-struck at the rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered that place without opposition"². I am informed by Munshi Devi Prasad that for "Nehr Dew" the published Persian text of the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh* has Gātar Dev, which, with a slight change of diacritical marks, can be read Kānir Dēv. Kānir Dev of Jalwar can be no other than Kānhadādēva, son of Sāmamtasimha of Jalor. For about four years he remained a feudatory of Alā-ud-Dīn. The account of his death and the capture of Jalor are given in the same work as follows: "It is related that the Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dew (Kānir Dev), as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly. One day the king was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindoostan dared to oppose his arms, on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, "I will suffer death, if I do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any attempt of the king's troops to take the fort of Jalwar." The king directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwar, and the more to show his contempt for Nehr Dew, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called Gool Behisbt "the Rose of Heaven." She evinced great bravery and nearly succeeded in taking the fort, but she fell sick and died. The siege was then conducted by her son Shaheen. Nehr Dew quitted the fort and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen, with his own hand, and the Mahomedans retreated four days successively towards Dehly. Alla-ood-Deen, vexed at this repulse, sent strong reinforcements under Kumal-ood-Deen, a general of distinction, who succeeded at last in taking Jalwar by storm, and made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison, putting Nehr Dew and his family to the sword, and plundering all his treasures. The news of this event created great joy at the capital"³. The exact date of this event is not specified in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh*, but the latter implies that it must have come to pass shortly before A D 1309.

According to the chronicle of Mūtā Nēnsī, which is looked upon as of the highest authority throughout Mārwar, Chāchigadē had three sons, viz Sāmvatasi Rāval, Chāhadādē, and Chamdra. Sāmvatasi's son was Kānhadādē, who was the lord of Jalor and was also

¹ Above, Vol IV p 313² Briggs' *Firishtāh*, Vol I p 362³ *Ibid* p 370

styled the tenth Salagarāma (Śāligāma) and Gugulinātha. He and his son Virama died three days after fighting with the Pātasāha (i.e. Alā-ud-Dīn), who then captured Jālōr. This event happened in V E 1368. Jinaprabhasūrī, author of the *Tīrthakalpa*, tells us that the temple of Mahāvira at Satyapura (Sāñchōr) was polluted by Alā-ud-Dīn's army and the image carried off in V E 1367. As Sāñchōr is not far off from Jālōr, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the army, which captured Jālōr, polluted the temple of Sāñchōr also. And as the sack of this Jaina śāle occurred in the lifetime of Jinaprabhasūrī, the date given by him must be accepted as correct. Between this and the date of the capture of Jālōr given by Mūtā Nēnsī, the difference is but one year, which is of no consequence, for, as we learn from the *Tawārīkh-i-Fīrīshṭāh*, the siege of Jālōr lasted for a long time, and it is possible that, while the siege continued, a detachment of the army proceeded to Sāñchōr for pillaging the temple whose fame must have spread all over southern Māiwār. The date 1368 V E = 1311 A D may thus be taken to be the year when the fort of Jālōr fell into the hands of Alā-ud-Dīn.

Mūtā Nēnsī says that, when Jālōr was on the point of being taken, Kānhadadēva managed to send off his brother Māladēva from the fort in order that the Sōngarā family might not be completely destroyed. Māladēva continued to live a migratory life for some time, but soon succeeded in winning the favour of the Muhammadan emperor, who was pleased to assign to him the fort of Chitōr which remained in his possession for seven years. After describing the flight of the Guhilōt prince Ratnasīmha from Delhi, the *Tawārīkh-i-Fīrīshṭāh* says as follows: "At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizī Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew (sister's son) of the Raja. The Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."¹ Abū'l-Fazal, in his *Ain-i-Akbarī*, gives the same account, but mentions Māladēva as the name of the Hindu prince. Māladēva is mentioned by Tod also in connection with the fall of Chitōrgadh, with regard to which he says that Alā-ud-Dīn 'delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalor, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals.'² Mūtā Nēnsī tells us that Māladēva had three sons, viz. Jēsō, Kitapāla and Vanavira. Of Jēsō we know absolutely nothing. As regards Kitapāla, he may perhaps be the same as the Chāhumāna Śrī-Kituka, whom together with Alā-ud-Dīn, Rānā Bhuvanāsīmha is represented to have conquered in the Rānpur inscription.³ Vanavira, the third son of Māladēva is no doubt the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Vanaviradēva of the Kōt-Sōlankiyā inscription (No XXIV), dated V E 1394 (A D 1338). Both Māladēva and Vanavira are referred to by Tod while speaking about the marriage of the widowed daughter of the former with Rānā Hammira. Tod has also described how, with the help of his wife and a scribe whom he had obtained as part of the dower, Hammira succeeded in making himself master of his ancestral fort, Chitōr. He further says that "Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeerun, Ruttanpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity. . . . Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewār." It is impossible to say how far this account, based solely on bardic chronicles, is true. It is indeed curious how Gōdvād, which comprises Kōt-Sōlankiyā where Vanavira's inscription was found, is not mentioned amongst the provinces assigned to him by Hammira. It is also

¹ Briggs' *Fīrīshṭāh*, Vol II p 363

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 248. I do not know what authority is forthcoming in support of Tod's statement that Maldeo (Māladēva) was the Chief of Jhalore (Jālōr), though this is by no means impossible.

³ *Bhavnagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p 114

inexplicable how the Kōt-Sōlankiyā inscription referred itself to the reign of Vanavīradēva alone, if the latter was subordinate to Hammira

Mūtā Nēnsī's chronicle informs us that Vanavīra's son was Ranavīra or Ranadhīra. Of the latter an inscription (No XXV), has been found at Nādlāi in the temple of Jādvaī on a hillock close by. It specifies the date V E 1443 (A D 1387), and speaks of Ranavīradēva, son of Vanavīradēva of the Chāhamāna lineage as then reigning. According to Mūtā Nēnsī, Ranavīra had two sons, viz Kēlana and Rājadhara. The latter is represented to have been killed in V E 1432 while fighting with Rāva Ranamalla. The same event appears to be alluded to in the following words of Tod about this prince, whom he calls Rimmul: "With the forces of Mewar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the Viceroy of Ajmer, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chōhāns, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Mewar."¹

Here closes my account of the Sōngarā dynasty. Sōngarā is a *sākhā* or division of the Chōhāns, and derives its name from Sōngar, i.e. Suvarnagarī, by which the fort hill of Jālōr was known. We have seen above that Kirtipāla, son of Ālhana, established himself at Jālōr. And consequently all the Sōngarās trace their descent from Kirtipāla, who is known by the abbreviated form Kitū in their records. The descendants of Chōhān kings who preceded Kirtipāla are called Nādōhyās, very few of whom are now found in Mārwar. They are now settled, I am told, in the Pālanpur Agency at such places as Thirād and others. A third *sākhā* of the Mārwar Chāhamānas was the Dēvdā, to which the present prince of Sirohi belongs. It sprang from Mānavasimha, alias Mahanasimha, the eldest son of Samarasimha and the grandson of Kirtipāla. All the Chāhamāna inscriptions found on and round about Ābū belong to this dynasty. There is yet a fourth sub-division of the Mārwar Chōhāns, which is known as Sāñchōrā. They were unquestionably connected with Sāñchōr, in which district they are still found in large numbers. And it cannot be seriously doubted that Nos XXVI and XXVII are records of this dynasty. They are dated in V E 1444 and belong to the reign of Chāhūāna Pratāpasimha, also called Pātā. A history of five generations is here given, and we are even told that they belonged to the family of Lakshmanasimha, king of Nadūla. But beyond saying that it was one of the branches sprung from Lakshmana, we are not informed how exactly they were connected with the Sōngarā *sākhā* and whence they branched off. Mūtā Nēnsī, however, gives the following genealogy of the Sāñchōrā Chōhāns: (1) Rāva Lākhaṇa, (2) Bahi, (3) Sōhī, (4) Mahanda Rāva, (5) Anahala, (6) Jūda Rāva, (7) Āsa Rāva, (8) Mānaka-Rāva, (9) Ālhana, (10) Vijaisī, who captured Sāñchōr, (11) his son Padama-sī, (12) his son Sōbhrama, (13) his son Sālō, (14) his son Vikāma-sī, and (15) his son Pātō. It will be seen from this account that it was Vijaisī, who first made himself master of Sāñchōr. And amongst the names that follow his may be recognised those given in Nos XXVI and XXVII. Thus Sōbhrama, Sālō, Vikāma-sī and Pātō of Mūtā Nēnsī's list are Sōbhita, Sālha, Vikramasimha, and Pratāpasimha. The order of succession also is correct except for the omission of the name of Samgrāmasimha, father of Pratāpasimha. Mūtā Nēnsī's account again agrees with the inscription in deriving the descent of these princes from Lakshmana, but further gives the additional information that the founder of the Sāñchōrā branch of the Chōhāns as such was Vijaisī, apparently son of Ālhana. There appears to be a little confusion in the order of succession between Lakshmana and Vijaisī as given by Mūtā Nēnsī, but there is no difficulty in recognising Ālhana to be the name of that Chōhān prince, who was father of Kēlhana and Kirtipāla. Just as his son Kirtipāla seized Jālōr, established himself there, and became the founder of a Chōhān branch called Sōngarā, so another son, named Vijaya-sī, appears to have captured Sāñchōr, where he reigned and originated the Sāñchōrā line.

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol II p 15

No 5 —PALITANA PLATES OF DHARASENA II., [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 252.

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALF)

These plates are one of seven sets of copper-plates which were discovered some 40 years ago in an underground chamber at Palitānā in Kāthiāvār, and which now belong to the State of Palitānā. Like the plates of Simhāditya (No 2 above), they were first described by the late Mr A M T Jackson, I C S, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXXIX p 130, No V, and I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-implications, prepared by Dr Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr W C. Tudor Owen, I C S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the original plates.

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to M₁ Venkayya, 11½ inches in breadth and 7¾ inches in height. Each plate bears 18 lines of writing on its inner side. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second, but it is impossible to say whether the existing seal belongs to this or to one of the other five Mastraka grants discovered along with it.¹

The writing on the plates is well preserved, and the alphabet is of the usual Valabhī type. The letter *ē* occurs in *ēta* (l 29) and *Ēkalika* (l 24). The sign of *jihāmūliya* is employed once (l 21). The date (l 36) is expressed in numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit prose, two verses from the *Mahābhārata* are quoted near the end (l 35 f). The rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded, especially in the grant portion, and the whole inscription teems with orthographical mistakes of every description. The *anusvāra* is replaced by guttural *n* in *sinha* (twice in l 7), *r* by *ri* in *gna* (l 5), the vowel *ri* by *ru* in *pitru* (l 23) and by *ri* in *krita* (ll 3, 36), etc. The doubling of *chh* after short vowels or the preposition *ā* is disregarded throughout (ll 3, 29, 33, 34 (twice), 35), and *ttia* is replaced by *tva* in *tatva* (l 8) and *svatva* (for *sattva*, l 12). The following Prākṛit forms deserve to be noted — *panṭi* for *pankti* (l 4), *Māhēsara* for *Māhēsvara* (l 16), *isadhika* for *imsatyadhika* (l 26), *trisadhika* for *trimsadadhika* (l 27), *dvātrisa* for *dvātrimsat* (l 26), *varisha* for *varsha* (l 35), *darisayitā* for *darśayitā* (l 20), *prāpya* (l 28) or *piāpya* (ll 24, 26) for *prāpya*, and *sapariyyā* for *saparyyā* (l 11).

The inscription records a grant of land by the Mastraka king Dharasēna II of Valabhī and is dated on the very same *tithi* of the same year as four other grants of the same king.² The panegyric introduction is practically identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II. The only point worth mentioning is that the name of his grandfather is spelt *Dharapada* (l 11), while his remaining grants read either *Dharapatta* or *Dharapadda*.³

The grant portion runs as follows —

(Line 1) From Valabhī,—

(L 21) the fervent worshipper of Mahēsvara (Śiva), the glorious *Mahārāja* Dharasēna (II), being in good health, commands all (*officials*), (*viz*) *āyuktakas*, *vinyuktakas*, *drāṅghas*, *mahattaras*, irregular and regular soldiers, *dhruvādhikaranikas*, *dāndapāshkas*, *chōrōd-dharanikas*, *rājasthānīyas*, *kumārāmātyas*, etc and others according as they are concerned —

(L 23) “Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain rewards in this (*world*) and in the next, I have granted —

(L 24) “180 *pādāvartas*,⁴ (*held by*) *Chara* (?), on the north-easterly boundary of the village

¹ See Mr Jackson's remarks, *loc cit*, bottom of page

² Nos 469-472 of Prof Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*

³ *Gupta Inscr* plate xxiv l 10, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 72, plate, l 11

⁴ On this term see *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 305, note 21, and above, Vol III p 323, note 3

Nātyōtaka belonging to¹ the [Bamvū]vānaka district (*sthali*),² and in the west of the field of Dāraka in the village Ēkalika, and in the north of the field of Āditya, 120 *pādāvartas*, and the Nimba pond (*vāpi*) containing³ 32 *pādāvartas*, in the east of the road on the north-western boundary (of *Nātyōtaka*), 130 *pādāvartas*, held by⁴ Gōksba, on both banks of the (river) Vatsa-vahaka⁵ and within the upper part of the Khandabhēdaka tank (*tatāka*) on the south-western boundary of Dē[va]rakshitapātaka belonging to the Nimbakūpa district (*sthali*), 100 *pādāvartas*, held by Dhārmika, on the northern boundary of the village Chitrakasthalya belonging to the Kadambapadra district (*sthali*), and the Avatara pond (*vāpi*), held by Kōdhaka, on the eastern boundary of the ground⁶ of Kadambapadra, —

(L 29) “this (*land*), with the *udranga*, with the *uparikara*, with the *vāta-bhūta-dhānyahiranyādēya*, with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhīdra*, to the two Brāhmanas Rōgha and Śyēna of the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina (*school*) and of the Kṛusika *gōtra*, for the performance of the rites of the five great sacrifices, (*viz*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaisvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth shall exist, to be enjoyed by (*his*) sons, grandsons, and (*further*) descendants, with libations of water, as a *brahmadēya*”

Then there follow the usual admonitions, and two verses of Vyāsa The last line runs —

“(This is) the signature of Myself, the *Mahārāja Śrī Dnarasēna* (*This edict was*) written by the *sandhuvigrahādhhikṛita* Skandabhata The *dū[taka]* (*was*) Chirbira The year 252, the 15th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of *Vaisākha*”

The date has to be referred to the Gupta-Valabhī era of A D 319, and the specified month places the record in A D 571 The *dūtaka*, Chirbira, is mentioned in five other grants of Dharasēna II⁷ The writer, Skandabhata, served both Dharasēna II⁸ and his father and predecessor Guhasēna⁹ I am unable to identify the geographical names mentioned in the grant

TEXT¹⁰

First Plate

- 1 [ॐ]¹¹ स्वस्त¹² [॥*] वलभीत[*] प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणा १३मैत्रकाणामतुलवलस-
पत्तमण्डल[१]भोगस(स)सक्तसप्रहृ[१*]रयतलव्यप्रता-
2 प[.*] [प्र]तापोपनतदानम[१*]नाज्जवोपार्जिता[नु*]रागोनुरक्तमैलभुतमित्रश्रीणी-
वलावास(॥)राज्यश्री[.*]¹⁴ परममाहेय्यर

¹ The gerundive *prāpya* (spelt *prāpiya* or *prāpiya* in this grant) is synonymous with *antargata*, it occurs again in ll 26 and 28 Compare above, Vol III p 323, note 2

² The same term is found in other Valabhī grants See *Ind Ant* Vol V p 212, text line 23, Vol. VI p 12, text l 5, Vol XIV p 330, text l 23, Vol XV p 187 f, *Bhavnagar Inscr* p 37, text l 6

³ For *parisara*, ‘extent or area of a pond,’ see *Gupta Inscr* p 166, text l 25, above, Vol IV p 80, text l 55, *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 239, text l 6, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol VII p 299, text l 20 f

⁴ For *pratyaya*, ‘holding,’ see *Gupta Inscr* p 170, note 5, above, Vol IV p 80, text ll 55 and 61, *Ind Ant* Vol V p 205, text l 16, and Vol XIV p 330, text ll 23 25, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol VII p 299, text ll 17 and 19

⁵ Compare *Piñchhalūpikā vāva*, above, Vol IV p 80, text ll 55 and 59

⁶ For *svatāla* see *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 15, text l 11, Vol IX p 239, text l 4, Vol XIV p 330, text l 25; Vol XV p 187, note 9

⁷ *Gupta Inscr* p 167, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 70, Vol VIII p 303, Vol XV p 188, *Bhavnagar Inscr* p 37

⁸ *Gupta Inscr* p 167, *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 12, Vol VII pp 70 and 73, Vol VIII p 303, Vol XV p 188, *Bhavnagar Inscr* p 37

⁹ *Ind Ant* Vol IV p 175, and Vol V p 207

¹⁰ From ink impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya

¹² Read स्वस्ति

¹⁴ Read मैत्रकाणाम^o

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol

¹³ Read ॐश्री^o

- 3 श्रीसेनापतिभटार्कस्तस्य¹ सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुणावनतपवित्रिक्रितशिरा[.]*² शिरावनत-
शत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविकु-³
- 4 रितपदन्खपन्तिदिधितिदीनान्नाथक्रिपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभव[.]*⁴ पर[म*]माहेश्वरः
श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानु-
- 5 जस्त[त्*]पादाभिप्रणामप्रस्ततस्ततरविमलमौलिमणिर्म(र)न्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानध-
र्मा⁵ धर्मराज यिव⁶ वि[हि]तविन-
- 6 यव्यवस्थापइतरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभगैकस्वामिना⁷ परमस्वामिना स्वयसुपहितराज्या-
भिषकमहा⁸ विश्राणनाव-
- 7 पूतराजश्री[.]* परममाहेश्वर⁹ महाराजश्रीद्रोणसिंह[.]* सिंह¹⁰ इव तस्यानुज[.]*
स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघ-
- 8 टानीकानामकविजयि¹¹ शरणेपिणा¹² शरणमवबोडा शास्त्रार्थतत्वाना¹³ कल्प-
तररिव¹⁴ सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिना¹⁵ यथाभि-
- 9 लषितकामफलोपभोगद[.]* परमभागवत[.]* श्रीमहाराजध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुजस्त-
ञ्चरणार[वि]न्दप्रणतिप्रविधता-¹⁶
- 10 शेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्वचरितोदकचालित(र)सकलकलिकलकः प्रसभनिर्जिताराति-
पक्षप्रथितमहिमां¹⁷ पर-
- 11 भादित्यभक्त[.]* श्रीमहाराजधरपडस्तस्य[र*]त्नजस्तत्पाद(र)सपरिव्याघासपुण्योद-
य[.]*¹⁸ शैशवा[त्*] प्रभृत्¹⁹ खड्गद्वितिय-²⁰
- 12 बाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस्वत्वनिकषः²¹ तत्रभाव(र)प्रणताराति-
चूड[र]त्नप्रभासस-
- 13 क्तसव्यपादनखरश्मिसंहति[.]* सकलस्मितिप्रणितमार्गसम्यत्परिपालनप्रजाहृदय-
र[ञ्ज]नादन्वर्त्यराजशब्दो²² [रू]-
- 14 पकान्तिस्थिर्यगाम्भिर्य(र)बुद्धिसम्पद्भिः[.]*²³ स्मरशश[र*]हृ[र*]र्द्विराजोदधित्रिदशगुरु-
धनेशान(र)तिशयान[.]*²⁴ शरणगताभय-
- 15 प्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्त[र*]शेषस्वकार्यफल[.]*²⁵ प्र[र*]र्त्यन[र*]धिकार्थप्रदा-
नानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिहृद-

1 Read °सेनापति°

2 Read °पवित्रीकृत°.

3 Read शिरो° and °विष्णु°

4 Read °पादमखपङ्क्तिदीधितिर्दीनानाथकृपण°

5 Read °प्रशस्ततर°

6 Read इव

7 Read °पइति° and °लामीगैक°.

8 Read °भिषेक°.

9 Read °श्वरी.

10 Read °सिंह सिंह.

11 Read °नामेकविजयी

12 Read °शरणे°.

13 Read °तत्त्वाना

14 Read °तररिव.

15 Read °ना.

16 Read °विधौता°

17 Read °मा.

18 Read °सपर्या°

19 Read प्रभृति.

20 Read °द्वितीय°.

21 Read °सुस्व°

22 Read °स्मृतिप्रणीत° and °सम्यक्परि°.

23 Read °स्थैर्यगाम्भीर्य°

24 Read °शशाङ्गि°

25 The द of तृणवद° was corrected by the engraver from व

2
 4
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 8
 10
 12
 14
 16
 18

The image shows a highly degraded and heavily eroded metal plate with inscriptions in an ancient script, likely Kharosthi. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The characters are severely worn and difficult to decipher, but the overall layout and line structure are visible. There are two circular holes on the right side of the plate, which were likely used for binding or display purposes.

20
 22
 24
 26
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 36

- 16 यः[*] पादचारिव¹ सकलभूवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः[*]² परममाहेश्वरः[*]³
श्रीमह[र]राजगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्या-
- 17 दन[ख]मयूखसन्त[र]ननिव्रितजाङ्गविजलोघविचालिताशेषकल्पः⁴ प्रणयिशतसहस्रो-
पजी-
- 18 व्यः[.]भोगसम्प[द*][रू]पलोभा[दि]वाश्रीतः[*]⁵ सरसम[र*]भिगामिकैगुणे⁶ सहज-
शक्तिशीलाविशेषविमापिताखिलधनु[र्]र[.]*⁷

Second Plate

- 19 प्रथम[न]रपतिस[मतिष्ठ]ष्ट[र]नामनुपालयता⁸ धर्मदायाना[म*]पकर्त्ता प्रजीपच[र*]-
तकारिणां(न)सु[प]-⁹
- 20 भूवानं[र] दरिशयिता¹⁰ श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मिपरिचोभ-
दक्षविक्रमः[*]¹¹ क्रमो[प]-
- 21 संप्र[र]प्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः[*] परममाहेश्वरः[*] श्रीमहाराजधरसेन(II)कुशली
सर्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तकद्रागिक-
- 22 महत्तरचाटभटभुवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशकचोरोद्धरणिकराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्यादी-
(नां)नन्याश्च¹² य[था]-
- 23 सबद्धमानका[न*]¹³ समान्नापयत्यस्तु वः[*] संविदित¹⁴ यथा मया म[र*]-
तापिपुण्याप्यायना[या*]त्मनश्चैहिक[र]मुष्मिकफ-¹⁵
- 24 ल[र*]वातये ॥ [वं]वानकस्थलिप्र[र*]पीये¹⁶ नाद्योटकग्रामे पूर्वोत्तरसिन्धि¹⁷ तथा
एकलिकग्रामे च [द]रकसत्कचेत्राद-
- 25 परत[.]* [च]रिपादावर्त्तशत अशीत्यधिक¹⁸ तथा आदित्यचेत्राचोत्तरतः[*]¹⁹ ॥
तथा(द)परोत्तरसीन्धि²⁰ पथा²¹ पूर्वतः[*] पादावर्त्तशत²²
- 26 विशधिकं²³ द्वात्रिंशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा²⁴ निम्बवापी [र*] तथा निम्बकुपस्थलिप्र[र*]-
पीये²⁵ दे[व*]रचितपाटके अवरदक्षणीन्धि²⁶
- 27 वत्सवहकस्योभयतटेपु²⁷ खण्डभेदकतटाकाग्रोदरे च पादावर्त्तशतं त्रिंशधिकं²⁸ गोच-
प्रत्यय [र*] तथा कदम्बप-

¹ Read °चारिव⁴ Read °सताननिर्भेसजाङ्गवौकलौघ°⁷ Read °मिच्छा° and °विष्मापिता°¹⁰ Read दर्शयिता¹³ Read °सबध्यमान°¹⁸ Read °इयलौप्राप्ये¹⁹ Read °चेत्राश्रीसरत-²² Read °शत.²⁵ Read °कूपस्थलीप्राप्ये.²⁸ Read त्रिंशदधिक.² Read °भूवन°⁵ Read °वाश्रित⁸ Read °नामनुपालयिता¹¹ Read °लक्ष्मीपरिभोग°¹⁴ Read °त¹⁷ Read पूर्वोत्तरसीन्धि²⁰ Read °प्रीसर°²³ Read त्रिंशदधिक²⁶ Read अपरदर्शिक°³ Read °हेश्वर.⁶ Read °कैर्गुणे⁹ Read °कारिणासुप°.¹² Read °पाशिक°.¹⁵ Read °पिट°¹⁸ Read °शतमशीत्यधिक²¹ Read पथ²⁴ Read द्वात्रिंशत्पादा°.²⁷ Read °तटयो.

- 28 द्रस्थलिप्रापिये¹ चित्रकस्थल्यग्रामे उत्तरसीन्नि पादावर्त्तशतं धार्मिकप्रत्ययं
[I*] तथा कदम्बपद्रस्तले पूर्वसीन्नि कोधकप्रत्यया [अवतर]-
- 29 वापी [I*] एत[त्*] सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकर² सव[र*]तभूतधान्यहि[र*]खादेयं
सोत्पद्यम[I*]नवेष्टिकं समस्तराजकिय[I*]न[I*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणियं³ भूमि-
च्छिद्रन्याये[न]⁴
- 30 (न) वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनकौशिकसगोत्रन्न[I*]ह्यणरोघश्येनाभ्या बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा-
ग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायाज्ञिकान[I*]
- 31 क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्काण[व]सिरिद्धितिस्थितिसमकालिनं⁵ पुत्रपौत्रा-
न्वयभोग्य उ[द्र*]कातिस[र्ग]ेण ब्र-
- 32 ह्यदेय निस्सिष्ट⁶ [I*] यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भूजत[:*]
क्षिपत[:*] कर्षिपयत[:*]⁷ प्रदिश(य)तो वा न कैश्चि[त्*] प्रति-
षेधे वर्त्तित[व्य]-
- 33 मागामिभद्रनिपतिभिश्चास्वहृशजैरनित्यानैश्वर्यान्वस्थिरं⁸ म[I*]नुष्य सामा-
न्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य[:*]⁹
- 34 परिपालयतव्यश्च¹⁰ [I*] यश्चैनमाच्छिन्द्य[I*]दाच्छिद्यम[I*]नं(र)¹¹ वानुसोदेत
स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै[:*]¹² सोपपातकै[:*] सयुक्त[:*]¹³ स्यादित्युक्त¹⁴
च भगवता वैदेव्या-¹⁵
- 35 सेन व्य[I*]से[न ॥*] षष्टिवरिषसहस्राणि¹⁶ स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भुमिद[:*]¹⁷ I*]
आच्छेत्¹⁸ चानुमन्त[I*] च तान्येव नरेकै¹⁹ वसि[त्*] । [१*] बहु-
भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[:*] यस्य यस्य यदा भु-
- 36 मि[त]स्य²⁰ तस्य तदा [फ]लमिति ॥ [२*] स्वहस्ती मम महाराज-
[श्री]धरसेनस्य ॥ लिखित सन्धिविग्रहाधिक्रितस्कन्दभटेन²¹ ॥ दू²²
चिर्बिर्[.]* ॥ स २०० ५० २ वैश[र*]ख व १० ५ [॥*]

¹ Read °स्वलीप्राप्ये

⁴ Read भूमिच्छिद्र°

⁷ Read भूजत कृपत कर्षयत

⁹ Read भूमि°, गच्छ°, and °साहायी°

¹² Read °भिर्महा°.

¹⁵ Read वेद°

¹⁸ Read आच्छेत्ता

²¹ Read °षिक्त°

² Read °कर

⁶ Read °सरिद्धिति° and °कालीन

⁸ Read °नृपतिभिश्चास्वहृशजैरनित्यानैश्वर्यान्वस्थिर

¹⁰ Read °पालयित°

¹³ Read सयुक्त .

¹⁶ Read °वर्ष°

¹⁹ Read नरेकै.

³ Read °राजकीया° and °प्रक्षेपणीय

⁶ Read निस्सृष्ट

¹¹ Read °माच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य°.

¹⁴ Read °क्त

¹⁷ Read भूमि°

²⁰ Read भूमिसस्य,

²² This is an abbreviation of दूतक Compare Gupta Inscr p 167, note 8, Ind Ant. Vol. VII, p 70, text line 18, and Vol. VIII, p 303, note 12, Bhavnagar Inscr p 37, text l 18

POSTSCRIPT.

I avail myself of this opportunity for correcting certain mistakes which I have committed in two former articles on Valabhi grants

1 In Vol III p 323, l 11, read "Harīyānaka, which belongs to Akshasaraka, (a subdivision) of the Hastavaprāharani" On *prāpiya* (for *prāpya*) see now above, p 81, note 1

2 When reading with me the Nōgawā plates (Vol VIII No 20), Mr T K Laddu justly observed that *uchyamāna* cannot mean 'said,' but means 'being said, about to be mentioned' Consequently, the expressions *uchyamāna-bhuktāu* and *uchyamāna-vishayē* (Vol VIII p 189) are intended for *Navagrāmaka-bhuktāu* and *Chandraputrala-vishayē* Likewise, on p 193, text lines 38 f and 40, *uchyamāna-chāturvīdyā-sāmānya* stands for *Navagrāmaka-chāturvīdyā-sāmānya*, and on p 198, text line 13, the same term represents *Chandraputraka-chāturvīdyā-sāmānya* In the Index to Vol VIII the two districts *Navagrāmaka-bhukti* and *Chandraputraka-vishaya* have to be entered accordingly

No 6—JANKHAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIRASENA

By F. E. PARGITER, M A, I C S (RETD)

This inscription was found by Mr. R Burn in the village of Jānkhat in the Tirwa tahsil of the Farukhabad District, United Provinces, and he gave a brief notice of it in the *Jour. R. As Soc.*, 1900, p 553 It is engraved on the back of a carved stone, which was among the collection of carved stones called the *Gawān dēu* or "village gods" Mr Marshall sent Dr Fleet an ink-impression and an estampage of it, together with a photograph of the collection of village gods, which shows the stone amid a quantity of carved stones and fragments of all kinds, and at Dr Fleet's request I have edited the record¹ The front of the stone appears to present in bold relief the head and open mouth of some animal

Above the inscription are three emblems occupying a triangular space 2½" high and 3" wide The middle and highest emblem represents a tree, and on each side is that of a "charitya."—The inscription occupies a space 7¼" high and 4½" wide, and is arranged in seven lines there seem to be some traces of an eighth line, but the tops of the letters do not always maintain a level The letters are in good preservation except at the beginning of the lines The first letter is partially obliterated in each of the first four lines The last three lines have suffered most, for the first letter in each has disappeared, the final letter is blurred, and most unfortunately the middle letters have gone entirely From the appearance of this middle portion of the lower half of the inscription Mr Burn inferred that it had been used to sharpen chisels on This defacement extends also into the fourth line where one or two letters have been obliterated The only lines therefore that are fairly complete are the first three—The characters are Brāhmī, well made and clearly cut, most of which are about ½" high I will consider their form when discussing the age of the inscription here I need only say that they include the numeral symbols for 3, 4 and 10, and that the short superscript *ṛ* is made to do duty for the long vowel—The language may be either mixed dialect or Prākṛit, perhaps rather the latter We have the genitive singular in *sa* twice, and the genitive plural in *nam* The genitive plural *gishmānam* is peculiar, we should expect the genitive singular The same genitive plural, however, is found in the form *gimhāna* in inscriptions at Nāsik, above, Vol VIII, p 60, line 1, and p 73, line 12, and we have also *hēma(m)tāna*, p 94, line 1, where, again, we should expect the genitive singular These genitives were perhaps devised on the analogy of the quite correct *vasāna* = *varshānām*, *ibid*, p 73, line 12

¹ I have to thank him for various corrections and emendations

The inscription has suffered so much damage that we can form no opinion as to what its purport was after the opening part of it. Its interest lies in the point that it is a lithic record of a king, the Svāmīn Virasēna, who may be identified with practical certainty with a king Virasēna of whom we have coins. Professor Rapson has described and figured one of the coins in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 115, and notes there certain symbols on it which have some general resemblance (but nothing specific except the tree) with the symbols on this stone. And Mr V. Smith has described fourteen of them, and figured two, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 197, and conjectures there (p. 191 f.) from the provenance of them that Virasēna was a king in the Gangetic Deab about A. D. 300.

The record is dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Virasēna,¹ and on the eighth day in the fourth fortnight of the hot season. As no year of an era is given and the date of Virasēna is not known, we can only fix on palæographic grounds the period to which the record may be referred; and the following remarks are offered towards elucidating this point. The letters that occur clearly are *k, g, t, n, p, m, y, r, v, sh* and *s*, and they may be compared with the Brāhmī forms in Tables II and III in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*. The facts to be ascertained must be, not what are the earliest records with which letters found in this inscription tally, for particular forms, such for instance as those of *k* and *n*, persisted with little or no modification for several centuries, but rather what was the period when any later or new forms found in this inscription came into use.² The forms of certain of these letters, namely, *m, y, v*, and *sh* do not occur in Table II and are first found in Table III; hence these letters deserve most notice and attention may be confined to Table III. The form of *m* resembles most those in columns VI and VIII of that table, that of *y* those in columns I, II, IX and XIII, that of *v* these in columns I and VIII, and that of *sh* the form in column XIV. The forms of *y* and *v* are therefore found in inscriptions varying in date from the 1st century B. C. to the 2nd century A. D., that of *m* in the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D., and that of *sh* not until the second century A. D. The most significant therefore of these letters is *sh*, and its form shews that the inscription cannot be earlier than the 2nd century A. D. There are two other features which point to a somewhat later period. First, the mark for the long vowel *ā*, in the letters portrayed in Table III, is formed by a short horizontal bar drawn to the right from the head of a consonant, but here the bar always shows a slight curve upwards—a tendency that became more pronounced in one form of this vowel in the later Gupta alphabet. Secondly, the heads of the letters in this inscription are slightly, yet quite distinctly, wedge-shaped, and this feature also became well developed in the Gupta alphabet. It would therefore appear that this record should be assigned to a time later than the second century, that is, to the 3rd century A. D., and very possibly to the latter part of it, and this agrees with Mr V. Smith's conjecture regarding Virasēna's age, mentioned above.

TEXT.

- 1 Svāmīsa³ Virasēnasa
 2 samvatsarē 10 3 gushmā-
 3 nam pākshē⁴ 4 divasē⁵ 8

¹ Mr Burn read the year rightly, as 13, in his account mentioned above. Mr V. Smith read it as 113, but the character before that for 10 is clearly *rē*, the last syllable of *samvatsarē*.

² [This principle, however, must be applied with caution. Any particular record may easily give the first available instances of types found in it, and so may carry them back to earlier times than had been previously established for them.—J. F. F.]

³ Read *svāmīsa*. There is a dot above the *sa*, which looks like an *anusvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

⁴ Read *pākshē*.

⁵ There is a dot above the *sē*, which looks like an *anusvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

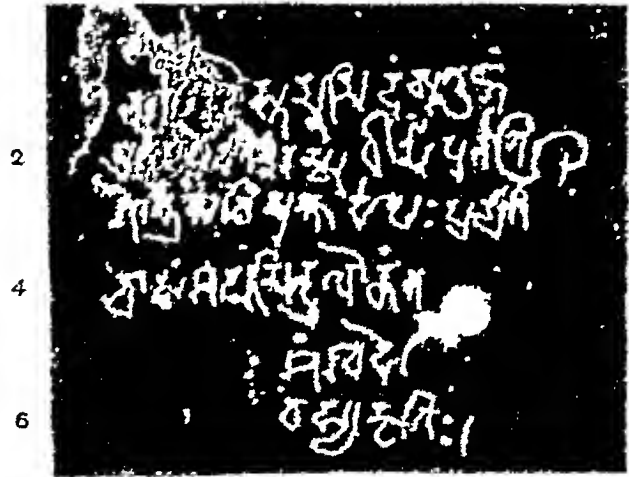
Jankhat Brahmi inscription and Kosam pillar inscriptions

Jankhat inscription of Virasena



SCALE ONE-HALF

Kosam pillar inscription —A



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

Kosam pillar inscription —B



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

4	1	mi mō	[y]ikā [vā]-
5		ya	tata
6	..	vi	.	.	n[ā]ya
7	..	eprn[sa]	.	..	m[ma]

TRANSLATION.

In the year 10 (and) 3 of Svāmin Vīrasēna, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season,² on the day 8

No 7—TWO RECORDS ON THE PILLAR AT KOSAM

By F E PARCITER, M A , I C S. (RETD)

The two following inscriptions were noticed by General Sir A Cunningham in his description of the pillar at Kosam in his Archaeological Survey of India, Vol I, p 310. Impressions of them were sent me by Dr Fleet which he received from Dr Konow, and at his request I have written this paper on them.

A.—A verse of the 7th or 8th century, A D

This is described by General Cunningham thus —“The next inscription in point of time consists of six lines in characters of the 6th or 7th century. As this record is placed on the lower part of the shaft, from 3 to 4 feet beneath the present ground level, and as the lines are perpendicular to the sides of the shaft, I infer that at the time when it was inscribed, the pillar was still standing upright in its original position, and that the surrounding buildings were still in perfect order. This inference is fully borne out by Hwen Thsang’s account, etc.”

It is written in the Gupta character of the latter part of the 7th century. The letters are large and somewhat irregularly formed, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. The language is Sanskrit, and the composition is a verse in the *upēndravajrā* metre written in four lines with the author’s name added in the fifth and sixth lines. But the engraver has marred the appearance of the verse by the manner in which he has inscribed it. The first line contains the first *pāda* of the verse, but in consequence of his making the first 8 *aksharas* of the second line somewhat small and close he got into it not only the second *pāda* but also the first 3 *aksharas* of the third *pāda*. The third line then contains the remainder of the third *pāda* and the first 3 *aksharas* of the fourth *pāda*, and the fourth line, receiving only the remaining 8 *aksharas* of that *pāda*, looks not only incomplete but also erroneous in beginning with the word *cha*. Consequently also the metre appears faulty and the meaning is obscured. When properly adjusted the *pādas* read aright and the metre is correct. The end of the second line is ornamented with a peculiar scroll, in which the symbol for the vowel *i* in the final *ti* has been continued in a line which bends around beneath the letter *t*, ascends on its right and finishes in a right-handed curve further to the right. The incorrect structure of the lines suggests an explanation of this scroll. The portion of the scroll along the right side of the letter *t* is an upright line. The first half of the verse ends with *su-dhīryam*, but the engraver, thinking that it ended with

¹ This *akshara*, judging from what remains of it and from the space which it occupies, would seem to be a double consonant, of which *kh*, *ch* or *v* is the second member. It may perhaps be *sva* or *svā*.

² The fourth fortnight of the hot season would be the last fortnight of it, if we should reckon six seasons in the year, and would be (for the time of our record) about the first half of June with the year of three seasons this fortnight would be about the first half of April.

the second line, put the usual bar there, and the mistake was rectified by turning the bar into a meaningless scroll, continuing its lower portion backward beneath the *t* into the vowel *i* and its upper portion forward in the curve to the right. There was not sufficient room to insert the single bar after *su-dhīryam*, but the double bar at the close of the verse occurs correctly at the end of the fourth line.

The letters are of the Gupta character and resemble most closely those of the Aplead inscription of about A. D. 675, portrayed by Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie*, Table IV, cols. XVIII and XIX (especially the former), with a tendency in some cases towards the shapes in the Multāi inscription of A. D. 708-9, and of the Dighwā-Dubauli inscription of A. D. 761-2, cols. XX and XXI in that Table, such as the *dh* (l. 2). At the same time some of the letters have the earlier forms found in the Kāhām inscription of A. D. 459, col. V in that Table, such as *i* and *bh* (l. 1), *v* (l. 3), *ś* (ll. 4 and 5) and *l* (l. 6), though *k* also appears in its form in col. XVIII in the fourth line. The *n* has a peculiar shape, an upright line with a horizontal bar attached to its left side, as in *punāti* (l. 2), and *Indra* (l. 4), thus approximating to its modern form. The inscription may therefore be assigned to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, A. D.

Cunningham inferred from Hsuen Tsang's account of this spot that this pillar was standing erect at that traveller's visit there during the early part of the 7th century in Harsha's reign, and the manner in which he says this verse is engraved (quoted above) shows that the pillar was also erect when it was engraved, which appears to have been at the end of that century or the beginning of the 8th century. He says the pillar is a Buddhist structure, and the earliest inscription which it bears is an incomplete record which he ascribes to the 4th or 5th century.¹ Buddhism must have retained its possession of this spot during Harsha's reign, for Mr. V. Smith says "Harsha himself distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family, Śiva, the Sun and Buddha, . . . But, in his later years, the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place in his affections, and the eloquence of the Chinese Master of the Law induced him to prefer the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna sect to the more primitive Hīnayāna doctrine of the Sammitiya school with which he had been familiar previously."² The question arises whether this verse half a century or more later is a Buddhist or brāhmanical inscription. I am not sure whether the reference to Indra's world could be a Buddhist benediction. It seems more like a brāhmanic benediction, and this is supported by the facts that the verse is in Sanskrit and that the author's name is Śankha-dēva, which might be a synonym for Viṣṇu. If then this verse be a brāhmanical inscription, may we infer that it marks the time when Brāhmanism ousted Buddhism from this spot?

TEXT

1 Ōm³ Ya [ikshat]ē stambham=īdam su-tungam
 2 [grah-ārucau] pāti⁴ naras=su-dhīryam⁵ punāti
 3 gōttram sa vimukta-pāpah⁶ prayāti
 4 ch-āsamsāyam=Indra-lōkam ||
 5 Śankha-dē-
 6 vasya kritiḥ |

¹ A. S. I. Vol. I pp. 309-10

² *Early History of India*, p. 291.

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ These two words and the following *na* are so much blurred that they are far from clear, but what remains of the letters viewed according to the requirements of the metre suggests the reading given

⁵ Read *dhīryam*

⁶ The first of these two *p*'s differs considerably from the normal shape, but there can be no doubt that it is a *p* badly formed

TRANSLATION.

The man, who fixes his look on this very tall pillar, preserves great fortitude when the planets are adverse ¹ delivered from sin, he purifies his kindred and proceeds without doubt to Indra's world

The composition of Śankha-dēva

B—An inscription of A.D 1565

This is described as two inscriptions by General Sir A. Cunningham in the following words² — “This [that is, a brief record of Akbar's time] is followed by a short record of a son, or goldsmith, in three lines, below which is a long inscription dated in Samvat 1621, or A.D. 1564, in the early part of Akbar's reign, detailing the genealogy of a whole family of goldsmiths. It is in this inscription that the name *Kōsūmbipura* occurs, the founder of the family, named Anand Rām Das, having died at Kosam.” He thus pronounced the first three lines of this record to be one inscription and the remainder a separate inscription, but they appear to me to be one, for the following reasons. First the style of the writing is exactly the same throughout. Secondly, the space between *Srī-Gaṇēśah* in line 1 and *Sambat 1621* in line 4 is merely the size of a single row of letters and is just about the interval that would ordinarily be left between the invocation to a deity and the body of the composition. The remainder of line 1 and lines 2 and 3 have been inserted by curving the writing upwards to the right so as to widen out the space to the right between lines 1 and 4 thus there is just room for the word *mukha* between *bānān* in line 1 and *samaa:* in line 4, and as lines 1 and 2 curve away upwards, room is found to insert *dēv Bhairav* beneath *darpan sōninha* and above the end of line 4. The whole inscription looks as if it had been written at first thus—*Srī Gaṇēśah* as the heading and then *Sambat 1621*, etc., to the end, and as if the words *bānān* to *dēv Bhairav* had been added afterwards, the writing being curved upwards so as to make room for these latter words in the manner described above. Thirdly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate inscription, there was no reason to curve the writing, whether it were written before or after lines 4-18, because, if written before, there would have been a clear space and the inscription would naturally have been written compactly in two or three straight lines conformably to its invocation, and if written afterwards, it would have been placed higher (for there is sufficient unused space above) and then written straight similarly. Fourthly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate composition, it contains no personal name but merely refers vaguely to the “city goldsmiths”, whereas, if the whole is one inscription, the addition in lines 1-3 would be a natural after-thought as a preface to the subsequent names and in order to record a prayer to Bhairava on behalf of them collectively. No argument can be based on the fact that the prayer to Bhairava follows the invocation to Gaṇēśa, because the invocation and the prayer are in one and the same inscription according to either theory. Lastly, the inscription seems, when read as a whole, to give a better sense than when treated as two separate compositions—a point referred to more particularly at the end of this article.

The inscription is written in characters, well-made and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, which (that is, such of them as occur) have a close resemblance to ordinary Nāgarī. The chief puzzle occurs in the letter *sh*, which, if read as such, produces meaningless words. The key to explain this difficulty lies in the fact that in the modern vernacular of Upper India this letter, when non-initial and uncompounded, is very commonly pronounced *kh*, thus, *purush*, ‘a man’, appears as *purukh*, *rishi*, ‘a rishi’, as *rikhi* and *rikh*, *tushār*, ‘mist, frost’, as *tukhār*, and so on. This modification of the letter *sh* appears to have been so generally established, that the character

¹ This is a possible Sanskrit expression, though certainly peculiar. It is not, however, stranger than various compound words found in the Kāvya literature, and the author was limited in his choice of words by the metre.

² A. S. I. Vol I pp 310 11

for it is used here uniformly to express *lh*¹ The proper character for *lh* seems to be that, which is used only once, namely, in the word *Lakṣmī* (=Lakṣmī) in line 7, and which approximates to the form of *lh* in Bengali² Everywhere else *lh* is expressed by the character for *sh*, and this is done whether *lh* represents an original *sh* as in the word *puruḥ* (l 9), or whether it is a genuine *lh* as in the words *mukha* (l 2) and *lkhītē* (l 5), or whether it represents an original *ksh* as in the words *Lakṣmanu* (l 5), *lhēma* (l 8), and *Lakṣmī* (l 17) When this peculiarity is observed, the inscription becomes intelligible

The inscription is in the vernacular No distinction is made between the sibilants *ś* and *ṣ*, and both are written as *s*, thus, *Mahēsa* appears as *Mahōsa* (l 11) and *Kauśāmbī* as *Kausambi* (l 7), and *Śrī-Gaṇēsah* as *Srī-Gaṇēsah* (l 1) Similarly *sh* when compounded is written *s*, as in *Baisnav* for *Baiṣhnava* (l 6, and 15-18) Nor is any distinction made between cerebral and dental nasals (with one exception), thus, *darpana* appears as *darpan* (l 2), *kripana* as *krapan* (l 8) and *Baiṣhnava* as *Baisnav* The one exception occurs in the invocation *Srī-Gaṇēsah*, and the scribe's knowledge was so faulty that, though he has written the *n* right, he has turned the *s* twice into *s* It seems possible further that he did not distinguish between the other cerebral and dental letters, for *Chamanda* (l 13) looks as if obtained from *Chāmunda*

The character for *v* appears in its ordinary Nāgarī form and also with a dot beneath it The latter form occurs only at the end of words, as in *dēv Bhairav* (l 3) and *Baisnav* (ll 6, and 15-18) In words ending in *ia*, the *v* in the present vernacular drops its inherent *a* and is commonly pronounced with a vowel sound like *w* or *o*, thus, *dēvia* becomes *dēw* or *dēo* The dotted form therefore appears to represent *v* (with that sound), and the undotted form no doubt represents *b*, as seems clear from its use in the name *Kausambi* (l 7), the ancient form of which is always *Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit writings, and also in the word *bānān* (l 1), which is obviously a verb corresponding to the existing verb *banā-nā* (Hindi) and *bānā-itē* (Bengali), 'to make, fabricate,' and in which the initial *b* is so well established that no form with an initial *v* ever appears, so far as I am aware In a similar way final *ya* drops its inherent *a*, and the *y* is then often pronounced as *ē*, and this no doubt explains why the character for *ē* appears instead of *y* in *samaan* (l 4)

As the language is the vernacular and the vernaculars have generally dropped the *a* inherent in the last consonant (if uncompounded) of a word, the presumption is that the words here must be read without the final *a*, and this is corroborated by the words *bānān* (l 1) and *darsān* (l 2) which, as discussed later, cannot have a final *a* The nominative is the same in the plural as in the singular, as in *sōnī* (l 1) and *puruḥ* (l 9), and the plural base for the oblique cases is formed by adding *nha* to the singular base, as in *sōnīnha* (l 2) and somewhat similarly in the pronoun *tēnha* (l 9) The accusative-dative is formed with the suffix *lav* (l 2) and the genitive with *kē* (l 9, 15) The *kē* appears to undergo no modification, for it is the same with the nominative plural *puruḥ* (l 9) and the apparently nominative singular *put* (l 15) *Samaan* (l 4, probably for *samayē*) appears to be the locative singular of *samay* or *samaē* *Bānān* (l 1) apparently = Hindi *banāēn*,³ the 3rd person plural of the aorist tense This verbal base appears with *ā* in Bengali *bānā-itē* The second *darpan* in line 2 should, it seems to me, be *darsān*, that is, *darsān*, because there must be a verb in this sentence and the second *darpan* is meaningless, and *darsān* is so much like *darpan*, that the engraver might easily have confused the two by oversight and so have written *darpan* twice *Darsān* would = Hindi *darsāēn*,³ the 3rd person plural of the imperative, used honorifically for the singular This causal verbal base appears in Hindi *darsā nā* and Bengali *darsā-itē* *Lkhītē* (l 5) seemingly = Hindi *lkhītē*, the plural of the tense *lkhītā*, which though called by some a conditional is very often used as a present tense The pronoun *ya* (l 1) = Hindi *yah*, and *pachhīlē* (l 9) = Hindi *pichhlā*

¹ [Compare Mr Bhandarkar's remarks on pp 50, 52 and 60 above —Ed]

² It cannot be the character for *lsh*, because Sanskrit *lsh* is modified into *lh* uniformly in this inscription

³ According to the method of transliteration generally adopted in Hindi grammars

The words *sōnarā* (l. 5) and *sōnī* (l. 1, 10—15) deserve notice as they appear to be distinguished. Though the signatories are mentioned collectively as *sōnis* (l. 1), yet those who sign as *sōnis* are definitely stated to be the *purukh*, 'men,' that is workmen, of Lakshman *sōnarā* and of four other persons to whose names no description is added. *Sōnarā* therefore seems to be a higher term than *sōnī*, and if *sōnī* designates the workman, *sōnarā* must obviously mean the master or employer, so that, if the former is translated 'goldsmith,' the latter should be rendered 'master goldsmith.' *Sōnyā* in Hindi means 'one who separates gold from ashes, etc., in the mint,' but there appears to be no word in Hindi corresponding to *sōnarā*, unless it be *sōnār* or *sunār*, the ordinary term for a goldsmith.

As regards the personal names, the inscription shows that much the same custom obtained in the sixteenth century as prevails now in using names shortly, familiarly or colloquially. The vowel *u* was often substituted for a final *a*, thus we find *Lakhimanu* (l. 5), *Nalīgu* (l. 10), *Ratanu* (l. 14) and *Anadu* (l. 16, 18).¹ *Lakhimanu* would be the colloquial form of *Lakhiman*, that is, *Lakshmana*, and *Ratanu* of some name beginning with *Ratna*, such as *Ratnadatta* or *Ratnachandra*. *Anadu* may be short for *Annada*, and the full name might be *Annada-dās* or *Annada-prasād*. *Birtī* (l. 6) is probably short for some name beginning with *britti*, that is, *vritti*. *Laghu* (l. 8) may = *Raghu*, the letters *r* and *l* being frequently interchanged in the colloquial, and the full name might be *Raghu-nāth*. *Chamanda* (l. 13) seems to point to some name like *Chāmundā-dās*, and *Chandīla* (l. 15) to *Chandrēsa* or *Chandrēśa*. *Dhanē* (l. 15) is no doubt short for *Dhanēśa* or *Dhanēśvara*, and *Karam* (l. 16) may be abbreviated from *Karam Chānd* (= *Karma-chandra*). I cannot resolve *Hōrīl* (l. 12) or *Manā* (l. 17), nor *Nalīgu* or its variants (l. 10), but *Hōrīla sūnha* is given as a name in Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

As regards the date of this record, Dr Fleet observes as follows — "It is not capable of actual verification, because the inscription does not include the weekday or some other detail necessary to that end. But, with the year taken as the expired year and the month as the *pūrṇimānta* month,— in both respects in accordance with the practice which prevailed generally at that time in the locality to which the record belongs,— the equivalent of the given details, (Vikrama)-samvat 1621, Chaitra vadī 5, is 20 February A. D. 1565."

It appears from this examination that the purport of the inscription differs from Sir A. Cunningham's surmise. It shows that five leading goldsmiths with thirteen of their employes put up this address to Ganēśa and Śiva-Bhairava for favour to the goldsmiths of Kauśāmbī town. Only three of the leading goldsmiths belonged to that town, and two were strangers apparently. The fact that these two are named first suggests that they were men of more importance than the three residents, and perhaps they were gold-merchants rather than goldsmiths. One of these two was a Vaiṣṇava and so were four of the employes, yet they also joined in this invocation to Ganēśa and Śiva-Bhairava. Surely no ordinary occasion would have caused all these men, that is, the whole local guild of goldsmiths, to join in recording such an inscription on this pillar. At that time, early in 1565, several of Akbar's chief nobles and commanders had revolted against him, hostilities were still going on, and the whole country from Delhi to Allahābād must have been in a lawless condition. Kauśāmbī was presumably a town of no great size or strength then, and its goldsmiths as men of some wealth must have been in danger of extortion or pillage at the hands of the soldiery. In such circumstances was it not natural that they should invoke Ganēśa as the god of wisdom, and pray that Śiva-Bhairava, the terrible god of destruction, would display to them a face calm and bright as a mirror?

Lastly, it is particularly worthy of notice that this record mentions Kōsam as Kausambi, that is, Kauśāmbī, at a period long before the time when archæologists began to identify the place with the Kauśāmbī, Kōsambī, of the Sanskrit and Buddhist books.

¹ [This practice seems to have been prevalent in Rajpūtana already in the 12th century A. D., see Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on p. 38 above.—Ed.]

TEXT.

1	Srī-Gaṇēśah	Bānān	ya	nāgarik	sōnī	
2		mukha-darpan	darpan ¹	sōnīnha	lau	
3				dēv	Bhairav	
4	Sambat	1621	samaa ²	nām	Chaitra-badi ³	
5	pamchamī ⁴	likhitē	Lakṣhmanu ⁵	sōnarā		
6	Baisnav ⁶	Ananda ⁷ -sut	Birtī			
7	Kausambi-purī	Lakṣmī-dās	tathā			
8		Khēma-kripan ⁸	Laghu	bhāi		
9		tēnha	kē	purakh	pachhilē	
10		Naligu ⁹	sōnī			
11		Mahēsa-das ¹⁰	sōnī			
12		Hōril	sōnī			
13		Chamanda	sōnī			
14		Ratanu	sōnī ¹¹			
15		Chamdulē	sōnī	kē	put	4 Dhanē Baisnav
16		Anadu	Rām-dās			Karam Baisnav
17		Lakṣmī-dās				Manū Baisnav
18		Basanta-Rām ¹²				Anadu Baisnav

TRANSLATION

Śrī Gaṇēśa¹ The town goldsmiths make this May the god Bhairava show a mirror-like face to the goldsmiths¹

Samvat 1621, at the time by name¹³ the fifth day of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Chaitra, write — Lakshman the master goldsmith, the Vaishnava Birtī son of Ānanda, Lakshmi-dās of the town of Kausambi,¹⁴ (*and*) of the same town the brothers Khēma-kripan (*and*) Laghu¹⁵

Their men (*write*) afterwards — Naligu the goldsmith, Mahēsa-dās the goldsmith, Hōril the goldsmith, Chamanda the goldsmith, Ratanu the goldsmith, the son of the goldsmith Chamdulē, Anadu Rām-dās, Lakshmi-dās, Basanta-Rām, (*and*) four (*others*), Dhanē Vaishnava, Karam Vaishnava, Manū Vaishnava, Anadu Vaishnava

¹ Read probably *darsān* (for *darsān*), see remarks on the grammar

² Read *samayē* probably

³ That is, Sanskrit *radī*

⁴ Read *pamchamī*

⁵ Or perhaps *Lakṣimnu*

⁶ Read *Baisnav*

⁷ Read *Ānanda*^o

⁸ That is, *kripan*

⁹ Or *Nanīgu* or *Nalīyu* or *Nanīyu*

¹⁰ Read *dās*

¹¹ Read *sōnī*

¹² The last letter looks something like *mhēm*, but the extra marks may be due to injury

¹³ Dr Fleet has drawn my attention to the constant occurrence of the expression "*Samvat — varshē*" in inscriptions, which is calculated to suggest that *samaa* is a synonym for *varshē* and should be applied to the preceding "*Sambat 1621*" Such a rendering however presents two difficulties to my mind, first, it would entail treating *nām* as a mere expletive, whereas the insertion of a mere expletive in this laconic inscription (for the preceding words, *bānān* to *bhairav*, were put in afterwards) would be strange, and secondly *samaya* is not ordinarily an equivalent of *varshā*, vernacular *bcras*, (which might well have been used here), but would apply quite correctly to a day, the *pamchamī*

¹⁴ *Kausambi purī* is an adjective formed from *Kausambi pur*

¹⁵ *Tathā* seems to refer to the adjective *Kausambi purī*, otherwise there appears to be no reason for its insertion in 17 It applies obviously to both Khēmakripan and Laghu, and so the word *bhāi* is probably plural agreement with both, though the meaning would be the same if we translate "*Khēmakripan (and) Laghu (his) brother*"¹⁶

No 8—THREE COPPER-PLATE RECORDS OF SONPUR

By B C MAZUMDAR, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., SAMBALPUR

The three copper plate charters which I now publish were all found in the feudatory State of Sonpur, attached to the district of Sambalpur. It was in the year 1898 that I deciphered them, as well as another charter which was found at Satalma (called Satallamā in the inscription) in the same district. Mr Slocock, the then Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, who gave me the Satalma charter to get deciphered, took it back from me with the transliteration and translation of its text, and forwarded it to the Museum at Nagpur¹.

In the sequel I shall have to refer to the Satalma plates as well as the copper-plate charters of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak which have been edited by Dr Fleet². For convenience of reference, the subjoined three inscriptions will be denoted by the letters A, B and C, respectively, the Satalma plates by S, and the records published by Dr Fleet by F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, F 5 and F 6.

As regards orthography, there are two points to be noticed before I proceed to deal with the individual inscriptions. The vowel *ri* was pronounced as *ri* and not as *ru*, as it is now done, by the inhabitants of Sambalpur and Orissa, see, e.g. *pravrita* for *pravritta* (C, l 15), *rīsayā* for *rīshayā* (C, l 25). A few similar cases have also been noticed in the Satalma³ grant and in the Kudopali plates⁴. *Trikalīngā* occurs for *Trikalīngā* (A, l 4, F 1, l 3) and *Rīshikēśā* for *Hrishikēśā* (F 1, l 15). There was only one letter current to denote both *v* and *b*. Owing to the fact that *b* is the pronunciation for both of them in Bengal and Orissa, it cannot be said that *v* is used wrongly for *b*, or *vice versa*.

A.—Vakratentalī charter of Mahābhavagupta I.

These are three plates (of four sides), of which the first and last are written on the inner sides only. They are narrower at the margins than in the middle. The height varies from $4\frac{1}{2}$ " to $4\frac{3}{4}$ " and the breadth from $8\frac{1}{8}$ " to 9". The plates are strung together on a nearly circular ring, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, which is passed through circular holes cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " from the edge. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper which bulges out on either side along the ring for a space of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". In addition to this, a copper pin appears to have been driven through the lump of copper. In the upper portion of this lump is a deep impression, nearly circular, about 2" in diameter. Here is the figure of a goddess in relief, squatting apparently on a lotus, flanked on each side by an elephant with its trunk uplifted. The elephant on the left side is not quite distinct. Close to it is a much defaced legend. I have read it tentatively as *Śrī-Janmējayadēva* [*rājasya*?]. Considering that the legends on most of the seals of this family are illegible and have not been deciphered, this reading must be looked upon as a mere conjecture.

The plates belong to the time of the *Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājādhrāja Paramēsvara Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Śrī-Śivaguptadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of Trikalīngā. The grant was issued from the camp of victory pitched at Suvarnapura. In line 36, the date is given as the third year of the victorious reign of the *P M P Śrī-Janmējayadēva*. This is the earliest known record of Mahābhavagupta I as well as of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak, as no inscriptions of his father

¹ These have been published by Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol VIII, pp 138-43.² Above, Vol III, pp 323-59.³ Above, Vol VIII, p. 139.⁴ Above, Vol IV, p. 256.

Mahāsivagupta I have been so far discovered. It records the gift of the village of Vakratentalī belonging to the Lupattarā-Khanda to the *bhattaputra* Jātarūpa, who was a resident of Mērandā and an immigrant from Rādhāpham¹vallikandara. He belonged to the Kaundinya-gōtra and the Chhandōga charaṇa. His *pravaras* were Maitrāvaruna and Vāsīshtha². Kōi Ghōsha, the writer of these plates, is identical with that of F 1, dated in the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I³, and the engraver, Samgrāma, son of Rayana Ojjhā, is the same as that of S, which belongs to the 8th year of the reign of the same king⁴.

TEXT.⁵*First Plate*

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Suvarṇnapura-samāvāsita[h*] śīmatō vijaya-skandhāvārāt para-
 2 mabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Śivaguptadēva-pād-ānudhyā-
 3 ta-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sō-
 4 ma-kula-tilaka-Trī(trī)kalīngādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēvah kuśali
 5 Lupattarā-Khandīya Vakrat[e]ntalī-grāmē brāhmanān sampūjya tat-pra-
 6 tnvāsi-kutumbinas=tad-[v]iśhayīya-yathā-kālādhyāsinaḥ samāhartr-sa-
 7 nndhārtri(dhātri)-dāndapāsika-pisuna-vētrik-āvarōdhajana-rājavallabhādīn-anyāmś-cha
 chā-
 8 ta-bhata-jātiyān samājñāpayati [*] Vidita[m=a*]stu bhavatām yath-āsmābhīr-ayam
 grā-
 9 mah sa-nidhīh s-ōpanidhīh sarvva-bādhā-vivarjyitah sa-gartōsharah s-āmra-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 madhukab sa-jalasthalah sarvv-ōparīkar-ādāna-sahitah pratīśiddha-chāta-
 11 bhata-pravēśās=[cha]tuh⁷=simā-paryantah Kaundinya-gōtrāya M[ai]trāvaruna-Vīśi-
 12 shtha-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charanāya Rādhāphamvallikandara-vinirgatāya
 Mērandā-vā-
 13 stavyāya bhattaputra-Jātarūpa-nāmnē bhattaputra-Śrīvachchha-su(sū)nave saliladhārā-
 14 purahsaram=ā-chandra-tārak-ārka-kshiti-samakāl-ōpabhōgārtham mātā-pitrō-
 15 r-ātmanaś=cha punya-yaśō-bhīriddhayē vīśnmatī-samkrāntiyām tāmra-sāsanē-
 16 n-ākārikṛitya pratipādita ity=avagatyā samuchita-bhōga-bhāgakara-hirany-ā-
 17 dikam=upanayadbhīr=bhavadbhīh sukhēna pratīvastavyam=itā [*] Bhāvībhīś=cha
 bhūpatībhīr=dda-
 18 ttr=iyam=asmadiyā dharmma-gauravād=asmad=atn(nu)rōdhāch=cha svadattir=iv-ānupāla-
 nīyā [||*]
 19 Tathā ch=ōktam dharmma-śāstrē [*] Bahubhīr=vvasndhā dattā rājabhīh Sagar=
 ādībhīh [*] yasya ya-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 sya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Mā bhūd=aphala-śankā vah
 paradatt=ēti
 21 pārthuvāh [*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ān[āntya]m para-datt-ānnpālānē [||*] Śashtim⁸
 varsha-sahasrāni

¹ The akshara *pha* is almost the same as *ya* in II 18, 30 and 33

² See above, Vol IV, p 256

³ Above, Vol III, p 344

⁴ Above, Vol VIII, p 143

⁵ From the original plates

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The akshara *tu* looks like *ta*

⁸ Read *śashtīm*

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TEXT.⁵*First Plate*

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Suvarṇnapura-samāvāsita[h*] śrīmatō vijaya-skandhāvārīt para-
2 mabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Śivaguptadēva-pād-ānudhyā-
3 ta-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sō-
4 ma-kula-tilaka-Trī(tri)kalīngādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēvah kṣāli
5 Lupattarā-Khandīya Vakrat[e]ntali-grāmō brāhmanān sampūjya tat-pra-
6 tinivāsi-kutumbīnas=tad-[v]ishayīya-yathā-kālādhyāsmah samāharit-sa-
7 nūdhārtri(dhātri)-dāndapāsika-pisuna-vētrik-āvarōdhajana-rājēvallabhādīn=anyāmś cha
8 chā-
9 ta-bhata-jātīyān samājñāpayati [I*] Vīdita[m=a*]stu bhavatām yath=īsmābhur=ayam
grā-
10 mah sa-nūdhīh s-ōpanīdhīh sarvva-bādha-vivarjītah sa-gartōsharah s-āmra-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 madhukab sa-jalasthalah sarvv-ōpanīkar-ādāna-sahitah prātīmsiddha-chūta-
11 bhata-pravēśās=[cha]tuh⁷=simā-paryantah Kaundīnyagōtrāya M[ā]trāvaiuna-Vāśi-
12 shtha-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charanāya Rādhāphamvallikandara-vinirgatāya
Mērandā-vā-
13 stavyāya bhattaputra-Jātarūpa-nāmnē bhattaputra-Śrīvachchha-su(sū)nave sahladhārā-
14 purahsaram=ā chandra-tāra-kāka-kshiti-samakāl-ōpabhōgāthar mātā-pitrō-
15 r-ātmanās=cha punya-yaśō-bhivuddhayō vīsumati-samkrāutyām tāmra-sāsanē-
16 n-ākarikrītya pratipādita ity=avagatyā samuchita-bhōga-bhāgākara-hirany-ā-
17 dikam=upanayadbhur=bhavadbhīh sukhēna prativastavyam=itu [I*] Bhāvībhīś=cha
bhūpatībhur=dda-
18 ttr=īyam=asmadiyā dharmma-gauravād=asmad=atu(nu)rōdhāch=cha svadattīr=īv=ānupāla-
19 niyā [||*]
20 Tathā ch=ōktam dharmma-sāstrē [I*] Bahubhur=vvasudhā dattā rājabhīh Sagar=
ādībhīh [I*] yasya ya-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 sya yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Mā bhūd=aphala-sānkā vah
paradatt=ēti
21 pārthivāh [I*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ān[āntya]m para-datt-ānupālanē [||*] Śashthim⁸
varsha-sahasrāni

¹ The akshara *pha* is almost the same as *yā* in H 18, 30 and 33

² See above, Vol IV, p 256

³ Above, Vol III, p 344

⁴ Above, Vol VIII, p 143

⁵ From the original plates

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁷ The akshara *tu* looks like *ttā*

⁸ Read *śashthim*

- 22 svargē mōdati bhūmidah [I*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt
[II*] Agnēr=apa-
- 23 tyam prathamam suvarannam bhūr=Vvaishnavi Su(Sū)rya-sutās=cha gāvah [I*] yah
kāñchanam gāñ=cha mahiñ=cha
- 24 dadyād=dattis=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkūh [II*] Āsphotayanti pitarah prava-
- 25 lgayanti pitamahāh [I*] bhūmidātā kulē jātah sa nas=trātī bhaviṣhyati [II*]
- 26 Bhūmim yah pratigrhñā(hnā)ti yas=cha bhūmim prayachchhati [I*] ubhau tau
punya-karmmanau miya-
- 27 tam svarga-gāminau [II*] Tadāgānām sahasrāni vājapcyā-sātāni cha [I*] gavām
kōti-prādā-
- 28 nēna bhūmi-hartā na śuddhyati [II*] Haratē hārayatē yas=ta manda-buddhis=
tamōvritah [I*] sa baddhō
- 29 Vārunah pāsais=tiryag-yōnim cha gachchhati [II*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yō harēd¹=vasu-

Third Plate

- 30 ndnarām [I*] sa vishthāyām krmir=bhūtvā pachyate pitribhi[h*] saha [II*] Ādityō
Varunō Vishnur=Bha(Bra)-
- 31 hmā Sōmō Hntāsanaḥ [I*] Śūlapānis=tu bhagavāh² ābhi(abhi)namndanti(nandanti)
bhūmida[m II*] Śa(sā)mānyō-
- 32 yam dharmma-sētur=nrīpauām kāla(lc) kāla(lc) pālaniyō bhavadbhūh [I*]
sarvvān=ētān=bhāvino bhūpati-
- 33 ndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchate Rāmachandrah [II*] Iti kamala-dalāmbu-bindu-
lōlam(ām) śriyam=a-
- 34 nachintya manushya-juvitañ=cha [I*] sakalam=īdam=u[dā*]hrītañ=cha budhvā na
hi pu-
- 35 rushaih parakirtayō vilōpyāh [II*] Paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirā-
- 36 ja-parameśvara-Śrī-Janamējāyadēvasya vijayarājyē samvatsarē tritīyē Śrā-
- 37 vana-māsa³-sitapaksha-pañchamyām yatr=ānkatō Samvat 3 Śrāvana śudi 5
[I*] likhi-
- 38 tam=īdam śāsanam mahās[ā]ndhivigraha-pratibaddha-kāyastha-Kōi-Ghōshēna Vallā⁴-
Ghōsha-
- 39 sutēna Samgrāmēna⁵ u[t*]kṛitam śāsa[na*]m=iti : Rayana⁶-Ojjhā-sutēna [II*]
Manga[lam*] mahā-śrīh ||

B — Nibinnā charter of Mahāsivagupta

These are three plates (of four sides) of which the first and last are engraved on the inner sides only. They measure about 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and about 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. The engraving is so deep that the empty side of the first and third plates show traces of the working of the chisel. They are strung on a circular ring which is passed through round holes (about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter) cut on the left margin of each plate about 1" from the edge. The ring is 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper, which bulges out on either side along the ring to a space of 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The upper portion of the lump of copper is fashioned into a circular seal 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On the seal is cut in relief a squatting figure. Nothing more than this is clear on the seal.

¹ Read *harēta*

² Is it by mistake that *bhagavāh* has been engraved for *bhagavān*? May it be that the form *bhagavā* current in Pāli and Prākṛit was then used in the vernacular too?

³ Read *-māse*

⁴ Read *Vallabhā-* (?)

⁵ Read *Sangrāmōna*

⁶ In the Nagpur Museum plates he is called *Rayanā Ojjhā*

The plates are dated during the reign of the *Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *PMP Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of *Trikalīnga*. The grant was issued from *Vinitapura*. In lines 45-46 the date is given as the 15th year of the victorious reign of the *PMP Śrīmad-Yayātirājadēva*. F 5, which belongs to the same reign, but is 6 years earlier, was also issued from *Vinitapura* on the bank of the river *Mahānadī*¹

The plates record the gift of the village of *Nibindū* (l 5) or *Nibinnā* (l 17) in the *Kōsala* country to the *Dikshita Pundarīkaśarman*, who was a resident of the village of *Maramendā* in the *Kōsala* country and an immigrant from *Bhataparōli*. The donee was the son of *Nārāyana-śarman* and grandson of *Uhlāsa-śarman*. He belonged to the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, had the *pravaras* *Āngirasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*. The writer of the grant was the *Mahāshatapatalaka Śrī-Uchchhava-Nāga*, son of *Allava-Nāga*, who was known to the *Mahāsandhivigrahaka Rānaka Śrī-Chārudatta*, and the engraver was *Tthakura Panāka*.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti [||*] Śrī[ma]tō Vini(ni)tapurāt=⁴Paparabhattachāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 2 ramēśvara Mā(Ma)hābhavaguptarājadēva-pādānadhyāt(ta)-paramamāhēśvara-para-
- 3 mabhattachāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sōma-kula-tīlaka Trika-
- 4 līngādhipati-Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēvah kuśali Kōsala-dē-
- 5 sa(śa)-pratibaddha-Ganutatpāta⁵-mandalē ch=Ōttara-pallīya-Nibindū-grāmē
- 6 brā[hma]nān samp[ū]jya [ta]d-vishayiyān yathākālādhyāsinah samā-
- 7 ha[rtri]-sa[m]nidhātri-yuktādhikārika-dandapāsika-chāta-bhata-pisu(śu)-
- 8 na vē[tri]k-āvarōdhajana-rānaka-rājaputra rājūi-rājaval[la]-
- 9 bha(bhā)din sarvān rāja-pādōpajī(ji)vinah samājñāpayati [||*] Vīditam=astu
- 10 bha[va*]tām yath-ās[m*]ābhur=aya[m*] grāmah sa-nidhih s-ōpanidhih sa-
- dasā(sā)parādhah
- 11 sarvabādhā-vivarjitat sa[r*]vōparīkarādāna-sahī[ta]ś=chatuh-sī(sī)mā-pa-
- 12 [r]yantah s-āmra-madhukah sa-gartōsa(sha)rah sa jalasthalah pratīnīdhā-chāta-
- 13 bhata-pravēśah Bhāradva(dvā)ja-sagotrāya | Āngirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāra-
- 14 dvāja-pravarāya Uhlāsa-śarmanah pantrāya | Na(Nā)rāyana-śa[rmma]-

Second Plate, First Side

- 15 na[h*] putrāya | Bhata[pa]rōli⁶-vini(ni)rggata(tā)ya | Kōsaliya-⁷Maramendā-[grā]-
- 16 mē(ma)-vāstavyāya Śrī-⁸Pundarīka-sarmanē dikshitāya | Ganudapāti-
- 17 mandalē Uttara-pallīkāyā Nibinnā⁹-grāmah [sahladhārā*]pura[s]saram-ā-chandra-
- tāra-
- 18 k-ā[r]kka-kshiti-samakē(kā)l-ōpabhōgā[r]thā[m*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puna
- (punya)-
- 19 yas¹⁰(śō)vridhdhayē tāmbra¹⁰ tāmbra-sā(śā)sanēn=ākarikrītya pratipādita ity=ava-

¹ Above, Vol. III) p 351² From the original plates³ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Read *Parama*^o⁵ This is what I read. It occurs also in line 16. No such name is retained for any village or pargana in the Sonpur State. Ghantāpāra in the neighbourhood is however suggested.⁶ Where this *Bhataparōli* is could not be ascertained.⁷ The prefix *mara* perhaps distinguishes the village from other places bearing the name *Mendā*.⁸ Read *Pundarīka-sarmanē*.⁹ In line 5 the name is spelt *Nibindū*.¹⁰ Cancel this word.

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- 20 gamya sam[u]chita-bhōga-bhāgakara-hirany-a(ā)di-pratyayam-upanayadbhir=bhava-
 21 dbhīh sukhcna prativā[s]tavyam=itī [i*] Bhāvibhīś=cha bhūpatibhur=ddanti(tti)r=ī-
 22 yam=as[ma]diyā dha[r]ma-g[au]ravād=asmad=anurōdhāch=[cha] sva-dattīr(dattir)=iv=ānupa(pā)-
 23 [l]mīya¹ | Tathā [ch=ō*]kta[m*] dha[r]mma-sā(śā)strē [i*] Bahubhī[r]=vasudhā
 dattā (l) rājabhīh Saga-
 24 r-ādibhīh | yasya yas[ya] yadā bhūmīś=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Mā bhū-
 25 taphala-sankā² vah paradatt-ētī pārvīhāh | sva-dānīt=phalam=ānantyam
 26 para-datt-ānupālanē | Sa(sha)shthī(shtī)-vaīsha-sahasrānī svarggē mōdatī bhūmī-(l)
 27 dah | ākshī(kshē)ptā ch=ānumantā cha dvāv=ētāu naraka-grā(gā)mīnau |
 Agnēr=apatya[m]
 28 pra[tha]ma[m*] suvarnna[m*] bhur(bhūr)=Va(Vai)shnavī Su(sū)rya-sutās=cha gāvah |
 yah kāñchana[m*] gāñ=cha

Second Plate, Second Side

- 29 mahīñ=cha dadyā[t] (l) dattās=[tra]yas=tēna bhavanti lōkē(kāh) | ³Āspō(āsphō)tayanti
 pitara[h*]
 30 pravalga(ya)ntī pitāmāhāh | bhūmī-dātā kulē jātah sa nas=trē(ā)[t]ā
 31 bhavishyati | Bhūmī[m*] yah pratigrih[n]ātī yas=cha bhū(bhū)mī[m*]
 prayachchhati | ubh[au]
 32 tau punya-karmmānau niyatau(tam) svarga-gāmīnau | Tadāgānā[m*] sabasrē-
 33 na vājapēya-sa(śa)tānī(tēna) cha [l] gavā[m*] kōti-pradānēna bhūmī-harttā na su(śu)dhya-
 34 ti | Haratē hārayatē yas=t[u] manda-buddhis=tamō-vritah subaddhō Varunai[h*]
 35 pāsai(śai)s=tiryagōnri(gyōnim) sa gachchhati | Suvarnnam=ēka[m*] gām=ēkā[m*]
 bhūmī(mē)-
 36 r=apy=arddham=angula[m*] [i*] haram(u)=na[ra*]kam=āyātī (l) yāvad=āhuta-sa[m*]-
 plavah⁴ |
 37 Sva-[da]tā[m*] pasāra(para)-dattām=vā yō ⁵harad=vas[u]ndbarāh | sa viśthāyā[m]
 krimi-
 38 [r]=bhū[tvā] pītrībhīś=saha paohyatē | Ādityō Varunō Viśvāna(shnu)[r=Brabmā*]
 Sōmō Hu-
 39 tāsā(śa)nah Su(Sū)lāpānīś=cha bhagavā[n=a*]bhīna[nda*]ntī bhūmīdah(dam) |
 Sāmānyō=
 40 ya[m*] dharmma-sctō[r*]=nrīpānā[m*] kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhīh [i*] sar[vā]-
 41 n=ētāna(n) bhāvīnah pārvīhēndrāna(n) bh[ū]yō [bhūyō*] yāchatē Rāmabhadrah |⁶

Third Plate

- 42 Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bīnda(udu)-lōlā[m*] śrī(śrī)yam=anuchi[ntyā] manushya-jīvi-
 43 tāñ=cha sakalam=īdam=udāhriṇīñ=cha buddhā⁷ na hī purushai[h*] para-kīrtāyō
 44 vilōpyā itī | Paramamāhēśvara-para[ma*]bhatāraka-mahārājādhirā-
 45 ja-paramēśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Trikalingādhipati-śrīmad-Yayā-
 46 t[ī]rājādēvasya pādānupravarddhamāna-vijayarājyē pañchadasa(śa)mē
 47 samvatsarē | Marggasī (Mārgasīra)-māsē (l) sū(śu)klapakshē trayōdas(ś)yān=tithau
 Samva-

¹ Read °pālaniyā

² Read °bhūd=aphala sankā

³ The akshara a is different from the other initial as which occur in this inscription. It resembles the letter da

⁴ Read =ā bhūta samplavam

⁵ Read harēta vasundharām

⁶ After the mark of punctuation, there is a symbol which may be the vowel i, erased by the engraver himself, as it is written at the beginning of the next line

⁷ Read =udāhriṇīñ=cha buddhā

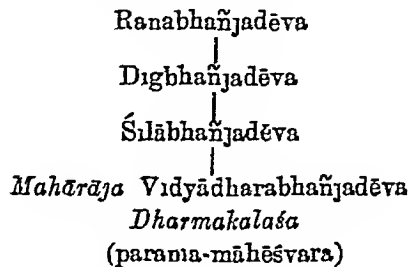
- 48 t 15 Mārgga sudī 13 [!*] Lakṣi[ta*]m=īdam sã(śã)sana[m*] mahãsandhi-
 49 vīgrahika-rãnaka-Śrī-1Chãrudattasy-ãvagatãna mahãkshapa-
 50 ta[la]ka- Śrī-Uchchhava-Nãgën-Āllava-Nãga-sutën=õ(õ)tkirna[m*] Tthakura-Panã-
 51 kën=eti | Sampadõ jalaja-parna-jalãbhã | jivitta marana-santa-
 52 ti-sa[m*]stha[m*] bhõga-bhũ(u)ktar=achirãya vilõkyah (?) kirttayõ nrīpatibhi[r*]=
 nrī(nna)
 53 lopyã iti |

C —The charter of Śatrubhañja

These are three copper-plates (four sides), the first and last of which bear writing on the inner sides only. The third plate is a little smaller than the other two. The height and breadth of the plates vary — the former being smaller about the middle than at the margins and the latter being greater in the middle than at the margins. The first two plates measure 8" in breadth in the middle and about 7 $\frac{2}{8}$ " at the margin. Their height varies from 4 $\frac{2}{8}$ " in the middle to 5" at the margin. The third plate varies in height from 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " and 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ " to 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth. The plates are strung together on a circular ring 3" in diameter though a hole cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about $\frac{2}{8}$ " from the edge. Between the margin and the proper ring-hole is a second smaller hole on the third plate, the object of which is not apparent. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of an oval seal whose major and minor diameters are 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " respectively. Across the seal is engraved in relief the legend Śrī-Śa[tru]bham[ja]-dēvasya in the alphabet employed in the inscription. Above the legend is a crescent enclosing within its arc a round dot which is perhaps intended to represent the Sun. Below the legend is a recumbent bull facing the proper right. A small portion of the seal is broken to the proper right of the bull.

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Śatrubhañjadēva (l 10) or Bhañjabhūpati (l 14), who is described as belonging to the Bhañja race (l 16 f.) and to the Andaja-vamśa (l 16). He was apparently the ruler of Ubhaya-Khūñjali-mandala (l 17). In line 4 reference is made to many kings (named) Śilãbhañjadēva.² In their family was king Śatrubhañjadēva. He granted Milupãdi-Khandakshētra in the district of Rõyarã-vishaya. The donee was the *bhataputra* Krishna, son of Ākhandala and grandson of Mahõdadhi. He was an immigrant from Ālãpa-grãma, belonged to the Kãśyapa-gõtra and was a student of the Sãmavēda. He is said to have had three *rishis* for his *pravara*, but their names are not given. The whole inscription is so full of mistakes that it is hardly possible to correct them. Even the imprecatory verses are not correctly quoted. There is no doubt that the record was composed by some ignorant person, and I cannot altogether suppress my suspicion about the genuineness of the grant.

Four other inscriptions of the Bhañja family are known, three from Orissa and the fourth from Gumsũr in the Ganjam District. One of them, which has been published by the late Professor Kielhorn,³ furnishes the following pedigree —

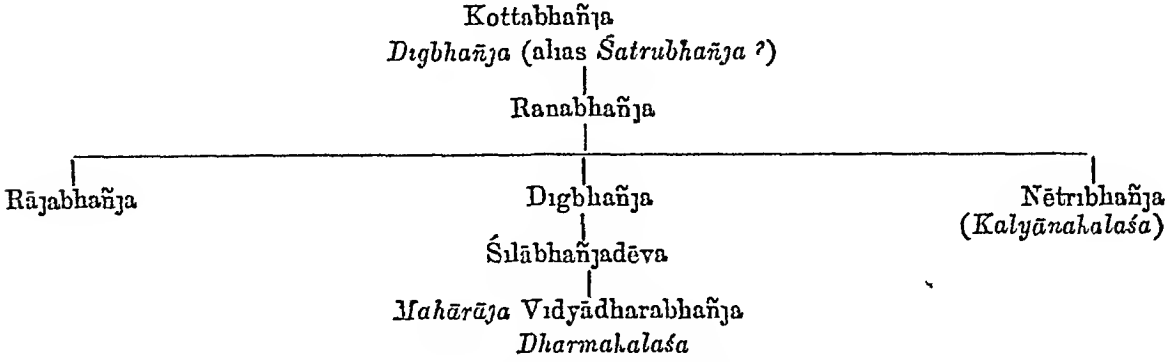


¹ [The reading intended is probably -*Dhãradatta* and what looks like the *u* of *ru* may be due to a mistake of the engraver —Ed.]

² Śilãbhañjapãti is the name of a village in the Ōdra country, see above Vol III p 354

³ Above, Vc' IX p 27d.

One of the Bāmanghātī plates¹ is dated in Samvat 288 and during the reign of Ranabhāñja, son of Digbhāñja and grandson of Kottabhāñja of the Bhañja family,² while the other belongs to the time of Rājabhāñja, son of Ranabhāñja, and grandson of Kottabhāñja of the Bhañja family³ In the Gumsūr plates, the donor is Nētrībhañja, son of Ranabhāñja and grandson of Śatrubhāñja The following tentative genealogy may be derived from these four records —



The subjoined grant is dated during the reign of Śatrubhāñja, but I doubt if it has to be assigned to the first king on the foregoing tentative genealogy I would rather assign it to some successor of Vidyādharabhāñja on the above table The emblems on the seal may be taken to show that Śatrubhāñja was a Śaiva But in line 16 of the text he is described as a fervent devotee of the god Vishnu (*parama-vaishnava*) The modern representatives of the Bhañja family are the rulers of the native state of Mōrbhāñj in Orissa, which probably owes its name to a king named Mayūrabhāñja The indirect reference to this king in the present grant in the epithet *andaja-vamśa-prabhava* is to my mind satisfactory evidence of the donor Śatrubhāñja having lived at a comparatively later period In the two Bāmanghātī plates mention is made of Virābhadrā, the founder of the Bhañja family, who is said to have been born in the great *tapōvana* at Kōtyāśrama by breaking open a pea-hen's egg⁴

TEXT⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Samghāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-sambhrānta-ki[m*]kara-kri-
 2 tānta bhūna | gahanāndhakāra-sarāsura-gahanādapatra tadabhairavam Hara-va-
 3 puh bhavatah prapātuh || Durvārah vārana-pratipaksna-Lakshī-hata-grahana śuddha
 4 Śrī-Śilābhāñja-dēva-⁷narāddhipatayō bahavō babhūva bhūri-sahasra sankhā tēshām ku-
 5 l[ē] sakala-bhū talapāla⁸-mauli-mālārchita-pāda-ghrīshu khadga-dhārā-hatē-
 6 na nripati-Śrī-Śilābha[m*]jadēva prakata-paurusha-rasmi-chakra-m-

¹ No 655 of the late Prof Knelhorn's Northern list

² The queer wording of the inscription makes it doubtful if Digbhāñja was a mere surname of Kottabhāñja or if Digbhāñja denoted a distinct king In any case the identification of Śatrubhāñja and Digbhāñja with Kottabhāñja is purely tentative

³ No 656 of the same list

⁴ The Bhañjas of Maurbhāñja as well as of Ganjam have the peacock (*mayūra*) as something like a totem The Bhañja-rājas all say that they had their origin in a peacock

⁵ From the original plates The text is hopelessly corrupt and I have made no attempt to correct the numerous mistakes

⁶ Expressed also by a symbol at the beginning of the line

⁷ Śilābhāñjadēva was apparently the father of the donor

⁸ From *la* of *sakala* up to *pā* of *°pāla*, there is an erasure in the original

- 7 ta nisirdāntārihrīdayōpi ptā nripatayah || Gambhīryēna payōndhi sthī-
 8 ratvōna 1prithivyā valēnānila +² savitījananō³ — chīmāsūmamah tapasō Vri-
 9 haspate(ti)-samah | amāsava jaga nānakrītya tajī dattāvakīśō vijarājā-
 10 na Śrī-Śatrubha[m*]jadēva itatnaddhīh tasmātātējasah bhuvanan-dānya madamāna-
 mi-
 11 lta sambaddhata nripacha[kra] chaturangabala kshōbha-chahita-ddharāmandala ||
 Gaja-tura-
 12 ga-khura-nīdārana-īana-prasara dadvaladvali vitāna chhachhana janyūgana-

Second Plate , First Side

- 13 skaddha (P)-vedikā sēmarāyātah parinata-jaya-Lakshī-samānam⁴ dita-pairaja-
 14 napadah Śrīmad-Bha[m*]ja-bhūpati purā pa⁶(P)ti pura nūnyah saradamala dhavala-
 kara
 15 jasa-patala-ddhavalita-digavadanō anavarata-pravrita sammāna dānādita-
 16 sakala-janō Andaja-vamśa-prabhava⁵ parama-Vaiśhnava matā-pitri-pādūnudhyāta Bhamjā-
 17 mala-kula-tīlakah Ubhaya-Khūñjali-mandala-bhaviśhyad-rāja-rājanākā⁷
 18 śrī ta[ra]nga-kumā[ra]-māra-mānya mahā-sāmata⁸ brāhmana praddhana a-
 19 nyās=cha dandapāsi-chāta-bhāta-vallabha-jātina || yathārahamū-
 20 nayati bōddhayati samādīśayati ch-ānyat || Śivam=asmūkam viditam=a-
 21 stu bhavatām Rōyarā-vīshaya-pratibaddha-Milupādī-khandakshētra-chatuh-
 smā(simā)-pa-
 22 ryanta-nidhi-schōpanudhi-sahitam akshaya-tritīya-yugādī-dinē⁹ Gamgāsandhyi¹⁰
 23 matā-pitrō ātmanah punma-virddhayē salila-ddhārī-purasarēna vidhinā
 24 vidhi viddhānēna saviddhēyah | Tāvra sāsana pratipādītōyah | jāva-vēda-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 25 rtha-vachanēnah Kāsyapa-gōtrāya triyārisaya-pravarāa Sāma-vēdādhyā-
 26 yi Ālāpa-grāma¹¹-vinirggatah bhataputra Krishnē Ākhandala-suta-Mahōda-
 27 dhu-naptre¹² | Tathā ch-oktam dharma-sāstrēshu [chhā P]la-[kri]śhthān-mahim dadyā |
 sabijāsasya mē-
 28 dimi jāva surya-kritām lōkām tāva-svargamahuyatē || Āsph[ō]tayatī pi-
 29 tarah pravalganti pitāmahā bhūmi-dātī-kulē jātī sa mē trātā bhaishyati
 30 Bahubhur-vasudhā datam rājāna Sagarādibhu yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
 31 tasya tasya tadā [pha]la || Mā pārthiva kadāchit¹³ brahmasva¹⁴ ma-

¹ The syllables *prithivyā* are engraved over an erasure

² This cross is incised below the line between the *aksharas la* and *sa*

³ The akshara *ja* seems to have been erased by the engraver himself

⁴ There is a *visarga* after the akshara *nam* ⁵ This letter looks also like *rdhrī*

⁶ *Andaja* means 'born of an egg (*anda*)' of a peacock

⁷ The *aksharas* from *ñja* of *khūñjali* up to *mā* of the second *māra* in the next line are engraved over an erasure The akshara *trī* at the beginning of the next line has perhaps to be cancelled

⁸ It is not easy to ascertain to whom the epithet *mahāsāmata* applies, as the construction is extremely faulty

⁹ The grant was made on the *akshaya tritīyā* day which falls on Vaiśākha śukla tritīyā *Fugādī dinē* may mean 'on a Friday on which the Kaliyuga commenced' [See also *Ind Ant* Vol XXVI p 179, under Vaiśākha-suklapaksha —Ed]

¹⁰ By *Gangāsandhi* is perhaps meant the confluence of the Mahānadi and the Tel

¹¹ The village Ālāpa could not be identified

¹² Krishna, son of Ākhandala and grandson of Mahōdadhi, is the donee

¹³ The akshara *dā* of *kadāchit* is engraved over an erasure

¹⁴ Land enjoyed by a brāhmana as rent free is now called *brāhmōttara*, not *brāhmusta* as it is here

26 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र
 यो श्रा व्ना पभा म ठि कि गु क रु व पु न्ने कु षु श्रा श्रु ल सु न म ह्म र 26
 वि न्ने पु न्ने कु षु श्रा श्रु ल सु न म ह्म र 26
 28 वि न्ने पु न्ने कु षु श्रा श्रु ल सु न म ह्म र 28
 30 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र
 32 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र
 34 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र
 36 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र



38 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र
 40 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र
 42 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र
 44 वरुणक क श्रु पभा श्रु य वि यो नो य प्र उ मा त्र सा म र य प्र



- 32 nasād-apī ānēsha dhamabhēshaṅga atata halāhala-viṣham || Āviṣha[m] vi-
 33 shamitāhuh brahmasvam viṣha u[ch]yatē viṣam=ākākinō hamnti brahmasa putra-
 patrikam
 34 yathā gau bharatē vachhaksharini kshiramustē ova datvā sabasiāksha bhūmi bhara-
 35 ti bhūmidah || Vājrapēyē-sahasrāni aśvamēdha-śātāni cha || gavā[m*] kōti-pradā-
 36 nēna bhūmihartā na śudhyati || yathā bijāni lōhanti pukirnnāni mahitala¹

Third Plate

- 37 Ūva bhūmi-krita-dānam sasye² sasyē prayachhati [*] bhūmi yah pratigrībhāti ya-
 38 chchēha bhūmi prayachhati ubhai tai punya-karmā niyatai svargā-gāminai [!]*
 Harantē hāra-
 39 yatē yas=ta ma[m]da-budhis=tamā-vritah sa batdhā Vārunauh pāśyēs=tiyayō-
 40 mshu jāyētē || Sva-datām para-datām vā yō harētī vasu[m]dharā || sa kapilā-
 41 śataghnām=ēnāsī pratipadyatē || Hiramnyamēka gā-
 42 m=ēka[m] bhūmi=apy=ardham=agula || harantō naraka yā[m]ti yāva-
 43 d-āhuta-samplavah || Siva[na]gana Pāndi³-satēnē llāchhinta⁴
 44 mahārājaki⁵ mudrētih ||

* * * * *

In order to localise and identify the places mentioned in the foregoing three grants and other allied inscriptions we must try and ascertain how and where the originals were found A and B as well as S were discovered by cultivators while ploughing fields in the villages granted by the charters As regards Milupādī Khandakshētra of C, Milupādī or Milupāndī may be the name of a plot of land All fields in the district of Sambalpur as well as in the feudatory states attached to it bear local names, and if Khandakshētra denoted merely a stray piece of land, no identification of it is possible But Khandakshētra may also be the name of a village, for in F 1, line 13, we actually find the word as the name of a village The resident of that village is said to have come from Odayāśringa, which I identify with Odsingā in the native state of Ātmallik Rōyarā being on the borders of Sonpur State (C, line 21), not far off either from Pātnā or Ātmallik, there might have been a village of the name Khandakshētra in the locality where the record was unearthed

It must be noted that the states of Rerhakhol, Ātmallik, Bodh and Pātnā lie to the north, north-east, east and south, respectively, of the Sonpur State which they adjoin Of the geographical names mentioned in F 1, the river Ōngā (now called Ong) flows through the states of Pātnā and Sonpur The Zamindāri of Barpalī (district Sambalpur) in which the village Satalāmā, the modern Satalmā of S is situated, is also within a few miles from the river Ong flowing past Sālēbhatā Bakēbirā and Loisingā (Vakaveddā and Lēisingā of F 1) are also close to Sālēbhatā Police Station

Nuptara, Nupursinga and Banktentulī (*Lupattarā Khandīya Vakratentalī grāmē*, line 5, A) are in the neighbourhood of the place where A was obtained As Suvarnapura (A, line 1) is certainly the Sanskritised form of Sonpur, so also is Rādhāphamvallikandara (A, line 12),

¹ The aksharas *ni* and *hita* are engraved over an erasure

² The form *sasye sasye*, etc indicating abundance of crops, shows that the dialect taken in use was similar to Bengālī, for this is now used only in Bengālī as an idiomatic form

³ Read *Śivanāgēna* The akshara *na* of *nāga* is corrected apparently from *ga*

⁴ The word used here for 'engraving' must be some Dōśī term then current

[What is intended is probably *Śivanāgēna Pāndī sutēna lāñchhitam*, and *mahārājaki mudrētih* seems to mean *mahārājasya mudrayētī* On the word *lāñchhita* see the late Professor Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol IX p 274—E1]

⁵ The form *mahārājaki* is Hindi pure and simple The use of this form is worth noting

a very high sounding form of Rerhakhol The word 'kandara' means 'khol' both in Uriya and vulgar Bengali

Murasīma (F 1, line 1 and S, line 2) appears to be Mursing which is in the Jarāsingū Zamindāri of the Pātnā State The situation of Satalmā, Bakēbirā and Loisingā led me first to make this identification My impression is confirmed by the fact that it is customary with the Zamindār of Jarāsingā to be ceremoniously installed every year on the Dasara day (10th day from the full moon of the month of Aśvin) by going to Mursing, which is at present quite an insignificant village

There is no doubt that when A was issued, the donor was present at Sonpur The word *vijaya kataka* in line 1 of the Pātnā copper-plate grant (F 1), like *vijaya-skandhāiā* (A, line 1), occurring as it does after the name of the place where the king was residing, can never mean a town "From Murasīma (or from Suvarnapura, as the case may be) where the king with his victorious soldiers was encamped" should be the meaning of the first line of the text of both F 1 and A

It is very probable that a town was being built at Chandwār, on the bank of the Mahānadī, opposite Katak, either by Janamējaya or his son Yayāti; but it was never finished Dr Fleet has very rightly remarked (above, Vol III, 324) that the town Katak is of later origin than Chaudwār If this be the case, how could the place attain any celebrity already in the time of Janamējaya? It may be that the town Katak owes its name to the fact of its being built on a camping ground As the king must have encamped in many different places, it is impossible that the name Katak had at such an early period as the reign of Janamējaya, become the proper name of the locality to which it is now applied Dr Fleet saw clearly what the word meant,¹ but was only misled by the name of the town where the plates edited by him were preserved Since it is clear that the Sonpur charters were issued from Sonpur, there is no reason to suppose that the charters relating to Bakēbirā (F 1) and Satalma (S) — not far from one another — were not issued from some place in Pātnā during the military expedition of the grantor

I am inclined to think that the town Vinitapura, whence Mahāśivagupta issued B granting the village of Nibinnā, is no other than Binikā in the Sonpur State The villages Nibinnā and Mendā (now a police station) are in the Binikā subdivision From the source of the river to the Bay of Bengal there is no other town on the bank of the Mahānadī which bears such a name Considering that even villages very often retain their old names, it is not likely that a town of such importance has lost its name altogether For this reason I think Vinitapura is the Sanskritised form of the non-Aryan name Binikā

It is a pity that the original find-spot of F 5 cannot now be known How the charter relating to a village in the Kōsala country was carried to the Government record room at Katak, was not at all inquired into by Babu Rangalal Banerji when he first edited it in 1877 I can easily imagine how the charters granted in favour of the chief minister of the king (F 2, F 3 and F 4) were carried by him and left behind

I must, by the way, mention one fact here, regarding the names of those villages mentioned in the plates edited by Dr Fleet, which I have failed to identify, because the locality where they were discovered could not be traced Randā, Mendā, Mardā, Lendā, Tulundā, Kulundā, Bulendā, Balandā, and such other names many villages in the district of Sambalpur bear Randā, Tnlēndā, Alāndalā, etc of the plates bear the provincial peculiarities of the names of villages in the district of Sambalpur

The district of Sambalpur and the Uriya-speaking feudatory states attached to it, were included in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces till October 1905, for administrative

¹ Above, Vol III p. 341.

convenience due to their geographical situation. It is perfectly clear that this tract of country was also once included within Kōsala-dēśa or Dakshina Kōsala of which Ratanpur (in the district of Bilaspur) was the capital, but did not form any part of Ōdra or Orissa. For, in the first place, Nibinnā in Sonpur (B, lines 4, 5, 15 and 16) and Satallamā (modern Satalma) in Sambalpur (S, line 9) are described as villages in Kōsala-dēśa¹. Secondly, the Brāhmana who came from Orissa to be settled in the district of Sambalpur, could not have been called a man of Ōdra-dēśa (S, lines 16 and 17) if the district were part of Orissa. It is worthy of note that even now, when anybody goes to Puri on pilgrimage, either from Sambalpur or from the feudatory states, he says he is going to Orissa. In popular language, Orissa does not include Sambalpur and its feudatory states.

The grantors of the charters F 1 to F 6, A, B, and S, called themselves lords of Kōsala-dēśa² as well as of Trikalinga. It is worthy of note that the Kēsari kings are counted in Orissa from Yayāti and not from his father Janamējaya. There is another Janamējaya in the list of kings, but he was a remote successor of Yayāti. Merely because no epigraphic record of Janamējaya has been obtained, it cannot be argued that it is Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta I, who has been wrongly shown on the list. This is at least certain that the Orissa record does not know anything of Śivagupta who is the first king of this line.

Since all the copper-plate grants of Mahābhavagupta I relate to villages in Kōsala-dēśa³ (including Sambalpur of course) it must be presumed that, to begin with, the Sōmavamśi kings became powerful in Kōsala-dēśa only, and that it was only subsequently that they extended their influence into Orissa. Sādhārana, who was the chief minister of Mahābhavagupta I, was granted villages for his enjoyment in Kōsala-dēśa (F 2 to F 4). He could not have managed them if he had been living far away from those villages, nor would the king select such distant villages for his minister who was his favourite.

Whether the Guptas who were lords of Kōsala and Orissa were connected with the family of Śivagupta, son of Harshagupta of the Rājūm, Surpur and Ratanpur records is a question which awaits solution. That the Hinduised Śabara king Udayana belonged to, or rather claimed descent from, the lunar race, like the Sōmavamśi kings, and that the successors of Udayana from Tivara downwards assumed the title Gupta, and were all Śaivas, have been fully established. From the inscription of Bhavadēva published by Professor Kielhorn (J R A S 1905, pp 617-624) it may be inferred that different branches of the same family reigned simultaneously at different places. The assumption by Bhavadēva of the title Kēsari has also to be noted. Dr Fleet did not accept the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham, not because there was any chronological difficulty in identifying the father of Janamējaya with Śivagupta of the Rājūm plates, but because he considered it not possible on palaeographic grounds⁴.

The characters of the Sambalpur and Orissa plates differ very much from those of the Rājūm and Ratanpur records, but the cause of this difference may be the following. King Janamējaya and his successors had many Bengali Kāyasthas for their court officers. We get the names Kailasa Ghōsha, father of Vallabha Ghōsha (S),⁵ Kōi Ghōsha,⁶ son of Vallabha

¹ [Satalamā was in Kaśalōdā vishaya— not in Kōsala dēśa —Ed]

² [In F 1, A and S, there is nothing to connect the donors with Kōsala, but in F 2 to F 6 and B the donative villages are said to be in the Kōsala country.—Ed]

³ [See the preceding note —Ed]

⁴ Above, Vol III p 333

⁵ [The text of this inscription has कायस्थ आह्वयेन कै(वि)लाससुतेन —Ed]

⁶ Kōi Ghōsha seems to be a contraction of Kailāsa Ghōsha

Ghōsha (A and F 1), Malla Datta, son of Dhāra Datta¹ (F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, and S) in the employment of Janamājaya, the names Chāru Datta,² Uchchhava Nāga and Allava Nāga³ under king Yayāti (B) and the names Singa Datta⁴ and Mangala Datta under Bhimaratha (F 6) None but Bengali kāyasthas bear Datta, Ghōsha, Nāga, etc., as surnames The Uriya Karans (who may be called kāyasthas) never used such surnames The words Datta, Ghōsha, etc., as inseparable parts of the names of men, were in use in other parts of Northern India, and such names could be borne by persons of any and every caste But as these words are surnames here of Kāyasthas, there can be no doubt that the kings had Bengali officers under them when they acquired territories in the forest tract of Sambalpur

The writers and engravers used the alphabet which was current amongst them Mr Thomas remarked long ago that these letters resemble mostly, and are identical in some cases with, the modern Bengali alphabet The letters *kra*, *nga*, *ñcha*, *tu*, and *pha* are striking examples But it must also be borne in mind that some letters represent the modern Uriya forms of them only If we compare the alphabet of the epigraphic records of the Pāla and the Sēna kings of Bengal, we can clearly see how the modern forms of Bengali and Uriya letters were evolved These characters were also in use in the district of Ganjam, but they were slightly modified by southern influence (*eg* above, Vol III, plate facing p 222) Inscriptions written purely by Uriya scribes also bear the forms of these letters with the provincial peculiarities of Bengali letters (C) I cannot deal with the historical significance of it here

The cumulative effect of the forgoing facts is certainly on the side of the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham that the Guptas who were Kōsalēndras and Trikalīngādhipatis must have sprung from the Hinduised Śabara family of Udayana

[The identification proposed by Mr Mazumdar of Vinitapura with Binikā in the Sonpur State has been arrived at independently by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta which, though received prior to this paper, has been unavoidably delayed for want of proper impressions of the inscription.—Ed.]

No 9 — FIVE VALABHI PLATES

By PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH D, CHRISTIANIA

In the *Indran Antiquary*⁵ has been published an "Account of a collection of copper-plates belonging to the Palitānā State By the late A M T Jackson, I C S" The collection consists of twelve plates, which were found some forty years ago They were strung together on a copper wire, about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank in Palitānā Two of these plates form a grant by the *Sāmanta Mahārāja* Simhāditya, the remaining ten make up four complete and two incomplete Valabhī grants⁶ The twelve plates have been kindly lent to Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist for India, who has been good enough to send me impressions of eight of them, prepared at his request in Dr Vogel's office

Rai Bahadur V Venkayya describes the wire on which the plates had been strung as being about 8" in length Its two extremities are secured into an oval seal measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ " by $1\frac{3}{4}$ "

¹ [There is no evidence in the inscriptions to show that this man was a *kāyastha* On the other hand, he is called a *rānaka* in F 2 and S.—Ed.]

² [See note 1 on page 98 above.—Ed.]

³ [Chāru Datta is called a *rānaka*, while the other two are not spoken of as *kāyasthas*—Ed.]

⁴ [There is nothing in the inscription to show that Singa Datta, who held the office of *sandhivigrahin*, was a *kāyastha*—Ed.]

⁵ Vol XXXIX pp 129 f

⁶ See above, pp 16 and 80

The seal bears in relief, on a countersunk surface a recumbent bull, facing the proper right, with a pretty large hump, and below it the legend *Śrī-Bhatahka*. The bull and the legend are separated by two horizontal lines, of which the upper one is not quite distinct.

The eight plates contain three complete and two incomplete Valabhī giants. The three complete ones and one of the two incomplete ones belong to the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I*. One of them is dated [Valabhī-] Samvat 206, two [Valabhī-] Samvat 210, while the incomplete one does not contain a date. The same is the case with the remaining plate, which forms the beginning of a grant issued by *Śilāditya I Dharmāditya*.

I PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I, [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 206

These are two plates, each written on one side only. According to Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, "the working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely on the back of both plates." The length of the plates is 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " and the height 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ "—7". The size of the individual letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The plates are, to judge from the impressions, in a very good state of preservation. The first plate contains 14 and the second 16 lines of well executed writing.

The characters are the same as in other old Valabhī plates. They comprise the signs for initial *ī* in *Īsvara-*, l 16, and for *dh* in *Dhūndaka-*, l 17. There are two signs of interpunctuation, viz a single dot in l 18 and a double dot or *usarga* in *vasēḥ* instead of *vasēt*, l 27, *-Dhruvasēnasyah*, i e *Dhruvasēnasya* ||, l 29. The numerical symbols for 200, 6, and 5 occur in l 30.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the name of the first ancestor of the Maṭṭrakas occurs in the form *Bhatahka*, as in all the older plates. The form *Bhatārka* is a later attempt at Sanskritizing the name, and there is no reason for preferring it, at least so long as we do not know whether the name is Indian or not. The *ō* in *-phalōpa-*, l 12 looks almost like an *o*. The dropping of a final *t* in *kais=chi*, l 23, *vasēḥ*, i e *vasēt*, l 27, and the writing of *s* instead of *sh* in *sōdasa-*, l 17, are probably Prākṛitisms, compare also *-Dhōnasihah siha* l 10. Note further the use of an *n* instead of an *m* before *ś* in *chatvarīnsad-*, l 16, and *chatvārīnsad*, l 18, and the doubling of surds, nasals and liquids after an *r*, thus, *-ōpārjñ-*, l 3, *-manur=mmaru-*, *-dharmmā Dharmma-*, l 7, *-ārṭtha-*, l 11, *-pādāvartta-*, ll 16, 17, 18, *pūrvvōttara-*, l 18, etc., but *-ārka-*, l 20, and finally, the spelling *gy* in *Jarabhajy-*, l 19. The writing *gy* instead of *j* recurs in *Jyāvilā-* in l 16 of the plates of Samvat 210, Śrāvana śu 15, which will be published below. It is comparable with the common modern spelling *gy* in order to denote the pure palatal and not the sound *dz* in Marāṭhī districts. This spelling is therefore of interest for the chronology of the change of *j* to *dz* in Marāṭhī. Professor Jacob¹ has suggested to call the language usually designated *Jaina Mahārāshtrī*, the language of *Jaina commentators and poets, Saurāshtrī*. He draws attention to the old *Jaina tradition* that the ultimate redaction of the *Jaina books* was made in Valabhī in the year 980 after the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra. It would therefore seem probable that *Jaina Mahārāshtrī* represents the dialect of Valabhī about 500 A D. *Jaina Mahārāshtrī* is closely related to *Mahārāshtrī*, the parent of modern Marāṭhī,² and not to *Śānrasēnī*, from which *Gujarātī* is mainly derived. There are also other features which point to the conclusion that the language of *Kathiyawar and Gujarat generally* has not always been of the same kind as at the present day, but more like the dialects from which Marāṭhī is derived,³ and it is therefore possible to compare the spelling *gy* in Valabhī plates and in modern Marāṭhī with each other, though Marāṭhī is not now spoken in the districts where these plates were issued. The writing *rājyasriḥ* l 3, where the published grants of Dhruvasēna have *rājyasriḥ*, is perhaps also comparable, the modern change of *j* to *dz* not taking place in the word *rājā*.

¹ *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig, 1879, pp 15 18

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, para 20

³ See Dr Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, Vol IX Part II pp. 326 f.

The writing is on the whole fairly correct. There are, however, some places in which the engraver has misread his draft. Thus we find *a* instead of *ā* in *chatvarinsad-*, l 16, *vapi*, l 17, *-chārībhyaṃ*, l 19, *sāmanyam*, l 24, *a* for *ī* in *-iachchhurita-*, l 5, *ā* for *a* in *-prasāsta-*, l 7, *-paddhātṛ-*, l 8, *-mahattarā-*, l 14, *ārnava-*, l 21, *ā* for *ē* in *-mōdāt-*, instead of *-mōdēta*, l 25, *ī* for *a* in *-uabōddhā*, l 11, *ī* for *ī* in *-maulīmanr-*, l 7, *g* for *ś* in *-tanga-*, l 23, *t* for *q* in *-bhōtyam*, l 21, *t* for *n* in *-numattavyah*, l 25, *t* for *v* in *-vryjat-*, l 2, *d* for *p* in *-dātakah*, l 25, *dhru* for *hr* in *sudhrut-*, l 12, *n* for *v* in *-jīnyamāna-*, l 6, *-nyarasthā-* l 8; *p* for *b* in *-āpādhā*, l 23, *p* for *y* in *apam-*, l 25, *ru* for *la* in *-ābhishṛu-*, l 9, and so forth. Note also the absence of *samdhi* in *-dīdhitih dīn-*, l 5, *srishtah yatō*, l 22, etc., and the confusion of the dual and the plural in *Vyāsagītau ślōkā bhavanti*, l 26.

The plates contain a grant issued from Valabhī by the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahārāja Dhruvasēna bestowing several plots of land in the villages Madkanā, Tāpasīya and Tinīshaka, in the Hastavaprāharanī (district), on the Chhandōgas Kumārasarman and Jarabhajin, of the Śāndilya gōtra, residents of Śankaravātaka. Hastavaprāharanī is well known from other Valabhī inscriptions.¹ It corresponds to the modern Hāthab, 6 miles south of Gōghā in the Bhāvnagar State. The lower classes pronounce this name Hāthap,² and this form is probably the correct one. It can be regularly derived from *Hastakapra*, but hardly from *Hastakapra* or *Hastavapra*. These forms look like learned Sanskrit versions of an older *Hatthaappa* and are hardly genuine. *Astakapra* of the Perplus points to an original *Hastakapra*. The names of the three villages in the district are not elsewhere known. The grant was issued from Valabhī, the present Wālā, situated in 21° 52' N. and 71° 37' E. I cannot identify Śankaravātaka, where the two donees were residing. The *dātula* was the *pratikāra* Mammaka, who appears in the same capacity in the two grants of Dhruvasēna of Samvat 207.³ The writer was the same Kikkaka, who wrote the remaining edicts of Dhruvasēna.⁴ The date of the grant was the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the (Valabhī) year 206, corresponding to A D 525-26. It is the earliest known grant of Dhruvasēna.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] Valabhītah prasabha-pranat āmitānā[m] Maītrakānām-atula-bala-sapatna-
 2 mandal abhōga-samsakta-samprahāra śata-lakṣha-pratāpah pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-
 āryjat(v)-ōpa-
 3 1jīat-ānurāgō=nurakta-maula-bhrita-mitra-sīēuī-bal-āvāpta-rūjasīh⁶ para[ma]mahēśvatah
 4 sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhatakkah tasya sutas=tat-pada-rajō-rūn-āvanata-pavitīkṛita-śīrās=śūō-va-
 5 nata-śatru-chūdamanī-ṛabhā va(vī)chchhurita-pāda-nakha-punkti-dīdhitih dīn-ānātha-jan-
 ōpajī-
 6 n(v)yamāna-vibhāvah paramamāhēśvatas=sēnāpati-Dharasēnah tasy-ānujas=tat-pād-
 ābhīpa-

¹ Compare the (spurious?) plate of Drōnasīmha of Samvat 183 (*Journ Bom Asiat Soc* Vol XX, pp 1 ff), the Ganēśgad plates of Dhruvasēna I of Samvat 207 (above, Vol III pp 318 ff), the Bhāvnagar plates of Dhruvasēna I of Samvat 207 (*Ind Ant* Vol V pp 204 ff), the Wālā plates of Dharasēna II of Samvat 269 (*Ind Ant* Vol VI pp 10 ff), and the Bhāvnagar plate of Dharasēna IV of Samvat 326 (*Ind Ant* Vol I p 45), see *Ind Ant* Vol V p 314, Vol VII p 53 f, Vol VIII p 141, Vol XIII p 358, Colonel Watson's *Statistical Account of Bhāvnagar*, p 106, and above, Vol III p 319.

² *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 54.

³ *Ind Ant* Vol V p 206 and above, Vol III p 323.

⁴ See *Ind Ant* Vol IV p 105, Vol V p 206, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol VII p 300, above, Vol III p 323, and below Nos II and III.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read perhaps, with the published plates of Dhruvasēna, *rājyasīh*.

3. ...
 4. ...
 6. ...
 8. ...
 10. ...
 12. ...
 14. ...

- 7 nāma-prasā(śa)sta-vimala-mauli(1)manir=Almanv-ādi-pranita-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā
Dharmmarāja
8 iva vihita-vinaya-nya(vya)vasthā-paddhā(ddha)tir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-svāminā
parama-
9 svāminā svayam-npahita-rājy-ābhishōru¹-mahā-viśrānan-āvapūta-rājaśrīh paramamā-
10 hēsvarō mahārāja-Drōnasi[m*]hah si[m*]ha iva tasy=ānujas=sva-bhujā-balōna para-
gaja-
11 ghat-ānikānām-ōkavijayī śaran-aishinī[m] śaranam=(a)vabōddhā śāstr-ūrttha-ta[t*]tvā-
nā[m] kalpa-
12 tarur=iva sudhrut(hrit)-pracayinām yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhogadah paramabhāgavatah
13 paramabhattyā(ttā)raka-pīd-ānudhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnah kuśali
14 sarvān=ēva svān=ēyuktaka-vimiyuktaka-drā[m]gika-mahattarā(ra)-chāta-bhata-
dhruvād'bhikaranika-

Second Plate

- 15 dāndapāsik-ādīn-anya[m]ś=cha [ya]thā-sambadhyamānakānadh[1]yaty²=astu va(vō)
viçitam yathā
16 Hastavepr-āharanyām Madkanā-grāmē kutumbi-Īśvara-pratyaya-pādāvarita-śatam
chatvāriṁśad³-adhikam
17 ⁴śōdaś-pādāvarita-parisarā va(vā)pi cha tathā Tāpasiya-grāmē Dhundaka-pratyaya-
pādāvā(va)rtta-śatam
18 ⁵chatvāriṁśad-adhikam tathā ⁶Tinīshaka-grāmē pūrvv-ōttara-simni pādāvarita-satam
saha vāpyū Śankaravātaka-vā-
19 stavya-brāhmaṇa-Kumārasarmma-[Ja]rabhājyibhyā[m] Śāndilya-sagotrābhyām Chhandō-
gasabrahmachārībhyā(bhyā)m mayā mā-
20 tā-pitrōh puny-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aihihik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvapti;
nimittam=ā-chandr-ārka(a)-
21 ārnava-kshuti-sarit-parvata-sthiti-samakālinam putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōtyam⁷ bali-
chara-vaiśvadēv-ādyanām kri-
22 yānām ⁸samūtsarpyan-ārttham=udak-ūtisarggōna brahmadāyō nisristah yatō=nayōr=
uchitayā brahmadāya-
23 sthityā bhūmyatōh krīshatōh pradīśatōr=vvā na kaiś=chi[t*] svalp=āpy=āpādāh⁹
kāryy=āsmad-⁹; angajair-āgāmī-bhadra-
24 nripatibhīś=ch=āntyāny=aiśvaryyāny=asthira[m*] mānushya[m*] sāma(mā)nyam
cha bhūmī-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhīh
25 ¹⁰apam=asmad-dāyō=numattavyah¹¹ [||*] yas=ch=āchchhindyād=āchchhudyamānam v=
ānumōdāt=sa¹² pañchabhīr=mmahādātakai¹³
26 sōpapātakais=sa[m]yuktas=syad=apī ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītau ¹⁴ślōkā bhavanti [||*]
Shashiti-varsha-sahasrāni svarggē
27 mōdati bhūmidah [||*] āchchhētā oh=ānuman[t]ā oha tāny=ōva narakē vasēh¹⁵
[||*] Bahnbhīr=vvasudhā bhaktā rājabhī[h*]
28 Sagar-ādībhīh [||*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī=tasya tasya tadā phalam (||)
Svabhō mama mahā-

¹ Read *shēka*² Read *chatvāriṁśad*³ Read *bhōgyam*⁴ Read *ābādāh*⁵ Read *mantavyah*⁶ Read *ślōkai bhavatah*⁷ Read *mānakān=anudarśayaty=*⁸ Read *śōdāsa-*⁹ Read *sarpyan*¹⁰ Read *camta*¹¹ Read *mōdātā sa*¹² Read *vasēt*¹³ Perhaps *tath=Atinīshaka-*¹⁴ Read *ayam=*¹⁵ Read *mmahāpātakai*

29 sāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya(h) [||*] Dūtakah pratihāia-Mammakah
 [||*] Likhitam Kikkakēna [||*]
 30 Sam 200 6 Bhadrpada śu 5.

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Om Hail! From Valabhī (In the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who forcibly prostrated their enemies (was born) the general, the glorious Bhatakka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles fought within the circuit of the territories of adversaries of unequalled strength, who gained devotion by gifts, honours and straightforwardness towards those whom he had prostrated by his splendour, who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara

(Line 4) His son (was) the general Dharasēna, whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his feet, the shining line of the nails of whose feet was inlaid with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes when they bent with their heads (before him), whose wealth was being lived upon by poor and helpless people, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara

(Line 6) His younger brother (was) the Mahārāja Drōnasimha, whose spotless crest-jewel became auspicious by bowing down to his (brother's) feet, whose nature (manifested itself in) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others, who like Dharmarāja (i.e. Yudhishthira) fixed the path of the laws of good conduct, whose anointment to the kingdom was performed by the paramount sovereign in person, the lord of the circuit of the territories of the whole earth, and whose royal glory was purified by (his) great liberality, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara

(Line 10) His younger brother, who like a lion defeated singlehanded, by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (his) enemies, who was the refuge of those who sought for refuge, who grasped the real purport of the meaning of the Śāstras, who, like the kalpa-tree, granted the enjoyment of rewards according to the wishes of (his) friends and favourites, the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of the paramount lord, the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahārāja Dhruvasēna, being in good health, issues the following order to all his āyuktakas, vinyuktakas, officers of the watch-stations, mahattaras, district officers, soldiers, dhruvādāhkarānikas, dāndapāsikas, and others according as they are concerned

(Line 15) Be it known to you that I have given as a brahmadāya, with libations of water, in the Hastavapra-āharanī in the village Madkanā, hundred and forty pādāriartas belonging to the householder Īśvara and an irrigation-well with an area of sixteen pādāriartas; further in the Tāpasiya village, hundred and forty pādāriartas, the holding of Dhundaka, further on the north-eastern border of Timshaka village hundred pādāriartas, together with an irrigation-well, to (two) inhabitants of Śankaravātaka, (viz) the brāhmanas Kumāraśarmaṇ and Jarabhajji, of the Śāndilya gōtra, students of the Chhandōga school, for the increase of the religious merit of My mother and father and in order to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I wish to last for the same time as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, the rivers and mountains, to be enjoyed by the succession of their sons and sons' sons, for the performance of the rites of baḥi, charu, and varśvadēva and others. Therefore, not even a slight obstruction should be made by anyone to these two while they are enjoying it in accordance with the proper conditions of a brahmadāya, cultivating it or assigning it (to others). And this Our gift should be assented to by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common. And he who confiscates it or assents to its being confiscated, incurs the guilt of the five great sins together with the minor sins

(Line 26) There are also two verses sung by Vyāsa about this The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years, but he who confiscates or approves (of confiscation) dwells in hell the same number of years

The earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara, whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward

(Line 28) The sign-manna! of Mo tho *Mahāsīmanta*, tho *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna Tho messenger is the *pratihāra* Mammaka Written by Kikkaka

The year 200 (and) 6, (the month) Bhādrapada, the bright (fortnight), the 5th (*tithi*)

II—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHURVASĒNA I, [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210

These plates are described as follows by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya,— Two plates without ring or seal Each of them has, however, two ring holes The ring hole of the left-hand corner of the bottom of the first plate is not complete, a small piece of its lower margin being broken just below the ring hole Each plate is written only on one side The working of the engraver's tool shows itself in a few places on the back of both plates The length of the plates varies from 10½" to 10¼" and the height from 6½" to 6¼" The height of individual letters is about ¼" Each plate contains 14 lines of well executed writing in a very good state of preservation

The alphabet is of the same kind as in the plates described above The *visarga* is apparently used as a sign of interpunctuation in *bharantih*, i e *bhavanti* ||, l 23 The numerical symbols for 200 10 and 5 occur in ll 27 f

The orthography is similar to that of the foregoing grant Forms such as *karś=chi*, l 21, *siha*, l 9, and *=anumatī*, l 23, look like Prākṛitisms The forms *Jyāvāla-* for the common *Jāvāla-* l 16, and *-rāja-*, which perhaps stands for *rājya*, l 3, have been discussed above Surds, liquids and nasals are doubled after *r*, thus, *-ārjjavōpārjji-*, l 2, *-dharmmā*, l 7 A surd has been doubled before *y* in *-ānuddhyātō*, l 12, *-sambaddhyāmāna-*, l 14 The engraver has not been careful to avoid miswritings Thus the *anusvāra* has often been left out, and in ll 9, 23 and 25, whole syllables are missing An *a* is very often wrongly written instead of an *ā*, thus, *pratap-ōpanata-dāna-man-*, l 2, *-nuragō*, l 2, and other instances in ll 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, *a* is written instead of *i* in *=ayam=*, i e *=iyam=*, l 23, *i* is used for *ī* in *vāpi*, l 18, *ī* for *i* in *-manī-*, l 4, *-manīr=*, l 7, *vidītam*, l 15, *ē* for *i* in *-numōdētam*, l 21, *u* for *ū* in *bhumi-*, l 22, *g* for *s* in *-igrānan-*, l 9, *n* for *ṇ* in *Matrakānām=*, l 1, and so forth Writings such as *-dīdhitiḥ dīn-*, l 5, on the other hand, are not mistakes of the writer, but this instance of wrong *sandhi* belongs to the original draft and recurs in most of the grants of Dhruvasēna The redundant *bhavanti*, l. 23, is perhaps also due to carelessness in the original draft

The grant was issued from Valabhi by the *Mahāsīmanta*, tho *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna, in order to confirm the Brāhmana Vishnuśarman, of the Jāvāla *gōtra*, a student of the Vājisanēya (*śākhā*) and a resident of Sīrṇhapura, in the possession of some land in the Hastavapra-āharanī, viz the *karada* field cultivated by the Brāhmana Viśākha, on the south-western border of the Bhallara village, and the Āmriḥikā tank, and further 50 *pādāvartas* on the northern border of the Vasukiya village, to be entered from Akshasaraka I am unable to identify the villages Bhallara and Vasukiya Vasukiya is said to be Akshasaraka-*prāvēśya* This corresponds to the Akshasaraka-*prāpīya* in the Ganēśgad plates of Śamvat 207, which Professor Hultzsch¹

¹ Above, Vol III p 323

translates "which belongs to the Akshasarakaprāpa," comparing the expression *Vatasthalikā-prāyīya*- in l 5 of the copper-plate grant of Gñhasēna of Samvat 248,¹ instead of which we should perhaps read *Vatapallikāprāpīya*- It seems certain that *prāpīya* is synonymous with *prāvēśya*, which also occurs in the Khariāi plates of Mahāsudēva.² *Prāvēśya* may, of course, be a fiscal term. It is, however, not likely that it means anything else than what it does in the common phrase *achāta-bhata-prāvēśya*. *Prāpīya* must then be a Prākṛit form of *prāpya*.³ I would accordingly translate *Akshasarakā-prāvēśya* "which is entered from Akshasarakā," i.e. borders on Akshasarakā. I cannot locate Akshasarakā. The last part of the word is probably *sarakā*, lake, pond. Of the remaining geographical names mentioned in the plates, Valabhī and Hastavaprāharani have been referred to above. The name Āmrīlikā probably means "abounding in mangoes." Simhapura, where the donee resided, also occurs in the plates of Dharasēna IV of Samvat 326 published in the *Bombay Journal*, Vol X, p 77 ff. It is the present Sihōr, situated in 21° 43' N and 72° E.

The *dātaka* was the *pratihāra* Mammaka, and the writer Kikkaka, as in the preceding grant. The grant is dated on the 15th (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana in the (Valabhī) year 210, corresponding to A D 529.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁴ svasti [||*] Valabhītah prasabha-pranat-āmitrānām Maitrakānām⁵=atula-
bala-sapatna-mandalābhōga-
- 2 samsakta-sampībhāra-śata-labdha-pratāpah prata(tā)p-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-ārjjav-
ōpārjvitānura(rū)gō=nurakta-
- 3 m[an]labhrita-mitra-śrēni-bal-āva(vā)pta-rājasrīh⁶ paramamāhēśvaras=sēna(nā)patī-Śrī-
Bhatakkah
- 4 tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-run-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śīrās=śīrō-vanata-śītru-chūdāmani(ū)-
- 5 prabhā-vichchurita-pāda-nakha-pamkti-didhitah di(di)n-ānātha-jan-ōpajīvyama(mā)na-
vibhavah
- 6 paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpatī-Dharasēnas=tasy-ānujas=tat-pād-ābhīpranāma-prasasta-
vimāla-
- 7 maulmanir(nir)=Mmanv-ādi-pranīta-vidhi-vidha(dhā)na-dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva
vilīta-vinaya-vy[a]vasthā-pa-
- 8 ddhatr=akhīla-bhuvana-mandalābhōga-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam=npahita-
rājyābhishēka-
- 9 mahā-vigrā(śrā)nan-apīta⁷-rājasrīh paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-Drōnasimhas=sī[m*]ha
iva
- 10 tasy-ānujas=sva-bhujā-balēna para-gaja-ghat-ānikānā(m)m=ēkavijayī śaran-aishinā[m*]
śarana-
- 11 m=avabōddhā sāstr-ārthta-tattvānām kalpatarur=iva suhrit-prapayinām
yathābhilashita-phal-ōpa-
- 12 bhōgadah paramabh[ā]gavatah paramabhatyā(ttā)ṛaka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-
mahārāja-Dhruva-
- 13 sēnah kṣāli s[a]rvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka vimyuktaka-cha(chā)ta-bhata-drāngika-
mahattara-
- 14 dhruvādhikaranika-dāndapāsīk-ādīn=anyāms=cha yathā-sambaddhyāmānaka(kā)n=anndaīsa-

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol V p 206 f (No 467 of the late Prof Kielhorn's *Northern List*)

² See above, Vol IX, p 172, text line 4 ³ [See above, p 81 and note 1 —Ed] ⁴ Expressed by a symbol.
Read 'Lānām-.

⁶ Perhaps *-rājasrīh*

⁷ Read *-āvapīta*.

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Second Plate

- 15 yaty=astu vō vidī(dī)tam yathā Simhapura-vāstavya brāhmana-Vishnuśarmanē
 16 Jyāvāla-sagōtrāya Vāṛṣanēya-sabrahmachārinē Hastavapr āharanyā[m*] Bhallāra-
 17 grām-āparadakshina-simni bīhmana-Viśākha-prabhuktaka-karada-kshētram dvādasa-
 pādā-
 18 varitta-parisar=Āmrilikā vāpi(pī) tath=Ākshasaraka-prāvēśya-Vasukīya-grāmōttara-
 19 simn[1] pādāvaittāh pamchāsud=bhukta-bhujyamānakāh ctan=mayā māta(tā) pitrōh
 puny-ā-
 20 pyāyanāy=ātmanas=ch=aihk-āmushmika-yathābhūlashita-phal-a(l-ā)vāpti-nimitta[m*]
 pūrvvāchāra-
 21 sthity=ānumōdē(dī)tam yatō=sya bhūjyātah krishatah kaishayatah pradīsatō vā
 na kais-chi[t*]
 22 paripanthanā kāryy=āsmad-vamsajair=āg[ā]mi-bhadra-nripatibhis=cha sāma(mā)nyam
 bhū(bhū)mi-dāna-phalam=ava-
 23 gachchhadbhīr=ayam=asmad-anumatī¹ mantavyā [||*] bhavanti ch=ātra Vyāsagitāh
 ślōkā bhavanti(h)
 24 Bahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabis=Sagar² dibhīh [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=
 tasya tasya tadā
 25 phalam [||*] Shashthim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [1*]
 āchchhētta(ttā) ch=ānumanta(tā) cha ta(tā)ny=ē[va*] narakē vasē [||*]
 26 Svadattā[m*] paradattām va yō harēta vasundhāim [1*] gavā[m*] śatasahasasya
 hantuh pra(prā)pnōti kībīsham [||*]
 27 Svahastō mama mahī(hā)sāmanta mahī(hā)rāja-Dhruvasēnasya [||*] Dūtakah
 pratihāra-Mammakah [||*] Likhitam Kikkakēna [||*] Sam 200 10
 28 Śrāvana śu 10 5

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1-14 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam 206]

(Line 15) Be it known to you that for the inhabitant of Simhapura, (*viz*) the Brāhmana Vishnuśarman, of the Javāla *gōtra*, a student of the Vāṛṣanēya (*sākhā*), the following (*property*), *viz* in the Hastavapra-āharani, in the Bhallāra village, on the south-western border, the *karada*² field (*formerly*) enjoyed by the Brāhmana Viśākha, (and) the irrigation well Āmrilikā extending over twelve *pādāvartas*, further on the northern frontier of the Vasukīya village, which can be entered from (*viz* which borders on) Akshasaraka, fifty *pādāvartas*, which have formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee), has been confirmed by Me, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father, and in order to obtain for Myself such rewards here and in the other world as I may wish. Therefore obstruction should not be made by any one to him while he enjoys it, cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (*to others*). This Our confirmation should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 23) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this. The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. He who rescinds grants of land made by himself or others, incurs the guilt of the killer of hundred thousand cows.

¹ Read =nyam=asmad anumatir=anumantayā

² Karada perhaps means 'tribute paying'. It is of course possible to read *prabhukta kakarada*

(Line 27) The sign-manual of Me the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna The messenger is the *pratihāra* Mammaka Written by Kikkaka The year 200 and 10; (the month) Śrāvana, the bright (fortnight), the fifteenth (*tithi*)

III—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I; [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210.

These are two plates which have been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya,—
“Each of them has two ring-holes Each plate is written only on one side The working of the engraver’s tool shows itself in a few places on the back The length of the plates is about $10\frac{1}{4}$ ”, the height varies from $6\frac{3}{8}$ ” to $7\frac{1}{4}$ ”

The plates are in a good state of preservation The first contains 15 and the second 12 lines of well executed writing The average height of individual letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ”

The characters are of the same kind as in the plates dealt with above They comprise the signs for an initial *au* in *Apasvasti-*, l 17, for a final *t* in *trimsat*, l 17 and *ie(ta)sēt*, l 24, for a final *m* in *=ānuṅnātam*, l 19 The curious shape of the *visarga* in *krishatah*, l 20, *-gītāh*, l 22, *-ādibhuh*, l 23, *-vāsīhanah*, l 25, is probably due to the engraver’s misunderstanding his draft Note also the signs of *-ē-* in *-kīm=ēla-*, l 11, and of *lō* in l 12 A sign of inter-punctuation occurs in l 25 The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 are found in l 27

With regard to orthography the remarks made about the preceding grants also hold good here The wrong *samdhī* in *bhujatōkrish-*, l 20, may be a Prakritism The same is perhaps the case with *Drōnasihams=sīhaiva*, l 10 Consonants are doubled after *r* in the usual way, thus, *-āryyāvōpāryyita-*, l 2 f, *-dharmmā Dharmma-*, l 8, *-maryyādayā*, l 20, etc. The doubling of a surd before *y* in *-ānuddhyātō*, l 13, *-sambaddhyamāna*, l 15, is also in accordance with the practice in similar grants There are several instances of careless writing, thus we find *a* for *ā* in *dānaman-*, l 2, *iapī*, l 16, *brahmano-*, l 17, *-āpyāyanaya*, l 18, *tā(sā)manyam*, l 22, *=ānumanta*, l 24, *-dayam*, l 25, *ā* for *a* in *chā*, l 24, *krishnāhāyō*, l 25, *u* for *ū* in *bhumi-*, l 25, *r* for *ri* in *trimsat*, l 17, *ē* for *a* in *vesēt*, l 24, *ē* for *ai* in *śaranēshnām*, l 11, *chch* for *ch* in *chch=ānu-*, l 24, *chhy* for *ndhy* in *Vichhyātavīsh-*, l 25, perhaps *j* for *gya* in *-rāja-*, l 3, *ncha* for *sua* in *āñchayuja*, l 27, *ta* for *gā* in *=ātami-*, l 21, *t* for *tt* in *-tatvānām*, l 11, *āchchhētā*, l 24, *tā* for *sā* in *tāmanyam*, l 22, *p* for *y* in *mapāpi*, l 18, *dē* for *mu* in *-aihkādēshnika-*, l 19, *n* for *n* in *mantrakānām=*, l 1, for *t* in *nāny=ēia*, l 24, and for *v* in *=anumantanu=*, l 22; *p* for *y* in *patō*, l 20, *s* for *sh* in *susha-*, l 25 L 21 contains a series of mistakes in *=chavtyāny=aiśvaryyāny=ēsthira mōnuryya tāmanyam* Note also the superfluous *anusvāra* in *-sihams=*, l 10, *suhramt-*, l 12, the superfluous *na* in l 21, the redundant *ha* in *vāsīhanah*, l 25, the omission of *nā* in *-ānīhā[nā*]m=* l 11, the omission of a *visarga* in *rājabh-*, l 23, and the form *Kikkaka* instead of *Kikkakēna*, l 26 In l 5, on the other hand, we find the correct *samdhī -dīdhitir=ādīn-*, while the other grants of Dhruvasēna have *-dīdhitih dīn-*

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsīmanta* the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna to the Brāhmana Skanda of the *Anpasvasti gōtra*, a student of the *Vājisanēya sakhā*, a resident of *Akrōlaka* village, who was therewith confirmed in the possession of an irrigation well (*vāpi*) and a field of thirty *pādāvurtas*, on the northern border of the village I am not able to identify this village The messenger was Rudradhara, who is not elsewhere known, and the writer, as in the preceding grants, Kikkaka The grant is dated on the fifth (*tithi*) of the dark (?) fortnight of *Āśvayuja*, in the (Valabhi) year 210, corresponding to A D 529 The syllable denoting the fortnight has been miswritten, and it is possible that it should be restored as *śu* and not as *bā* The mistake is due to the final syllable of the preceding word being wrongly repeated

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TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-pīanat-āmitrānā[m*] Matrakānām(nām)=
atula-bala-sapatna-ma-
2 ndal-ābhōga-samsakta-sa[m*]prabhāra-śata-labdha-pratāpah pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-
ārjja-
3 v-ōpārjji-ānurāgō=nurakti-maulabhrita-mitra-śi-ēni-bal-āvāpta-rājaśrīh² paramamā-
4 hēśvaras-sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhatakkas=tasya sutas=tach-charana-rajō-run-āvanata-pavitrikrita-
5 śrāh śūō-vanata-śatru-chīdāmani-prabhā-vichchurita-pāda-nakha-pamkti-didhitur-ddin-
ānā-
6 t̄ha-jan-ōpajivyamāna-vibhavah paramamāhēśvaras-sēnāpati-Dharasēnas=tasy-ānuja-
7 s=tat-pād-ābhīpranāma-prasasta-vimāla-maulumanur=śmanv-ādī-pranīta-vidhi-vidhāna-
8 dharmamā Dharmmarāja iva vihita-vinaya-vyavasth[ā]-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-mandal-
ābhōga-
9 svāmīnā paramasvāmīnā svayam=upabita-rājy-ābhushēka-mahāvīśrānan-āvapūta-rā-
10 ja[ś]rīh paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-Drōnasīham(śimha)s-si[m*]ha iva tasy=ānujas=
svabhūja-balē-
11 na para-gaja-ghat-ānikā[nā*]m=ōkavijayi śaranē(nai)shinām śaranam=avabōddhā
śāstr-ārt[th]a-ta[t*]tvā-
12 nām kalpatarur=iva suhri(m)t-pranayinām yathābhīlāshita-phal-ōpabhōgadāh
parama-
13 bhāgavataḥ paramabhāttāraka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsīmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnah
14 kuśali sarvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-vimnyuktaka-chāta-bhata-makattara-drāngika-
dhruvā-
15 dhīharanika-dāndapāśik-ādīn=anyāms=cha yathā-sambaddhyamānakān=anudarśa-

Second Plate

- 16 yatya=astu vō viditam yath=Ākrōlaka-grāma uttara-s[i]mni dvādaśa-pādā(r)varitta-
parisarā va(vā)pi(pi)
17 kshētra-pādāva[ī]ttās=cha tri(tri)msat tatr=iva vūstavya-bra(brā)hmana-Skandāya
Aupasvasti-sagotrāya Vājrasānyā-
18 sabrahmachārīnē yad=ētat=[pū]rvvabhukta-bhujyamānakam tan=mapā(y=ā)pi
mātāpitrōh puny-āpyiyana(nā)ya
19 ātmanās=ch=aihik-ādī(mu)shmika-yathābhīlāshita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam pūrvv-ūchāra-
sthity=ānujātam
20 pa(ya)tō=sya pūrvva-bhukti-maryyādayā bhūmātā(tah) krishata[h]³ 'karshayataḥ
pradīśatō vā na kōna-vi(chi)t=svalp=āpy-ā-
21 b[ā]dhā vichāranā vā (na) kāryy=asmad-vamsājair-āta(gā)mi-bhadra nripatibhūś=cha-
⁴vityāny=aiśvaryyāny=ēsthira mōnuryya
22 tā(sā)ma(mā)nyam cha bhūmādāna-phalam=avagachchadbhur=iyam=asmad-anumatir=
anumantanyā(vy=ā)pi ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītah⁵
23 ślōkā bhavanti [||*] Bahubhur=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-ādibhih⁵[||*]
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā

¹ Expressed by a symbol² Perhaps *rājyaśrīh*³ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *vīśarga*⁴ Read *ch=ānityāny=aiśvaryyāny=asthīram viānushyam*⁵ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *vīśarga*

- 24 phalam [||*] Shasbti-varsha-sahasrāni svarggō mōdati bhūmid[a]h [I*] āchchhē[t*]tā
(ch)eh=ānumanta(ntā) chā(cha) nāny(tāny)=tva narakō vō(va)ēt [||*]
25 Vichhy(Vindhya)-ātavishv=atōyāsu śuska(śushka)-kōtāra-vāshana[h](vāshana) [I*]
krishnāhā(ba)yō hi jāyantō bhū(bhū)mi-da(dā)yam haranti yō ||
26 Svahastō mama mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya [||*] Dūtākō Rudradharah
[||*] Likhitam Kikkaka(Kikkakēna)
27 Sam 200 10 ā[n̄cha](āśva)yuja ja(ba?) 5

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1-15 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam 206]

(Line 16) Be it known to you that, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father and to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I may wish, I have, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, confirmed (*the enjoyment of*) an irrigation-well with an area of twelve *pādāriartas* and thirty *pādāriartas* arable land on the northern border of Akrolaka village which had formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee) for the benefit of the resident of that same place, (*viz*) the Brūhmana Skanda, of the Aupasvasti *gōtra*, a student of the Vāpśan̄cya (*sākhī*) Therefore not even a slight obstruction or dispute must be made by anybody to him while he enjoys (*this land*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (*to others*) in accordance with the conditions under which he enjoyed (*it*) previously This Our confirmation (*of the old grant*) should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common

(Line 22) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this,—The earth has been enjoyed, etc The giver of land, etc Those who rescind a grant of land are reborn as black serpents living in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhyaś

(Line 26) The sign manual of Me the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* The messenger is Rudradhara Written by Kikkaka The year 200 (and) 10; (the month) *Āśva[yuja]*, the dark (?) (fortnight), the 5th (*tihr*).

IV —PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF DHRUVASĒNA I

This plate has been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya,—“ One plate only of the inscription is preserved It is written on one side and has two ring-holes at the bottom The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back There is also a square hole in the left-hand top corner of the plate, bored into the symbol representing the syllable *ōm* Length of plate varies from 11' to 11½", height varies from 6¼" to 6½" ”

The plate contains 13 lines of well executed writing The average height of individual letters is ¼"

The characters are similar to those used in the other plates They comprise the sign of the *śikṣāmālīya* in *-Dhruvasēnah=husālī*, l 12 There are three different forms of the medial long *-ī-* Two of them occur in *dīdhitih dīn-*, l 5, and the third in *-pranīta-*, l 6 Note also the form of *-ē-* in *-nām=ēka-*, l 9, which is likewise used in the corresponding passage of the grant just dealt with

With regard to orthography, we may note the usual doubling of consonants after *r*, thus, *-ārīttha-*, l 10, *sarvīān-*, l 12 On the other hand, we have a single *dh* before *y* in *-ānudhyātō*, l 11, *-sambadhya-*, l 13, as in the grant of Samvat 206 The absence of *sandhi* in *-dīdhitih dīn-*, l 5, is in accordance with the common practice in Dhruvasēna's grants In l 4 we find *-runa-*

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nata- instead of *-run-āvanata-*, and the syllables *nīma-pra* have been omitted in l. 6. In l 7 we find *viphata-* for *vihata-*. On the whole the engraver has done his work carefully

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*, but only the formal portion is preserved

TEXT

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabhiḥ-pranat-āmītra(trā)nām Maītrakānām=atula-bala-sapatna-mandal-ābhōga-
- 2 samsakta- samprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpah pratāp ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjvat-ānurāgō=nurakta-maula-
- 3 bhṛita-mitra-śrēni-bal-āvāpta-rājyasriḥ paramamāhēśvarah śīi-sēnāpati- Bhaṭakkaḥ=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-
- 4 rajō-run-anata(run-āvanata)-pavitr[i]kṛita-śīrāh śīiō-vanata-satru-chūdāmani-prabhā-vichchurita-pāda-nakha-pankti-
- 5 dīdhitih dīn-ānātha-jan-ōpajiviyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras= sēnāpati- Dharaśēnah
- 6 tasy= ānujas= tat-pād-ābhūpra[nūma-pra*]śasta-vimāla-manli-manir=Ammanv-āda-pranita-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmma Dharmma-
- 7 rāja iva vi[ph]īta-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddhatir=akhila- bhuvana-mandal-ābhōga-svāminā parama-
- 8 svāminā svayam=upahita-rājy-ābhūshēka-mahāvīśrānan-āvapūta-rājasriḥ paramamāhēśvarah
- 9 mahārāja-Drōnasimhas=sunha iva tasy=ānujah svabhūja-balēna para-gaja-ghat-ānikānām=ēka-
- 10 vijayī śaran-aishinām śaranam=avabōddhā śāstr-ārthta-ta[t*]tvānām kalpatarur=iva subrit-pranayinām
- 11 yathābhūlashita-phal-ōpabhōgadāh paramabhāgavataḥ paramabhāttāraka-pād-ānudhyātō
- 12 mahārāja-Dhruvasēnah=kuśali sarvvān=ōva svān=āyuktaka-mahattara-drāmgika-chāta-bhata-
- 13 dhruvasthānādhuḥkarana-dandapāsīk-ādīn=anyāms=cha yathā-sambadhya-

V —PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF [ŚĪLĀDITYA I DHARMĀDITYA, VALABHĪ-SĀMVAṬ 286].

Raj Bahadur V Venkayya has favoured me with the following description of this plate,—
“ One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It has two ring-holes at the bottom, but neither the ring nor the seal which it might have borne is forthcoming. A small piece of the plate is broken at the left top corner, damaging a portion of the symbol for *ōm*. Likewise a small piece is missing at the beginning of l 10, where, however, no letter has been damaged. The plate is engraved only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. Length of plate varies from 11½” to 11¾” Height about 8½” ”

The plate contains 18 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is ¼”

The characters agree with those used in the grants of Śīlāditya I

With regard to orthography, we may note the use of *ri* for *ri* in *tridaśa-*, l 7, of *ri* for *ri* in *trina-*, l 7, the writing of *mgh* for *mḥ* in *-samghatis-*, l 5 and in *samghat-*, l 13, the use of *ṅ*

¹ Expressed by a symbol

for *m* in *-ānsa-*, l 15, the doubling of consonants after *r* and before *y* in *-ārjjavōpārjvit-*, l 2, *Bhātārkkād-*, l 3, *sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l 6, *-āmuddhyātos-*, l 14, and so on. There are a few mistakes, such as *ē* for *a* in *-pētha-*, l 18, *t* for *tt* in *-satva-*, l 4, *y* for *yy* in *-ōjvala-*, l 18, *p* for *pr* in *-pabhāva-*, l 4, a superfluous *anusvāra* in *-rāmja-*, l 3, and so on. The first *n* in *santāna-*, l 9, has been misshaped and looks almost like a *v*. Note also the absence of *samdhi* in *-sabdah rūpa-*, l 6.

The plate contains only the formal portion of the grant and breaks off in the description of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, but it is absolutely certain that Mr Jackson was right in assuming that the grant was issued by him. The absence of *samdhi* in *-sabdah rūpa-*, l 6, the word *-dhairyya-* in *-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l 6, and the word *-bala-* in *-ākhila-bala-dhanurddharah*, l 11, occur in all the grants of Śīlāditya but not in other Valabhī grants. It is also possible to state definitely that the plate belongs to a grant issued before Valabhī-Samvat 290, because the spellings *-samghatis-*, l 5, *-tridaśaguru*, l 7, and *samghat-*, l 13, which also occur in the Walā plates of Valabhī-Samvat 286, are not found in the Dhānk plates of Valabhī-Samvat 290. The last words of our plate are *-ōjvalatari-krit-ārttha-*, and by comparing other Valabhī grants we find that the second plate must have begun *-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-*. Now these are the first words of the fragmentary second Walā plate of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, dated Sam 200 80 6 Vaisākha-va(?) 6, which has been published by Dr Bhandarkar¹. The length of that plate is, according to the editor, 12" and the height 8¼". The size therefore also agrees with that of our plate, and there cannot be any doubt that the two plates belong together, so that the whole grant is now before us. To judge from Dr Bhandarkar's edition the second plate is not well preserved. I asked Rai Bahadur V Venkayya to be good enough to try to get hold of it so that it could be republished together with the first plate. His endeavours to do so have not, however, been successful, and I therefore edit the beginning alone.

TEXT

- 1 Ōm² svasti [[!*] Valabhītah prasabha-pranat-āmitrānām Maitrakānām=
atula-bala sampanna-mandal-ābhōga-samsakta-prahā -
- 2 ra-śata-labdha-pratāpat-pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjvit-ānurāgād-anurakta-
maulabhṛita-śrēṇī-bal-ā-
- 3 vāpta-rājya-śriyah paramamāhēśvara-Śrī-Bhātārkkād=avyavacchhinna-rā(m)ja-
vamsān=mātā-pitri-charan-āravinda-pranati-pravidhant-āśēsha-kalma-
- 4 shah śaisavāt=prabhṛiti khadga-dvītiya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghat-āspḥōtana-
prakāśita-sa[t*]tva-nikashas=tat-p[r*]abhā-
- 5 va-pranat-ārāti-chūdāratna-prabhā-samsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmī-samgha(ha)tis=sakala-
smṛiti-pranīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-
- 6 prajā-hṛidaya-ramjan-ānvarttha-rāja-śabdah rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-
buddhi-sampadbhīh smara-śaśānk-ādrurāj-ō-
- 7 dadhi-tri(tri)daśaguru-dhanēśān=atīśayānaś=śaran-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tri-
(tri)na[va]d=apāst-āśēsha-svakāryya-
- 8 phala[h*] prārthtan-ādḥik-ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhrīt-pranayī-hṛidayah
pādachār=īva sakala-bhuvana-mandal-ābhō-
- 9 ga-pramōdah paramamāhēśvarah Śrī-Guhasēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-
mayūkha-sa[ntā]na-vīṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-au-
- 10 gha-prakshālīt-āśēsha-kalmashah pranayī-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sampad-rūpa-lōbhād=
iv=āśrītas=sarabhasam=ābhī-
- 11 gāmīkar=ggunaś=sahaja-śakti-śīkshā-vīśēsha-vismāpit-ākhila-bala-dhanurddharah
prathama-narapatī samatśrīstānā-

¹ *Ird. Ant* Vol I p 46.

² Expressed by a symbol

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥

- 12 m=anupālayitā dharmmadāyānām= apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kārinām=upaplavānām
darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyōr=ēk-ā-
- 13 dhivāsasya samgha(ha)t-ārāti-paksha-lakshmi-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikram-
ōpasamprāpta-vimala-pārthivaśrīh paramamāhē-
- 14 śvarah Śrī-Dharasēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānuddhyātas=sakala-jagad-ānandan-
ātyadbhuta-guna-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-dinma-
- 15 ndalas=samara śīta-vijaya-śōbhā-sanātha-mandalāgra-dyuti-bhāsuratar-ānsa-pith-ōdūdhā-
guru-manōratha-mahābhārah
- 16 sarvva-vidya-parāvara-vibhāg-ādhyāgama-vimala-matir=apī sarvatas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpī
sukh-ōpapādaniya-pari-
- 17 tōsha[h*] sanagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hridayō=pi sucharit-ātīśaya-suvyakta-
parama-kalyāna-svabhāvah khilī-bhū-
- 18 ta-kritaynga-nrīpati-pā(pa)tha-viśōdhan-ādhyat-ōdagra-kirttar=ddharmm-ānupaiōdh -ō[j*]-
jvala-tarī-krit-ārthta-

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Ōm Hail! From Valabhī (*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who had by force prostrated (their) enemies, from the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhatārka, who had acquired splendour in hundreds of battles connected with the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength, who had gained the devotion of those whom he had prostrated by his splendour through his gifts, honours and straightforwardness, who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants (*was descended*), the royal lineage being uninterrupted, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Guhasēna, whose sins were all washed away by the prostrations at the lotus feet of (his) mother and father, to whom (his) sword was indeed a second arm from (his) childhood, and who brightened the touchstone of his strength by splitting open the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes, the collection of the rays of the nails of whose feet was combined with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes who were prostrated by the power of that (*strength*); who rendered (his) title of king appropriate by pleasing the minds of (his) subjects by thoroughly observing the conduct laid down in all the *smritis*, who in beauty, loveliness, stability, firmness, profundity, wisdom and wealth surpassed (*respectively*) Cupid, the moon, the king of mountains, the ocean, the preceptor of the gods (Brihaspati) and Dhanēsa, who, through being intent upon granting safety to those who came for protection, threw away all the results of his deeds as if they were straw, who gladdened the hearts of learned people, friends and favourites by giving (them) riches in excess of their demands, and who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the vast circle of the whole world,

(Line 9) his son (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Dharasēna, whose sins were all washed away by the flood of the waters of the Ganges which flowed from the cluster of rays of the nails of the feet of his (*father*), whose wealth was being lived upon by hundreds of thousands of favourites, who was impetuously resorted to by attractive qualities as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, who astonished the archers of all armies by his innate ability and excellent training, who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings, who was a remover of calamities that might oppress (his) subjects, who showed (the world) Śrī and Sarasvati living together, whose prowess was skilful in enjoying the Fortune of the compact ranks of his foes, and who by his prowess obtained spotless royal splendour,

(Line 14) his son [the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Śīlāditya], who meditates on his (*father's*) feet, who covers the whole horizon by the rise of his wonderful virtues that gladden the whole world, who supports the great burden of weighty desires on the pedestal of his shoulders (which have got their) splendour increased by the lustre of his sword that is

possessed of the brilliancy of victory in hundreds of battles, who though his intellect is pure by mastering the higher and lower divisions of all sciences, is always easily gratified by even a trifle of wit, who, though his heart possesses a profundity that is unfathomable by the whole world, well manifests his noble disposition in abundance of good conduct, who has achieved exalted fame by purifying the path of the kings of the Kṛitayuga which had become abandoned, [whose second name of Dharmāditya arose from his enjoying riches, happiness, and] wealth which have been made more resplendent by (his) non-obstructing the law.

No 10 —BURMESE INSCRIPTION AT BODH-GAYA.

BY TAW SEIF KO

Translations of this inscription have already been published at pages 208-210 of Rajendra-lala Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, and at page 76 of Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*. There is some controversy as to the correct reading of the dates. The initial date is undoubtedly 657, which corresponds to 1295 A D, and the final date 660, which is equivalent to 1298 A D. During the period indicated by these two dates, the Burmese empire of Pagan was in the throes of a Chinese invasion. In 1284, Pagan had been occupied by the Chinese. In 1298 A D, Kyawzwa, the titular king, had been dethroned by three Shan brothers, who bore divided rule at the new capitals of Myinzaing, Metkaya, and Pinlé in the Kyanksè district. Two years later, the Chinese again invaded Myinzaing. In these circumstances, the only inference is that the last repairs to the Mahābodhi Temple alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a king of Arakan.

There is, however, some difficulty in the identification of the personages mentioned in the inscription. *Mahāthera Pinthagugyi* cannot be identified with certainty. *Pinthagugyi* or the "great Pinthagu" is a title, designation, or *sobriquet*, rather than a personal name, and is derived from the Pāli word *pamsukūlaka*, "one who obtains the materials for his clothing from a dust-heap or a cemetery." Such a title was usually conferred on a Buddhist monk of exceptional sanctity and austerity, who had secured the esteem and admiration of the laity. There was such a celebrated Buddhist monk at Pagan during the reign of Narapati-sithu (1167-1204 A D.)

Thadomin sounds like an Arakanese title of a king or prince. It does not occur in the chronological lists appended to Phayre's *History of Burma*.

King Sinbyuthakin is called in the inscription *Sinbyuthakhin Trā Mingyi*. The first part means "the Lord of the White Elephant," and the second "Dhammarājā." Here, again, the expression is a common regal title and not a personal name.

Sirdhammarājaguru is the title of a learned monk. All royal preceptors are called "Dhammarājaguru," or the "King's guru."

Sirkassapa and Varavāsī are ordinary names of Buddhist monks.

A great deal of interest centres round the designation "Pyu-ta-thein min", which appears as "Pu-ta thin min" in lines 9-10 of the inscription below. I am inclined to identify this personage with the "King Sinbyuthakhin" mentioned in the same inscription, and both with Meng-di, No 9 of the "Dynasty of the City Loung-Kyet" at page 301 of Phayre's *History of Burma*. This king reigned from 1279 to 1385, and is described as a "son of Meng-bhi-lu." There are two "Meng-bhi-lus," namely, No 7 of the same dynasty, who reigned from 1272 to 1276 A D, and No 12 of the "dynasty of Ping-tsa City," who ruled from 1075 to 1078 A D (page 299, *ibid*). The latter king was driven out from his kingdom by a usurper, and his son and heir, Mengre Baya, sought refuge at the Court of Kyanzittha, king of Pagan. Mengre Baya died leaving a son called Letyāmengnan. This Arakanese prince

၁။ ပဏ္ဍိတောပဒါဒါဂါလုနိလိမိဖိယာမဒါဒါကံ ဝပုဂ္ဂိပက္ခန္တိဂါဝိမဒါဝိစိပုဂ္ဂေါ
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 ၁၇။ ဝါဒိကံပသပကပင်တြိဝရိယုတိ ဝါဒိကောကံ မုတ္တိကံ
 ၁၈။ ဝါဒိကံပသပကပင်တြိဝရိယုတိ ဝါဒိကောကံ မုတ္တိကံ
 ၁၉။ ဝါဒိကံပသပကပင်တြိဝရိယုတိ ဝါဒိကောကံ မုတ္တိကံ
 ၂၀။ ဝါဒိကံပသပကပင်တြိဝရိယုတိ ဝါဒိကောကံ မုတ္တိကံ

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was restored to his ancestral throne by Alaungsithu, Kyawzitha's grandson and successor, in 1103 A D, with the aid of 100,000 Pys and 100,000 Talangs. Hence the fortunate prince is known in history as "Pyn-ta them-min," or "Lord of the 100,000 Pys" (*vide* page 40, *ibid*) It is most probable that Meng-di, during whose reign the inscription was set up at Bodh-Gaya, was a descendant of Letyāmengnau and was also called a "Pyu-ta-them-min"

On the same page, Phayic says "Alaungsithu caused the Buddhist temple at Gaya to be repaired" I am inclined to think that, on that occasion, the King of Pagan deputed the Mahāthera Pinthagugyi to superintend the work, and that he required his *protégé*, Letyāmengnan, to render the necessary assistance in this work of merit. It would then appear that the "Thadomin" mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of Letyāmengnan, the Prince, who first bore the title of "Pyu-ta-them-min" or "Lord of the 100,000 Pys"

It is quite possible that one of the conditions of Letyāmengnan's restoration to the Aralanesethrone was that, for the accumulation of merit of Alaungsithu, his suzerain and benefactor, he and his descendants were to render material assistance in the repair and maintenance of the temple at Bodh-Gaya. Viewed in this light, the chronology of the inscription and the *raison d'être* of the proceedings recorded therein become clear, reasonable and logical

TEXT

- 1 Purhāthikhin thāthanā 218 lunhe-pyithaw akhāhnaik sambuteik kyungo asoyathaw Si-
- 2 ridhammasoka myithaw Mingyi seti s'atthanng 4 danng aphaw hnaik
- 3 sumtaw phoupirā Pāyātha i-tango akhā hemyi pyet
- 4 rwe myinthaw thikhin Pinthakūgyi tayauk Thopyi tachtet py-
- 5 etkheragā Thadomin pyu-i Thopyi(y) tachtet pyetkhedōn
- 6 ragā Sinbynthikhin Trā Mingyi mimi kosa sira sūrdhamma-
- 7 rājakurugo sīyāw mulattaw akhāhnaik pā-la-
- 8 t ihaw tabethā Sīrikassapasa thī lōk antha ntsā hilyet
- 9 malōk radat ragā Varavāsi thikhin theraḡo sum kham sīyragā Pu-
- 10 tathin min hu-i lok sīyāmu thikhin nge ko myatkyi The(ṡa) ko
- 11 akhwin puragā Sakarac 657 khu pyatholazan 10 rak thaukkyamy pyndōn-i
- 12 Sakarac 660 Tazaungmonlazan 8 rak tahaungau nī(y) hlū-sathaw
- 13 takhunkukā takhunpyādoko le pusao-i Thīnbōk thauḡ sīmī
- 14 thaungdo akyem myaswa hln pusao-i Thāthamī hu hmat rwo thungè 2
- 15 yauk shwepan ngwepan khwet paso swèthaw padetha le pu-
- 16 sao-i Akhākhapthera hln thīnbōkwut mapyat tīnṡthaw
- 17 kraung mīe kyun nwado ko le way ruy hlūkhe Ī ngā pyu
- 18 thaw kaunghmugā Nīppan, pyīsi athauk apin phytchin tha-
- 19 te Yat (mek) tī purhāthikhin letthet hln rahandāsu lothate

TRANSLATION.

- 1 When 218 years of the era of the Religion of the Lord Buddha had passed away, Sīrdhammasoka, the Ruler of Jambudīpa,
- 2 built 84,000 chaityas, one of which was situated on the site,
- 3 where the Buddha took a meal (of rice porridge offered by Sujātā before attaining Enlightenment) This shrine, owing to the effluxion of time, fell into ruin,
- 4 and was repaired by the Mahāthera Pinthagugyi. Subsequently,
- 5 it was repaired by Thadomin. It again fell into disrepair,

6 and King Sinbyuthikhin deputed the Royal Preceptor,
 7 Sirdhammarājaguru, to undertake the work of repair
 8 Sirkassapa, the disciple of the Preceptor, had sufficient funds,
 9 but could not take the work in hand (owing, probably, to the absence of skilled
 artisans)—

10 He, therefore, sent Varavāsi, a junior *Thera*,
 11 to King Pyutathin Min, who complied with the solicitation for assistance
 12 The work of repair was begun on Friday, the 10th, waxing of Pyatho 657 B E.
 (January 1295 A D),

13 and was completed on Sunday, the 8th, waxing of Tazaungmon 660 B E (November
 1298 A D)

14 The following offerings were dedicated to the shrine flags and streamers, 1 000 bowls
 of rice and 1,000 lamps (for several times), 2 boys in the place of the donor's own children,

15 and gold and silver flowers and cloth hung on bamboo framework

16 In order to provide for the daily offering of rice at the shrine, at all times,

17 land, slaves, and cattle were purchased and likewise dedicated May this

18 meritorious deed of mine lead me on to Nirvāna !

19 May I become a disciple of Motteyya, the coming Buddha !

No. 11 —DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

By PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, BONN

I have received from the Government Epigraphist, Mr Venkayya, a large number of dates for examination, of which I here publish 32 dates of Chōla kings In accepting this task I may be permitted to give expression to my admiration of the work done by my predecessor, the late Professor Kielhorn Without the results he had worked out with inexhaustible patience, I probably should not have succeeded in verifying many of the dates which are now published

The dates have been calculated with the help of my General Tables published in Volume I, p 443 of this journal The time of the end of *tithis* and *nakshatras* is given in *ghatikās* only, when the result at issue would not be influenced by a few *ghatikās*, more or less In those cases, however, where a higher degree of accuracy is wanted, I have made use of the new special tables which I am going to publish in Part iv of this volume These tables yield the result within a few *palas* according to the Ārya, Sūrya, and Brahma-Siddhāntas, and the Siddhānta-Śirōmani

The date No 198 reduces the time previously found for the commencement of the reign of Rājādhirāja II to the period from the 7th to the 30th March 1163 A D. The remaining dates confirm the results previously found

A —PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌLA I

191.—In the Vēdapuriśvara temple at Tirukkalittattai ¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]* Tiru-manni(manni) valara .
 20 kō=Pparakēsariṇa[n]mar-āna śrī-R[ā]-
 21][ē]ntra-Śōladēvaṅku yāndu onbadāvadu
 24 ivv-āttai Magara-n[ā]-
 25 ya]ṅku Budan-kīlamai peṅṅa Tnukkēttai-nānu

¹ No 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

“In the ninth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of the auspicious (*nakshatra*) Jyēshthā, which corresponded to a Wednesday of the month of Makara in this year ”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 8th February 1021, which was the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Makara. The *nakshatra* was Jyēshthā which ended, according to the equal space system, about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise

B —VIKRAMA-CHŌLA

192 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaraiyūr ¹

- 1 [S]vasti śrī [||*]² Pūmādu punara .
 3 kō=Pparakēśaripātmar=āna Tribhuvanacha-
 4 kavattigal³ śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku yāndu 2 nandu āvadu Mīdhuna-nāyarṛu=
 [p]pū[r]vva- [pa]kshattu [dv]ādaśiyum Tī[n]gat-kīlamaiyum perṛa [Vī]śāgattu
 nāl

“In the 2nd—second—year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna ”

This date is intrinsically wrong. Monday, the 23rd June 1119 A D corresponded to the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshādha) and the *nakshatra* was Mūla

193 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaraiyūr ⁴

- 1 Pūmādu punara
 2 kō=Pparakēśaripātmar=āna Tribhuvanachakravarttigal
 3 śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku [y]āndu mūnrāvadu Mīdu[na*]-nāyarṛu pū[ī]vva-
 pakshattu shash[th]iyum Velli-kkīlamaiyum perṛa Pūrattu nāl

“In the third year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Friday, and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna ”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 4th June 1120 A D, being the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshādha), the *nakshatra* being Pūrva-Phalgunī, which had begun about 12 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise and was current for the greater part of the day.

194 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunaraiyūr ⁵

- 1 ⁶ Śrī-Vikrama Śōladēvarkku yāndu 3 mūnrāvadu Mīduna-nāyarṛu [p]ū[r]v[va]-
 pakshattu ashtamiyum Viyāla-kkīlamai[yu]m perṛa Uttirattu [nāl]

“In the 3rd—third—year (of the reign) of the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna ”

¹ No 170 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The space between *śrī* and *pū* was perhaps intended for a punctuation

³ Read °*chakravarttigal*

⁴ No 164 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁵ No 171 of the same collection for 1908

⁶ This inscription is engraved in continuation of No 170 of 1908 (from the middle of line 17 of the latter)

This date is apparently wrong. It belongs to the same year and month as the preceding one and may be expected to fall on the day previous, if we take the week-day to be given correctly, and on the following day if we assume the *nakshatra* to be right, but these items are Friday and Pūrva-Phalgunī in the preceding date and Thursday and Uttara-Phalgunī in this.

195 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunārayūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— Pūmādu pnnara
 3 kō=²Pparakēsari[var]mar=āna Tribhu[va]nach-
 [cha]krava-
 4 ³rttiga[l śrī-Vi]kra[ma-Śo]adēva[rkkn⁴ yāndu 12 ā[va]du Rīshabha-[nā]jara[rū]=
 ppūvva-pakshattu shashthiyum Viyā[ā]-kī[akka]lamaynm⁵ pe[r]-
 5 ra Ma[gattn nā]l

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Vikrama-Chōladēva],—on the day of M[aghā], which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rīshabha "

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 15th May 1130 A. D., which was the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rīshabha (Jyāishtha) and was coupled with the *nakshatra* Maghā. The 6th *tithi* ended about 41 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Maghā commenced about 10 *ghatikās* after it according to the equal space system.

C —PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJARĀJA II

196 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunārayūr⁶

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [lī*] Pūyal vāyttu
 3 Lō=Pparakēsari[mar]=āna Rāja[r]ājadēva[rkkn
 yāndu ⁵āvadu nāl Vriśchika-nāyara[rū]=p[p]ūrvva-[pa]kshattu tritīyaynm
 Śani-kī[amāyum] perṇa Uttirādat-
 4 [tu nāl]

"In the time (nāl) of the 5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika "

The date seems to correspond to Friday, the 24th November 1150 A. D., which was the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vriśchika (Mārgaśirsha). The day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā, which commenced about 19 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise of that day, while the third *tithi* ended about 4½ *ghatikās* after it. We must therefore assume that in the inscription, Saturday is wrongly given instead of Friday.

¹ No 167 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The letter *ś* of *kēsari* is written on an erasure.

³ The syllable *r* at the beginning of the line is corrected from *ra*.

⁴ The five syllables *maśōladēva* are written on an erasure.

⁵ Cancel the first two letters *kīā*.

⁶ No 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

197 —In the Aiyānār temple at Tiruppattūr ¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya tīra-mādam . . .
 4 kō=Pparakēśaripatmar=āna Tribuvanachchakkaravattigal śr[ī]-
 Rājārājādēvaṛ[ku y]āndu 7 āvadu Ishaba-nāyarra a-
 5 para-pakshattu dvādaśiyum Viyāḷa-kkaḷamaiyum perṛa Aśvati-nāl

“In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rīshabha ”

The date intended in this inscription is Thursday, the 21st May 1153 A D. It is, however, not the 12th, but the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rīshabha (Jyāishtha), it was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended about 11 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The 12th *tithi* ended about mean sunrise of Friday at Lankā, according to the Ārya-Siddhānta, 22 *palas* after it, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta 7 *palas* before it, and according to the Brahma-Siddhānta 52 *palas* before it. But as we have to reckon with true sunrise, which occurred on that day, say at Conjeevram, 1 *ghaṭikā* 49 *palas* before mean sunrise at Lankā, the end of the 12th *tithi* fell after true sunrise of Friday, which day therefore was called the 12th *tithi*. The 12th (lunar) *tithi* was however coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended in it, though the day in which it ended was called the 11th *tithi*.

D —TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II

198 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr ²

- 1 Svasti śrī [ᑍ] Kadal-ś[ū]nda³ pār=ēlun= . . .
 8 Tribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Rājāta(dh)rājādēvarkku yāndu āṛāvadu
 Mīna-nāyarra pūrva-pakshattu shashthiyum Viyāḷa-kka(kk)ḷamaiyum perṛa Urōśani-nal

“In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādh[r]ājādēva,— on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 6th March 1169 A D. On this day, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mīna (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Rōhinī about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise (according to the equal-space system). The present inscription brings the accession to the throne of Rājādhirāja II between 7th and 30th March 1163.

E —KULŌTTUNGA-CHŌLA III

199 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr.⁴

- 1 [k]karavatt[ī]ga[ī] śrī-Kuḷōttunga-Śōḷadēva[k]ku yā[ndu]⁵ 2 vadu⁶
 [Ku]m-
 2 [ba-nāyayru*] irnbatton[ra]u=[diyadi]yum perṛa apara-[pa]kshattu pi[da]-
 m[ai]yum Bndan-
 3 [pi]radamaiyum⁷ perṛa [Pū]rattu nāl

¹ No 597 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908² No 172 of the same collection for 1908³ The syllable *la* seems to be entered below the line⁴ No 166 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908⁵ Between *ndu* and the figure 2 there is some space in which traces of a letter or a figure are seen⁶ The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *vadu*⁷ The *tithi* seems to have been repeated by mistake

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the first *tithi* to a Wednesday, to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the twenty-first solar day [of the month of Kumbha] ”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 13th February 1180 A D, which was the 21st day of the solar month Kumbha. The case is similar to that in No 197, but here the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was an expunged *tithi*, wherefore the day was to be called the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. According to the Ārya-Siddhānta, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna) ended 5 *ghaṭikās* 9 *palas* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the 1st *tithi* of the dark fortnight 5 *palas* after mean sunrise of the next day (Thursday), but as the sun rose in Conjeevaram on that day 8 *palas* later, the end of the *tithi* was brought over to the preceding day, and was, therefore, expunged. But this first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was coupled with Pūrva-Phalgunī which ended on Wednesday about 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

200.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr¹

1 Svasti śīi [!]* Tiruvvanachchakkaravatt[ī]gal [śrī]-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarku
yāndu 2 vadu² Mina-nā[ya]ṛṛu pūrva-pakshattu pradamayam Vi[ḷ]ala-
kkilamayam peṛra [U]ttirattādi-nāi

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina ”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 26th February 1180 A D. On that day ended the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mina (Chaitra) and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadā, both about 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

201 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr³

1 Svasti sri [!]* Pu(pū)-mayiya Tisamugattōn kō=Pparakē-
[śā]ṇipakmar=āna Tiruvvanachchakkaravattigal⁴ sī-Vīrājēndhra(dra)dēvarku
yāndu [5]ñjāvadu Kumba-[n]āyaṛṛu aparā-pakshattu⁵ navamayam Velli-
kkilamai peṛra Mūlattu nāi

“In the [5]th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīrājēndradēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 18th February 1183 A D, on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* and the *nakshatra* Mūla about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

202 —In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr⁶

1 Svasti śr[ī] [!]* Puyal vāy[ttu]
3 kōv= Vīrāśākēśaripan-

¹ No 175 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The flourish added to the figure 2 may, also be taken to represent the syllables *vadu*

³ No 176 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ Read *śrī*

⁵ Read *-pakshattu*

⁶ No 178 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908,

⁷ Read *Viśākāśarī*

- 4 mar-āna [Tɪ*]ribuvanachchakka[va]ttigal śr[i]-Virarājēndra-Śōladēvaiḱku
yāndu āṛā[va]ndu nāl Simha-nāyaṛru apara-pakshattu navamiyum Śani-kkīlamai-
yum peṛra [Mrī]ga-
5 [śi]rsha[ttu n]āl

“In the time (*nāl*) of the sixth year (*of the reign*) of king ¹Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Mrigaśirsha, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha ”

I take the date to correspond to Saturday, the 10th September 1183 A D For, on this day the *nakshatra* Mrigaśirsha began at about 4 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankū The day, however, was not the 9th, but the 7th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Simha (Bhādrapada), that *tithi* having ended about 16 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise — The result shows that the word *navamiyum* of the original dato should be altered to *saptamiyum* (or perhaps into *ashtamiyum*, if that *tithi* was intended with which the given *nakshatra* mainly coincided, or in which it ended, as was the case in Nos. 197 and 199)

203.—In the Vilnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīmūlala²

- 1 [Sva]stā śr[i] [||*] T[ɪ]ribuvanachchakka[va]ttigal³ śri-Kulō[t]tu[n]ga-Śōladē-
[va]ṛku y[ā]ndu ēlā-
2 vadu Magara-nū[ya]ṛru pū[rva]-pak[shat]tu śatadaṣi[y]u Viyila-kkīla[mai]yum
peṛra Panarpūsatti=[n]āl

“In the seventh year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

The date intended seems to be Wednesday, the 16th January 1185 For, on that day the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Makara (Māgha) ended about 45 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Punarvasu ended about 14 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise The week-day however was Wednesday, and not Thursday, as given in the original date, apparently by a mistake

204.—In the Vilnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīmūlala⁴

- 1 Svastī śr[i] [||*] [Puyal vū][y*]ttu va[la]m [peru]ga [||*]⁵ Tribuvanachchak-
karavatt[ɪ]gal Maduraiyum Pā[n]ḱiyan mudittalai[y]un-gon[d-aṛu]ḱna śi-
Kulōttu[n*]ga-Śōladēvaṛ[k]ku [y]āndu padnārāvadu
2 K[u]mba-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakshattu [pañja]miyum Velli-kkīlamai[y]um peṛra
I[r]ēvati-nā

“In the sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the [fifth *tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 28th January 1194 A D, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kumbha ending about 54 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise of that day, and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ending about 15 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise As the *tithi* might be an

¹ Kulōttunga III bears the surname Parakēsarivarman in his other inscriptions

² No 386 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

³ Read °*chakravarttiga*

⁴ No 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁵ Between *ga* and *tr*: there is some space which may have contained a sign of punctuation

expunged one, I calculated the beginning of 5th *tithi* for true sunrise at Conjeevoram according to the Ārya-Siddhānta, it began nearly a *ghatikā* before sunrise of Friday, which day accordingly was the 5th *tithi*

205 — In the Vīlināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimūlai,¹

1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] P[n]ya[l vā][y*]ttu [valam]
Madurai koṇ[du] Pan[diya]n
muditta[l]n[y]un=gond-arul[īna] śr[ī]-Kulōttu[n]ga-Śōladēvaṅku yāndu padinčā-
[va]du Ka[r]-

2 kadaga-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu śa[ntariteśya]m² Tīngal-kūlamai por[ra] Puna-
[r]pū[sa]ttu nāl

“In the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who, having taken Madurai, was pleased also to take the crowned head of the Pāndya,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth (or fourth) *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ka[r]kataka ”

The *tithi* in this date must be the 14th, for the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula (and Vriśchika) only can be coupled with Punarvasu. The 14th of Karkataka however cannot also be coupled with that *nakshatra*, but the 14th of Mithuna. If we calculate for the 14th of the dark fortnight of Mithuna which corresponded to the 8th July, 1195 A.D., the *nakshatra* is indeed Punarvasu, but we find the week-day to be a Saturday instead of a Monday. Indeed the week-day would be incorrect on any possible assumption.

F.—RĀJARĀJA III

206 — In the Aiyānār temple at Tiruppattūr³

1 [Sva]sti śī || [||*] Tūbuva[nachehak]karavattigal śrī-Rājarāja-
2 ⁴dēvaṅku yāndu 4 vadu Dhann-nāyaṅṅu pūvva-pakshat-
3 tu da[śa]mīyam Śevvā-kūlamaiyam per[ra] Rēvati-tī(nā)l

“In the 4th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus ”

This date is also a doubtful one. The *tithi* given in the inscription corresponds to the 18th December 1219 A.D., but it is a Wednesday and is coupled with the *nakshatra* Bharanī and Krittikī. The preceding day was a Tuesday, but it was the 9th *tithi* and was coupled with Aśvini and Bharanī. If we assume the month to have been Vriśchika instead of Dhanus (for there are instances of such mistakes in these inscriptions, see above, vol IX, p 220, note 12, and p 221, note 4), we find that Tuesday, the 19th November 1219 A.D., was the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vriśchika, not the tenth *tithi* as stated in the inscription, but this tenth (lunar) *tithi* was coupled with the *nakshatra* Rēvatī, the one ending 13 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise, the other beginning 40 *ghatikās* before it, cf No 202

207 — In the Aiyānār temple at Tiruppattūr.⁵

1 [Svasti śī || Tū*]buvanaachekkaravattigal śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāndu 7 āvadu
Isha[ba]-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu tū(tri)tiyayun=Dingat-kūlamaiyam per[ra]
Mā[la]tti=nāl

¹ No 416 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² It is not impossible that the reading is *śadulliyum*, i.e. the fourth *tithi*.

³ No 595 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ The *ī* symbol attached to *dē* is at the end of 1 1

⁵ No 596 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

“ In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha ”

I take the date to correspond to Monday, the 30th March 1222 A D, though the *nakshatra* of that day was not Mūla, but Uttarāshadhā and Śivana. The third *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāshtha) ended, according to the Ārya and Sūrya Siddhāntas, 1 *ghaṭikā* 44 *palas*, and 46 *palas*, respectively, after mean sunrise, and something more after true sunrise, while the 4th *tithi* ended on the next day. According to the Brahma-Siddhānta, however, Sunday was the third *tithi* and Monday was an *adhika* or repeated *tithi*. The result is practically the same as was found by the two other Siddhāntas.

208 — In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilū¹

- 1 ॐ Svasti śrī [||*]
- 2 Tiribuvapach[cha]-
- 3 kkaravattigal śri-
- 4 °Rājarājadēvarakku y[ā]-
- 5 [n]dū 7 ēvadi[n*] edirām=[ā]-
- 6 ndu Kumbha-nayarṇu [p]ū-
- 7 rva-pakshattu tritrayayum[m]
- 8 Tingal-kkīlamai[y]u[m] pe-
- 9 rra Śodi-nāl

“ In the year opposite the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date corresponds almost certainly to Monday, the 20th February 1223 A D. But the original date contains two errors: (1) it was not the ‘ first ’ fortnight, because in it the *nakshatra* Svāti is impossible, (2) it was not the 3rd but the 4th *tithi*. For on calculating the above date, we find that the 20th February corresponded to the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Phālgua), and that almost the whole day coincided with the *nakshatra* Svāti.

209 — In the Viṇnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇmilalai³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribuvanachchakkaravattigal [ś]ri-Irajarājadēvarakku yāndu
[1]1 [va]dn⁴ Kumbha-nu[y]a[r]ra aparā-[pa]kshattu ēlādasiyum Śam-[k]kīlamaiyum
perra
- 2 Mūlattu nāl

“ In the [1]1th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

This date is the same as that in No 214 below and will be dealt with in that place. It deserves to be remarked that, in this inscription just as in No 214, the month Kumbha has been erroneously quoted instead of Makara.

¹ No 215 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The name Rājarāja is denoted by two abbreviations

³ No 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ The date may also be read as 21

210 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[1] [1]buvanachchakkaravatt[1]ga[1] śrī-Rāśarāśadēvarkku yāndu
[11]³ 'Ishana-nāyarru] pū[1]va-pakkattu saptam[1]yam Nāyarru kk[1]lamaiyum
perra Magattu nāl

‘(In) the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rīshabha”

If we take the year to be the 11th, neither the week-day nor the *nakshatra* comes out right. But if we calculate for the 21st year, both items come out right. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May 1237 A. D. The 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rīshabha (Jyāishtha) ended about 9 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise of the 3rd May, and the *nakshatra* Maghū covered nearly that whole day.

211 —In the Vīḥnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḥmilalā⁵

- 1 S[va]stī śrī [||*] T[1]buvanaachcha[k*]karavattagal śrī-Rāja[rājadēvark]ku [y]āndu
11 [va]du Dhanu-nāyarru pū[1]va-pakshattu daśamiyum T[1]ngat-kk[1]lamai-
yu[m]
2 perra Irēvati-[n]āl

“In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rāja-rājadēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus”

The date as given in the inscription would correspond to Thursday, the 31st December 1226 A. D., which was coupled with Krittikā. This result is wrong in all details. If we calculate Monday, the 29th December of the same year, the *nakshatra* comes out right, but it is the 7th *tithi*. Now, assuming that the month Dhanus has erroneously been quoted for Makara, the original date would correspond to Monday, the 30th November 1226 A. D. This is apparently the right date. On that day, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Makara ended about 37 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Rēvati ended about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise.

212 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr⁶

- 1 ॐ Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchakara-
2 vatt[1]gal śrī-Irāśarāśadēvarkku y[ā]-
3 nddu⁷ irubadāvadu Magara-nāyarru pū-
4 rva-pakkattu saptamiyum Tīngal-kk[1]a]-
5 mayum pperra⁸ Asvati-nāl

“In the twentieth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The calculation of the original date yields Wednesday, the 16th January 1236 A. D., which day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvini, but as the week-day is wrong, we must reject this.

¹ No. 198 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² Two unintelligible symbols are engraved at the beginning of the line before the akshara *sva*

³ The figures in brackets may also be read as 21

⁴ Read *Rīshabha*

⁵ No. 409 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ No. 195 of the same collection for 1908

⁷ Read *yāndu*

⁸ Read *perra*

date. Assuming a mistake in the month, viz Makara for Dhanus, we get Tuesday, the 18th December, which corresponds to the given *tithi* (ending 9 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise), but the *nakshatra* was Rēvati (beginning 13 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise). If we calculate for the following year, the 21st instead of the 20th, the date comes out right in all details. It corresponds to Monday, the 5th January 1237 A D. On that day, the 7th *tithi* of the month Makara ended 14 *ghatikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Aśvini began 13 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise. This is probably the equivalent of the date, though it is rather surprising that the number of the regnal year should have been erroneously quoted.

213 —In the Vilnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḷmīḷalai ¹

1 Svasti śri — T[1]rubu[va]nachehā(cha)kravartti[gal śri-R]ājarājadēvaṅku [y]āndu
20 iru[bad]ā[va]du Rishabha-[n]āyār[ru] pūr[vva]-pakshattu daśa[m]i[y]um
[V]e[||i]²-kkīlāmāiyum p[er]ē[ra] Utt[ira]ttu [nāl]

“In the 20th— twentieth— year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a [Friday] and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha ”

The date probably corresponds to Friday, the 16th May 1236 A D. On that day, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāshthā) ended 12 *ghatikās*, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī 14 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā. It appears therefore that, in the original date, the tenth *tithi* has been erroneously quoted instead of the ninth. Calculating Mēsha instead of Rishabha, we find that the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended on Thursday, the 17th April 1236 A D, 40 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī began only 50 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. If this date be the right equivalent, we have to assume that the month as well as the week-day are erroneously quoted in the original.

214 —In the Vilnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḷmīḷalai ³

1 Svasti[1] śr[i] [||*] Tir[1]buvanachaka[va]ttigal⁴ śri-Irājairājadēva[r]ku⁵ yāndu
21 vadu Kum[ba]-n[ā]jāyār[ru] apara-pakshattu ek[ā]daśamyum⁶ Śan[1]-kkīlām[aiyu]m
peṅga Mūlattu

2 nāl.

“In the 21st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [eleventh] *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th January 1237 A D. But the month Kumbha has erroneously been quoted instead of Makara. For, it is impossible that in Kumbha (Phālguna) the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight should coincide with Mūla, and besides, in that year Phālguna badī 11 was a Monday (or possibly a Sunday, for the end of the *tithi* fell very near sunrise), but certainly not a Saturday. But on the day stated above, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Makara ended about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Mūla ended about 27 *ghatikās* after it.

¹ No. 407 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The space between *m* and *kk* is just enough for *veḷḷi* and not for *sevvāy* (Tuesday).

³ No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ Read °*chakravarti*°

⁵ Read -*Rājarāja*°

⁶ The syllable *m* is written below the line. The *tithi* intended may have been either *ekādaśi* or *daśami*. But No. 209 above, which is identically the same date, gives *ekādaśi*.

215 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

- 1 [S]vasti śrī [||*] Tr[ī]bhuvannachchakrava[tt]agal śrī-[R]ājarā[ya]-
 2 d[ē]varkk[u] yāndu [2]6 āvadu=edirā[m=ā-
 3 ndu Kannī-nā]ya[r]ru=[p]pūrvva-[pakshattu ashta]²mi-
 4 [y]um Tīngal-kalamaiyum [p]erra An[ittu nā]

“In the year opposite the [2]6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eighth *tithi* (or the fifth *tithi*) of the first fortnight of the month of [Kanyā]”

The date as given in the inscription admits of four cases (1) 16th year, 5th *tithi*, the equivalent is Tuesday, the 2nd September 1231 A D, the *nakshatra* Anurādhā began 34 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, (2) 26th year, 5th *tithi* Wednesday, the 11th September 1241 A D, Anurādhā ended 47 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. Assuming the eighth *tithi* to be given, the week-days will be (3) Friday and (4) Saturday for the 16th and 26th year respectively, and the *nakshatra* will also be wrong. If we compute the same four cases for Simha instead of Kanyā, we get a Monday only for case 1, viz Monday, the 4th August 1231 A D. but the *nakshatra* is Chitā and Svāti. If we compute for Tulā instead of Kanyā, case No 4 gives a Monday, viz 14th October 1241, but then the *nakshatra* would be Śravana and Śravasthā. Therefore the date of this inscription seems not to admit of verification.

216 —On some detached stones in a grove at Tirukkāvāsāl³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanachchak[ka]va[tt]agal śrī-⁴Rājarājadēvarkku y[ā]ndu
 28 āvadu Karkkadaga-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshat[t]u śaturtēś[ī]yum Budan-
 k[ī]lamaiyum por[ra*] Utt[ī]rattu nā[ī]

“In the 28th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

The original date erroneously quotes the 14th *tithi* instead of the 4th, for, Śravana (=Karkataka) sudi 14 cannot coincide with Uttara-Phalgunī, but sudi 4 may coincide with it. The corrected date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd July 1243 A D. On that day the 4th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Karkataka ended 36 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī ended 24 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise.

217 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr⁵

- 1 6. Svasti śrī [||*] T[ī]r[ī]buvanachchakkaravattigal śī-Rāśarāśadēvar[k]ku
 yāndu 31 āvadu Mēsha-nāyarru⁶[pa]ñjami[y]um Tīngal-
 kalamaiyum [p]erra [A]ñilattu nā[ī]

“In the 31st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the month of Mēsha”

The 5th *tithi* of both fortnights in Mēsha did not fall, in the year of the inscription (1247 A D), on a Monday, and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā cannot be coupled with the 5th *tithi* of

¹ No 182 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The reading may also be *pañjamiyum*

³ No 454 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ The word *Rājarāja* is expressed by two abbreviations

⁵ No 199 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ In the original it cannot be made out whether *apara-* or *pūrva paksha* was engraved

either fortnight in Mēsha. The *tithi* is therefore wrong. Now, calculating for the week-day and the *nakshatra* given in the inscription, I find that on Monday, the 22nd April 1247 A D, the *nakshatra* Anurādhā commenced 4 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. The first *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 31 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. If this day is the one intended in the inscription, the word 'pāñjāyūm' is a mistake for 'pradāyūm'.

G — RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌLA III

218 — In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

- 1 ||— Svasti śrī [||*] Tiruvuvanachekkaravatt[1]ga[1] śrī-Irāsēnd[ra]-Śōladēvarkku
yāndu pa[t]tā[va]dinn= ed[1]rā[m=ā]udu Kannu-ni-
- 2 yaṟru a[pa]ia-pakshattu shashtu[um] Tingal-k[1]ṛ[m]aiyū[m] perra Rōsani-nāl

"In the year opposite the [tenth] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladeva,— on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 11th September 1258 A D, however the month Kanyā has erroneously been quoted instead of Simha. On the day in question, the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Simha (being the 15th solar Kanyā) ended 31 *ghatikās*, and the *nakshatra* Rōhni 45 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

219 — In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr²

- 1 [S]vasti[1] [śrī] [||*] [Tiruvuvana]chekkaravatt[1]gal śrī-Irāsēnd[1]ra-Śōladēvarkku
yān[du] pa[di]n-ēlavadu I.³
- 2 [I]shabha- nāy .rru pāiva- pa[k]shattu⁴ tri(tri)tiyayum Nāyaru-kkū[um]aiyūm⁵
perra Pūsat[ta*] nīl

"In the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladeva, — on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 21st May 1262 A D, if we assume that the third *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the second. For, on that day, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāshthā) ended about 42 *ghatikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Pushya commenced about 40 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā.

220 — In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr⁶

- 1 6 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiruvuvanachelia[kka*]ra[vatti*]gal śrī- Rā[.]ē[ndra]- Śōladēvark[u]
yān]du
- 2 17 vadu Tulā nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu chatu[rddasiy]um Velli-kkū[um]aiyūm
- 3 perra Aśvati-nāl

"In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra- Chōladeva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā "

¹ No 208 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² No 213 of the same collection for 1908

³ Cancel the letter :

⁴ Read -pakshattu

⁵ The m of *litama* is entered below the line

⁶ No 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

The date corresponds to Friday, the 27th October 1262 A D The *nakshatra* *Āsvini* ended about 36 *ghatikās* after sunrise, and the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* (*Kārttika*) ended according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 58 *ghatikās*, and according to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* 52 *ghatikās* after true sunrise at Conjeeveram As the same *tithi* was current at sunrise according to both these *Siddhāntas*, it was no expunged *tithi* But it was an expunged *tithi* according to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*

221.—In the *Vīṇnāthasvāmīn* temple at *Tiruvīlmūlalaī* ¹

1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] [Tirubuvanach]chakka[ravat]t[ī]gal śī[i]-²Rājendra-[Śōladēvar]kku
yā[ndu] 1[8]vadu³ [Kumba]-⁴nāyaṛṇ [pārvva-pa]kshattu [pa]ñcha[mīyu]m
Budana-k[ī]lāma[ī]yum peṛra Utt[ī]rāda[ttu nāl]

“In the 1[8]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on [the day of] *Uttarāshādhā*, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the [first] fortnight of the month of [Kumbha].”

In the month *Kumbha*, the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshādhā* can occur only between the 8th and 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight, in the month *Tulā* between the 5th and 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight We must therefore read *Tulā* in the inscription The details of the date would be right if we assume that the fifth *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the sixth For, on Wednesday, the 10th October 1263, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* ended about 10 *ghatikās*, and the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshādhā* about 20 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at *Lankā*

222.—In the *Mantrapuriśvara* temple at *Kōvilūr* ⁵

1 [Sva*]st[ī] śrī [||*] [Tirubuvana]chakkara[vat]t[ī]gal [śrī]-R[ā]jendra-
[Ś]ō[la]d[ē]varkku yāndu [22] ā[vadu] Kumba⁶-nāya[ṛṇ] a[pa]a-pakshattu
sha[shthi]yum Tin[gat]-k[ī]lāma[ī]
2 p[e]ṛra Śōdī nāl⁷

“In the [22]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of *Svāti*, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of *Kumbha*”

I cannot verify this date satisfactorily The *tithi* or the *nakshatra* must be wrong, for, the sixth *tithi* cannot coincide with the *nakshatra* *Svāti* The nearest approach to the given date is in the twentieth year, Monday, the 14th February 1267 A D, on which day the *nakshatra* *Svāti* commenced about sunrise, but it was the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Kumbha*, which ended about 18 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise

No 12—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS

BY PROFESSOR H JACOBI, PH D, BONN

V Venkayya, M A, Rai Bahadr, has sent me for examination the text and English translation of 17 Pāndya dates, of which I herewith publish 15 In some cases my results

¹ No 412 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

² The syllable *rā* is denoted by an abbreviation

³ The word *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8

⁴ Between the letters *ba* and *nā* there is a symbol which may represent either *n* or the *ā* sign The name of the month is not quite clear It may also be read [Tulā]

⁵ No 216 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

⁶ There is some unaccountable space between the aksharas *k*u and *m* of *Kumba*.

⁷ The length of *nā* is inserted below the line.

are not satisfactory, still I thought it advisable to state what they are since they may be useful either for further consideration of historical questions involved by the inscriptions or for deciding the uselessness of the dates as being altogether wrong

Nos 90-94 enable us to fix the commencement of Jatavarman Virapandya's reign, which has approximately been placed in 1310 A D by Mr Krishna Sastri (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908-09 Part II, § 27*) Four of these inscriptions quote, besides the details usually given in them, the corresponding solar day, thereby, as stated by Prof Kielhorn (above, Vol VI p 301), we can find the precise equivalent, though the year is not stated in any era, the regnal year only being given For, as a given solar day may be coupled with any of the thirty *tithis* and of the seven week-days, a given combination of these three items will, on the average, occur only once in $7 \times 30 = 210$ years, and the chance will be still rarer if the *nakshatra* is mentioned, as is usually the case In No 89 the *tithi* is not given, but the combination of the remaining three items is such as will recur only once in about 150 years

In order to solve the problems to which such dates give occasion, I have developed my tables (above, Vol I) in detail for several centuries, and with their help the task became an easy one These developed Tables will be published in book form in the *Encyclopædia for Indo-Aryan Research* I shall there explain the method of solving the problem in question

I now proceed to discuss the results of my examination of the dates in Nos 90-94 They may be summarised as follows —

Jatavarman Virapandya (*September 29, December 1, A D 1295*)

- No 90. 6th year 23th September 1302
- No 91 22nd year 3rd May 1318
- No 92 44th year 2nd December 1339
- No 93 43 (Cor 46)th year 2nd August 1339
- No 94 46th year 16th June 1342

Nos 90-92 show that the king must have commenced to reign between the 29th September and the 1st December 1295 With this date for the commencement of the reign No 94 agrees if we read the regnal year as 46, as we may, since the second figure of 4[9] put in brackets in the transcript, may also be read 6 as stated in the note In No 93, the regnal year cannot be 46, since No 92 is dated in the same year of our era. The date, 2nd August, shows that the 46th year has wrongly been given instead of the 43rd

According to No 89 Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasokkbara seems to have begun reigning in 1379-80 A D I should, however, not place too much reliance on this result, before it has been corroborated by more inscriptions of the same king For, if in our inscription the wrong *nakshatra* had been quoted, as is rather frequently the case in these records, the calculated equivalent would of course be also intrinsically wrong

No 84 fixes the beginning of the reign of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pandya in A D 1237-38

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA I (A D 1216-35)

81 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr¹

- 1 Ṣ Svast[1] śri [||*] śri-kō-Mārnpa[n]mar-āna Tiribu[va]-naehachakravattigal Śōnādu vaṅgiy-arūṭiya śri-Sundara-Pāndi-
- 2 yadēvaṅku yāndu 20 vadun(din) edirām-āndu [Ka]nm-nāyaṅgu apara-[pakshat]t[n] Viyā[la]-kkīlamaiyu[m*] shashthiynn perṅa Pūṣattu nāḷ

¹ No 129 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

"In the year opposite the 20th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious King Māravarmān *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyādēva, who was pleased to distribute the Chola country,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and a Thursday of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The date seems to correspond to Thursday, the 18th September 1236 A.D. That day was Āśvina *badī* 2 as required, the second *tithi* ending about 36 *ahorātri* after mean sunrise at Lankī. But the day was coupled with the *nakṣatras* Āśvini and Bharaṇī, and not, as quoted in the inscription, with Pushya. It is impossible, on any supposition, that Āśvina *badī* 2 should be coupled with Pushya, the *nakṣatra* will always be one between Āśvini and Bharaṇī, and never beyond the latter.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA I. (P)

(A. D. 1251 to 1261)

82 —In the Vīṇāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīṇṇilalai¹

1 Kōr-Chadapanē(n)mar² Trībhavanach[cha]ttaravattigal³ Sundara-Pāndyādēva[ra]kṣa
 'duṇḍu 2 [yādu] irān[d]yādu Dhanu-nāyaru pūrvā-pakṣat[ta] che.[tā]śā-
 yam Nāyaru[u-kkila]mmar⁴.

2 yam peṇra Āśvayattu na(n)l.

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāndyādēva,— on the day of Āślēṣhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

In this date the wrong fortnight is cited, for, in the month of Dhanus or Pausha, Āślēṣhā cannot be coupled with *badī* 14, but only with *badī* 14. However, the week-day does not come out right in either fortnight, if we assume the king to have been Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II. For, in K. Y. 4378 (=1276 A. D.) Pausha was expanded, and both *śuklā* 14 and *badī* 14 falling in the solar month of Pausha were not Sundays. The same holds good with Pausha *śuklā* 14 and *badī* 14 of the preceding year. Assuming the king to have been the first of this name, the week-day comes out right for K. Y. 4354 Pausha *śuklā* 14 corresponding to Sunday, the 4th January 1254. But the *nakṣatras* coupled with that day were Punarvasu and Pushya, on the next day occurred Āślēṣhā.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA

83 —In the Vīṇāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīṇṇilalai⁷

1 Svast[ā] 4[i] [||*] Kō-Chhadapanmar Trībhavanachchakravattigal śri]-
 Su[ndara-Pān]dya-dēva[ra]kṣa [yādu] ettāva[d]u Dhanu-nāyaru pūrvā-pakṣattu
 aṣṭami[yu]m Velli-⁸[k]lāmayam peṇra Rē-

2 vatī-nāl

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Sundara-Pāndyādēva],— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² Read *Trībhavanachakravattigal*

³ A symbol resembling the figure 4 is engraved before *su*. Perhaps it stands for *śri*

⁴ Read *yādu*

⁵ Read *paṣṣattu*

⁶ Read *ṛāṣṭamā*.

⁷ No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

I have calculated the date for both Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya I and II, in both cases, the result is not satisfactory. I give them here. In 1258 A.D. Pausha was an expunged month, if we assume that *sudi* 8, falling in solar Pausha, was intended, we find that it ended 4 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā on Thursday, the 5th December, and the *nakshatra* Rēvati began only 15 *ghatikās* after sunrise. Therefore, the date would be right, if the eighth *tithi* had been wrongly quoted instead of the ninth. — Now assuming the king to be the second of his name, the date would fall in 1292 A.D. The calculation proves that on Friday, the 19th December 1292 A.D., the 9th *tithi* ended a few *ghatikās* before the end of the day according to all Siddhāntas, and the 8th *tithi* ended on Thursday. But as the *nakshatra* Rēvati ended about 5 *ghatikās* before sunrise of Friday, it could not have been coupled with that day.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA (A.D. 1237-38 to ?)

84 — In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputūr¹

1 ||| ॐ Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvana[na]chchakravartigal
sri-Sundara-Pāndyadēvarku yāndu 2 ndivad[u] Dhanu-nāyarru 11 ndi[ya]d[ī]-
yum pūrvā-pakshattu daśamiyum

2 Budhan-kīlamai[ya]m [p]erra Asvati-nāl

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Āsvini, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 11th solar day of the month of Dhanus.”

Between 1200 and 1500 A.D. there is but one day which fulfils all requirements of the date of our inscription, viz. 4310 Kaliyuga, Pausha *sudi* 10, which corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th December 1239 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Lankā, the 10th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Dhanus (Pausha) was running, and ended about 42 *ghatikās* afterwards, and the *nakshatra* Āsvini had begun 7 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise at Lankā and ended about 49 *ghatikās* after it. Accordingly, this king began to reign in 1237-38 A.D.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYA II (?)

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290)

85 — In the Vilnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimūlala²

1 Svasti [śrī ||]³ K[ō]r=Chadai[pan]mar T[ī]ru[b]uvanachchakka[rava]tt[ī]gal si[i]-
Śu]ndara-P[ā]ndi[yadē]varku yān[du] 9[vadu] Tulā nāyarr[ru] [N]āyarru-kkīa-
saptamiyum [N]āyarru-kkīa-

2 mayum per[ra] P[ū]sattu nāl

“In the 9th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The week-day does not come out right for the 9th year of either Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I or II. I have calculated the years 1259, 60, 61 and 1283, 84, 85 A.D.

¹ No 180 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² No 414 of the same collection for 1908

³ The punctuation after *śrī* is not distinct, the existing traces seem to point to the reading *Om*

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYĀ II

(A. D. 1275-76 to 1290)

86 —In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr¹

- 1 Svasti [śri]² [||*] Kō-Ch[cha]daparṇmar-āṇa Tirba[va]nachechakkarava
 2 ttiga[1 Su]n[dara]-Pandiṇadēvarṅku yāṇdu 14 vada Sim-
 3 ha-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu trit[ia]gayum³ Budan-kiḷamayum
 4 perṇa Attattu nā

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha ”

The date of this inscription is K Y 4391, Bhādrapada sudi 3=Wednesday, the 9th August 1290 A. D. For, on that day the 3rd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Bhādrapada (Simha) ended about 46 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā and the *nakshatra* Hasta began about 9 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise

KŌNĒRIMĒLKONDĀN JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀNDYĀ

87 —In the Nilakanthēśvara temple at Vedāl.⁴

- 1 [Sva*]stī śrī [||*] Kōṇērīmēlkondān kōr-Chadaparnmar Tirbuṇapachchakkaravattigal
 śrī-Sundara-Pandiṇadēvarṅku yāṇdu padī[n-mū]nrāvadin-edir mu(mu)ṇṇāvadu
 Karkadaga-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu saptam[īy]um Budan-kiḷamayum perṇa
 Attattu nā

“In the third (year) opposite the thirteenth year (of the reign) of Kōnērīmēlkondān king Jatāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka ”

[Professor Jacobi has not recorded the results of his calculation of this date —Ed]

MĀRAVARMAN KULASĒKHARA I (A. D. 1268-1308)

88 —In the Sundararāja-Perumāl temple at Poṇ-Amarāvati⁵

- 1 6. [Śrī] Svatt[ī](stī) kō-Māru[pa]-
 [nma*]r-āna(āna) Tī[rī*]bavaṇachchakkaravatt[ī]gall-emmandalamun-gond-araliya
 Kulasēga-
 2 radēvarṅku yāṇdu 18 vada Simha-nāyaru [pū]rvva-pakshattu pañohamiyum
 Tīnggal⁶-kiḷamay[u]m perṇa Utt[ī]rādattu nā

“In the 18th year (of the reign) of king Māra[varman] *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Uttarā-shādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha ”

The date of the inscription seems to correspond to Monday, the 6th August 1295 A. D., on which day the 5th *tithi* of the month of Simha (Bhādrapada) ended, about 52 *ghatikās*

¹ No 214 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The punctuation after the syllable *śrī* is indistinct

³ Read *tritiya*°

⁴ No 69 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

⁵ No. 21 of the same collection for 1909

⁶ Read *Tīngal*

after mean sunrise at Laṅkā But the *nakshatra* was Chitrā It may be remarked that the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā can never be coupled with Bhādiapada sudi 5, as required by the inscription

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN KULASĒKHARA (A D 1379-80 to ?)

89 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ¹

- 1 [S]vasti [śrī] [||*] [T]ribhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-Kulasēkharade[va]rkaṅṅ
y]āndu 4 vadu=edi[rā]m=ā[ndu Kar]kadaga-[nā]yar[r]=irnbattē[ān]=tiyadi Śani-k-
2 [k]i[lam]aiyum porra Rōsani-nāl

“In the year opposite the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Saturday (and) to the twenty seventh solar day of the month of Karkataka ”

The only day between 1200 and 1500, which I found to correspond to the date of the inscription, would be Saturday, the 28th July 1383 A D , it was the 27th solar Karkataka, (Śrāvana badī 10) and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini This king therefore would appear to have commenced reigning 1379-80 A D

In the years 1262 A D , 23rd July, and 1475, 25th July, the 27th solar Karkataka fell on a Saturday and the *nakshatra* was the next after Rōhini, viz Mrigaśiras, we need therefore take no account of these years

[The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved shows that it must be older than A D 1200 —Ed]

JATĀVARMAN TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN VĪRA-PĀNDYA (A D 1295-1342 ?)

90 —In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimūlai ²

- 1 Svast[ī] śrī — ³Kōr=Chadāpanmar Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Vira-
Pāndiyadēvaṅṅ yāṅḍu 6 vadu⁴ āṅṅvadu
2 [Ka]nṅi-nāyar[r] pūruva-pa[k*]shattu shatti(shthi)yum Velli-kka[lama]iyum perra
Mūlattu nāl

“In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndiyadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā.”

The date of this inscription corresponds to Friday, the 28th September 1302 A D. On that day, the 6th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āśvina (Kanyā) 4403 Kaliyuga ended 6 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakshatra* Mūla was running till about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

91 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ⁵

- 1 Śrī-kō=Chhadāpanmar=āṅṅ Tribhuvanachchakravatti[ga]! śrī-Vira-[P]āndiyadēvaṅṅ
yāṅ[du] 22[vadu⁶] I[shaba-nā]ya[r]ru [4]tēdyum⁷ pū[rva-pa]kshattu
[dvi]tiyaiyum perra Rō[hi]ṅi-n[ā]*

¹ No 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² No 401 of the same collection

³ In the syllable *kō*, the *ō* of the *ō* sign is corrected from *tr*

⁴ *Vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 6

⁵ No 128 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ *Vadu* is also expressed by a symbol.

The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

“In the 22nd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the [4]th solar day of the month of Rīshabha ”

I take this date to correspond to Sunday, the 3rd May 1318 A D This day was actually the 8th solar Rīshabha (Jyaishtha), not the 4th as found in the transcript of the inscription, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Jyaishtha (Rīshabha) ended about 13 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, but the *nakshatra* Rōhinī had ended about 26 *ghatikās* before sunrise It would therefore appear that the *nakshatra* quoted was that current at the beginning of the *tithi*, though it had ended before the day which is called after that *tithi*

92 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ¹

- 1 Svast[1] śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadaivan[mar-āna] Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śrī
Vira-Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu 44 vadu Dhanu-nāyarṛu
2 5 tēdy[um]² pūrvva-pakshattu prathamayum Brihaspati-vāramum perṛa Mūlattu
nāl

“In the 44th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 5th solar day of the month of Dhanus ”

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 2nd December 1330 A D, on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (Dhanus) ended 32 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the *nakshatra* Mūla was current at sunrise and ended about 41 *ghatikās* after it

93 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ³

- 1 Svasti ś[r]ī [||*] Kō=Chchadaipanmar-āna Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal śrī-Vira-
Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu 46 vadu Karkadaga nāyarṛu 1[4 tēdi]⁴
2 pūrvva-pakshattu [pa]ñjamyum Sōmavāramum perṛa Uttirattu nāl

“In the 46th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 14th solar day of the month of Karkataka ”

This date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August 1330 A D. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Śrāvana (Karkataka) ended about 15 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī was current at sunrise, and ended about 6 *ghatikās* after it However, the calculated date was actually the 15th solar Karkataka, and not the 14th as stated in the inscription

94 —In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr ⁵

- 1 [6_] Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadaipanmar-āna Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal
śr[i]-Vira-P[ā]ndiyadēvarkku yāndu 4[9]⁶ vadu Mithuna-
nāyarṛu 21 tēdim⁷ pūruva-pakkattu tuvādesiyum Āditya-v[ā]ramu[m] p[e]ṛṛa
Aniḷattu nāl

¹ No 122 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

³ No 119 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol

⁵ No 120 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

⁶ The figure in brackets may also be read 6

⁷ *Tēdi* is denoted by a symbol, *tēdim* stands for *tēdiyum*

“In the 4[9]th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 21st solar day of the month of Mithuna ”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 18th June 1342 A D On that day, at mean sunrise at Lankā, the 12th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āshādha (Mithuna) and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā were current, the former ending about 2½ *ghatikās*, and the latter 45 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā And the day actually was the 21st solar Mithuna

JATĀVARMAN VIKRAMA-PĀNDYA

95 —In the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr¹

- 1 ||| 6. Svasti śr[1] [||*] Kō-Chchadaipanmar=āna Tr[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal
sri-Vikrama-Pāndiyadēvaṅku yāndu 8[yaḍi]n² eḍir 14 āvadu
- 2 Śak-ābdam 1344n mēl śellānṅṅa Śubhakṛi³-varuṣham Dhanu-ravi 19 tēdi⁴
pūrvva-pakshattu tṅṅṅayum Buda-vāramum peṅṅa Tiruvōnattu
- 3 nāl

“In the 14th (year) opposite the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadēva,— in the (cycle) year Śubhakṛit, which was current after the (expiry of the) Śaka year 1344,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) the 19th solar day (when) the Sun (was in) Dhanus ”

This date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, 16th December 1422 A.D, the corresponding Jovian year of southern reckoning being Śubhakṛit But the third *tithi* has wrongly been quoted for the second For, on the calculated day which was the 19th solar Dhanus, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (Dhanus) was current at sunrise at Lankā and so was the *nakshatra* Śravana The third *tithi* began about 5 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā, and the *nakshatra* Śravana ended about 52 *ghatikās* after sunrise It would therefore appear that the current *tithi* has been quoted instead of the one which ended on that day.

No 13.—GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNADEVA

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

These plates were found, whilst ploughing, in a field in an old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur tahsil of the Allahabad District The finder was a Kewat He states that his plough turned up the plates and broke the ring which fastened them together The find was rescued from him by one Ramnath, a zamindar of Mawai Kalan, and produced first before the Collector, and then, by the Collector's directions, before Mr E A H Blunt, C S, Sub-Divisional Officer, Karwi, Banda district, who sent the plates to Rai Bahadur Venkayya I edit the inscription from two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr Venkayya

These are two copper plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the

¹ No 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908

² The syllables *yaḍi* are expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8

³ Read *Subhakṛiḍ*

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol

inscription was inside. The box measures nearly 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and about 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. When Mr Venkayya examined the plates, the seal had no ring and was detached from the plates. It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears, in relief, a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmi,¹ facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right, between two indistinct symbols (drums²). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates.—

श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः ॥

Thanks to the peculiar arrangement by which the inscription was protected from damage the writing is on the whole well preserved. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, prose (ll 1, 33-44, 49) and verse (ll 1-33, 45-49). The metre is irremediably wrong in two places (ll 9, 20).

The alphabet is an early type of Nāgarī. व is nowhere distinguished from व. य is often written like ण, and च like व. The three letters थ, व्व, and द्य are very similar in shape. If at the end of a line no spare place was left for the next *akshara*, the engraver has filled up the line by a vertical dash. The end of a section is marked by the symbols ॥ ॐ ॥ in three cases (ll 33, 35, 44).

As regards orthography, the vowel *ri* is expressed by *ra* in *grahē* (l 5) and takes the place of the syllable *ri* in *tribhuvana* (l 4). Instead of the vowel *li* a *u* is employed in *kupta* (l 28). The palatal sibilant occurs instead of dental *s* in *sruta* (l 26), and *s* for *s* in eight instances (*bhṛsam* and *āsā*, l 15, *sundā*, l 23, *asvapati*, l 34, *sākhinē* and *sarmanē*, l 40, *sukla*, l 41, *vamsē*, l 48). The *anusvāra* is replaced by *n* in *yaśāns* (l 32), *kh* by *sh* in *mayūsha* (l 3), *n* by *n* in *grihnāti* (l 46), *ph* by *p* in *pūtkāra* (ll 15, 24), and *y* by *j* in *vyāja* (l 33). Other vulgar forms are *tāmvra* for *tāmra* (l 32), *sāmvra* for *sāmra* (l 39), *sīrmā*³ for *sīmā* (l 39), *Kōsamra-pattalāyam* for *Kausāmba-pattalāyam* (l 37), and *utkīrnnitam* for *utkīrnnam* (l 49).

In the prose portion of the inscription, the rules of *sandhi* are not always observed, and even in the metrical portion, the *sandhi* is neglected in °*chayāḥ tasmāt* (l 18). Two cases of wrong *sandhi* are °*vamdyō Ohēdīndra*° (l 11) and *chaturāsramēka*° (l 30). Final *t* is often written in the Hindī way without the *vrāma*, and after such a *t* the *sandhi* is neglected in °*वृत्तवेतालो*° (l 26), °*वशात भैचाच्च* (l 30), and श्रीमतश्चर्तोर्ये (l 42).

The inscription opens with 30 verses praising the (Kalachuri) king Karnadēva and his ancestors. Three of these verses (l, 12, 18) are found also in the Benares plates of the same king,³ and the two first in the Rewah plate of Vijayadēva.⁴ After an invocation of Brahman (verse 1) and Brāhmī (v. 2), the genealogy starts from the Moon, from whom was produced Budha, the progenitor of Purūravas (v. 3). Among the kings of the race of the Moon was Bharata (v. 4). The panegyrist next mentions the thousand-armed Hahaya emperor (Arjuna) who captured the demon Rāvana (v. 5 f). The first historical person is Lakshmanarājadēva, who defeated the kings of Vangāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāta, Gurjara, and Kāsmīra (v. 8). His son was the 'moon among the kings of Chēdi,' Yuvarājadēva (v. 10), who became a supreme ruler

¹ In Captain Wilford's description of the seal of the Benares plates of Karnadēva, the goddess is erroneously called Pārvatī; see above, Vol II p 297.

² Compare Tamil *śīrmas* and *śērcas* for *sīmā* and *śēcā*.

³ Above, Vol. II. p 305 ff., verses 1, 16, 26.

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol XVII p 228.

(*Paramēśvara*, v 12). His son was Kōkalla (v 13), whose son, again, was Gāngēyadēva, the conqueror of the kings of Kira, Anga, Kuntala, and Utkala (v 17). His son was Karna (vv 19, 30), king of Chēdi (vv 25, 29) It will be observed that the panegyric portion of the inscription contains nothing of historical interest besides the bare names of a few Kalachuri kings who are already known to us from other sources.

The prose portion of the inscription (l 33 ff.) records a grant of land made by "this *Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord of Trikalunga, the glorious Karnadēva, who meditated at the feet of the *P M P*, the glorious Vāmadēva,¹ the glorious Karnadēva who has acquired by his own arm the sovereignty of the triad of kings, (viz) of the *Aśvapati*, the *Gajapati*, and the *Narapati*,—being in good health (and residing) at the camp of victory pitched at the holy Karna-tīrtha."

Among the officers to whom the king's order was addressed, the following are specified—*mahādēvi*, *mahārājaputra*, *mahāmantrin*, *mahāsārādhivrahika*, *mahāmātya*, *mahādharma-dhikarānika*, *mahāpratihāra*, *mahāśhapatalika*, *mahābhāndūgārīka*, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāpramat-taiāra*, and *mahāsvasādhanika* (ll 35-37)

The object granted was the village Chandapahā in Kōsamba-pattalā (l 37). The donee was "the Brāhmana *Pandita-sri-Śāntisarman*, son of *Āśasathika-Mūlū*, grandson of *Upā-dhyāya-Silū*, (residing at) *Vīdabhi*, of the *Kaundinya-gōtra*, with the three *pravaras* *Angirasa*, *Āmbarisha*, and *Yauvanāśva*, (and) studying the *Vājasanīya-sākhā*" (l 39 f)

The date of the grant was "during the administration (*vyavaharāna*) renowned by the glorious Karna,² in the seventh year, in the month *Kārttika*, on the *Kārttikī* full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight, on Thursday" (l 41 f) These details answer quite regularly to Thursday, 5th November, A D 1047. see Dr Fleet's remarks, p 146 below

Before making the grant, the king had "bathed in the *Gangā* at the holy *Argha-tīrtha* and worshipped the divine lord Śiva" (l 42)

Ll 45-49 contain six of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses At the end we are informed that "this (*edict*) was written by *Karānīka-sri-Sarvānanda* and engraved by *Vīdyā-nanda*" (l 49)

Among the geographical names mentioned in the grant, I cannot localise any besides Kōsamba-pattalā, which is a vulgar form of Kausāmba-pattalā, 'the district of Kausāmbi' The same term occurs as Kōsamba-pattalā in a grant of Jayachandra of Kanauj,³ and the Karra inscription of Yaśahpala⁴ refers to a village in the Kausāmba-mandala, 'the province of Kausāmbi' Manjhanpur, the headquarters of the tahsil in which the Goharwa plates were found, lies west of Allahabad The same remark applies to Kosam, which used to be identified, without hesitation, with the ancient city of Kausāmbi Mr. V. A Smith has proposed to locate Kausāmbi further south, near Bharhut,⁵ while Major Vost would place it at Gūrgi⁶ But the finding of the present record at Goharwa in the Manjhanpur tahsil is another item of evidence showing that the country west-north-west of Allahabad between the *Gangā* and *Yamunā* rivers must have formed part of the province of Kausāmbi Regarding Goharwa Mr Blunt states that there are several temples, Jaina and others, inside the 'fort' in which the plates were found. I would suggest that this site might be carefully examined by one of the officers of the Archaeological Department

¹ Compare Professor Kielborn's remarks above, Vol II p 298 f

² *I e*, apparently, 'during the reign of king Karna'

³ *Ind Ant.* Vol. XVIII p 137.

⁴ Colebrooke's *Misc Essays*, Vol II p 246.

⁵ *J R A S* 1898, p 511

⁶ *Id* 1904, p. 262

TEXT¹*First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति ॥ श्री ब्रह्मणे³ नमः ॥ निर्गुण व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर[म]-
कारण । [भ]ावग्राह्यं परं 'द्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे⁴ नमः ॥ [१*] शुद्धे
हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति
- 2 यां मुनयः ॥ मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्राह्मी⁵ स्र[क्ष्म]ापि सा जयति ॥ [२*]
क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविर्भव⁷ भवभूषणमिन्दुरेषः ।
- 3 अस्मादजायत बुधः⁸ स किल क्षितीशमाद्य⁹ पुरुरवसमाप तनूजरत्न ॥ [३*]
इति महति सुधामयूषवंशी¹⁰ नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः ॥
- 4 अलमत भरतस्स चक्रवर्ती¹¹ तृभुवनभूषणभूयमेकमेव ॥ [४*] अत्रेदितो-
दितकुले¹² जगतीपतीनामीशः कमादजनि हैहयचक्रवर्ती [1] य-
- 5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजणजरमध्यवर्ती काराग्रहे¹³ धृत इव प्रसभ दशास्य ॥ [५*]
वैरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरता¹⁴ भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतवाहुव-
- 6 न्धविधुरो¹⁵ नक्तंचरग्रामणी¹⁶ हिलोल्लासितवाहुदण्डविहित(.)श्रीकंठशैलोद्धतिः प्राग्वि-
क्रान्तममून्यत¹⁷ स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपम ॥ [६*] यज्ञाग्नि-
- 7 धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्वहवो¹⁸ नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम
वृष्टिर्विपक्षनारीनयनान्वुवाहैः¹⁹ ॥ [७*] वङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परि-
- 8 भूतपा[ण्ड]ी साटेशलुण्डनपटुर्जितगुर्जरैन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरसुकुटाक्षितपादपीठ-
स्तेषु क्रसादजनि²⁰ लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥ [८*] आसीद्यद्वि-
- 9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदीदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूरशिर.सिंदूरपूरो[रु]णः²¹ ।
²²त्वद्गतुङ्गतुरङ्गताडितमहाक्षीणी[भृ]-
- 10 द(र)भोनिधिः पूरणो वैरिकठोरकंचदलनास्सिद्धव्वपूरैरिव²³ ॥ [९*] साहित्य-
विद्याणलनाभुजङ्गो²⁴ निःशेषवाचीधरणाय²⁵ शेषः । ततः स
- 11 जज्ञे जगदैकवंद्यो²⁶ चेदीन्द्रचन्द्रो युवराजदेवः ॥ [१०*] श्रीवनेन तनी यस्य
प्रतापेनारिभर्त्सु²⁷ । कुलाद्रिकु[क्षे]ष्वरिभि[स्त्रि]भिस्तुल्यं पदं (1)

¹ From ink-impressions received from Mr Venkayya² Expressed by a symbol³ Read ब्रह्मणे.⁴ The Benares plates (above, Vol II p 305, verse 1) read द्योतिः⁵ Read सद्ब्रह्मणे⁶ Read ब्राह्मी⁷ Read ०र्भव⁸ Read बुध⁹ Read ०माद्य¹⁰ Read ०मयूष¹¹ Read त्रिभुवन¹² Read अत्रेदितो¹³ Read ०शुद्धे¹⁴ Read ०करती¹⁵ Read ०वाहुवन्¹⁶ Read ०णी । हिलोल्लासितवाहुः¹⁷ Read ०ममून्यत¹⁸ Read ०वहवो¹⁹ Read ०नाम्नुवाहै²⁰ Read क्रानो²¹ Instead of स of ०व्यायामस्वेदी the metre requires a short syllable; read ०योन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूर²² Read त्वद्गतुङ्ग²³ Read perhaps ०कठोरकठदलनास्स सिद्धव्वपूरैरिव²⁴ Read ०ललना²⁵ Read ०वाची²⁶ Read जगदैकवंद्यो²⁷ Read ०भर्त्सु

तियस्या ख्यात्रमितीव विदिमपातदि कं क
रुत्तात्वावलिधिं कृत्वा उ नुद विरु कृ दसा द्युस्त निभा पं कु न
स्तितके कृष्ण कर्म गी त्रसी मित्रे न्या न्या ल कृ वा तं समिति
मिहृत्तौ। अत्रे म द्य सु म न स्य म न्ना त व की सीः स ग म ग द ह
ठान्तु इ स्य च स्या। नीत षु प्र म द्य क्ये ग वि वि ना प्रा गु द वा वि व
य व री ता स थो ज्ञा ता क्वा चि तः। पात ष व तु ना र म क गु
गो क पु न्य ग व न्णी व ना त्र न स्य ष न त स्यु र न द्या ष ण ग पा त
रु न पा त्ना कु ला स्र वि ना। किं त स्य क र्त्त र पा त षे त व सी या सी
व त्ति त्ते वि न सा व मि या ड वि स्या। कृ ष ष प ष प न म स द ग
क म ह न जा वि ग ड प न म स्त र प न म म ह्स्व न वि को नि जा व
यो वि प तिः श्री म क सी र वः कुर ली। का ज य क्त्वा वा न स्या
हो का म ह्य मी त्या न ह्य व स्मी वि के ग ण का म ह्य प्र तो हा ग म ह्य व
गो व नि केः प तान न्या र्त्त को त्रि ता न ये वा क्त्वा न नि पु क्त न ज पु रु पा
न न प द्या न्य धी र्त्त मा न य ति वा व य ति स भा ज्ञा प यो न वि दि त म ह्स्व त
न ग त्रि ष नः स ले ह्स्व व णा क नः स र्त्त मी न्य र्त्त त्र स व न र्त्त ण य त
ः प्र व ग य वा ड स न य स्या स्ति न ड पा या ये सी त्र पो नो म अ व
व कृ त्वा सी म क ली प्र का र्त्त व ह्स्व न स प्र म सं व र्त्त र का त
स प र्त्त ति वि वा न नु नो म णा ह्स्व ह्स्व सी म त्र अ र्त्त ता र्त्त ग गा या
सि वृ द्वा य व ज्ञा क्त्वा ति प धे न रा स न व न प्र द्त्त र्त्त ति न
शे र व ण वि वि री स्त य द्य त व्वा न त द प वि की ष घा न क न
नः पा र्त्त व द्वा न व र्त्त या र्त्त या या वा त न म स द्रः सौ मा न्यो थ
ना ज्ञा तः स ग ना दि सिः य ह्य य स्य ज द्या स्र मि स्त स त स्य त द
सी णा नि य व र्त्त म्। नाना। ष षि व ष ष ह्स्व णि त्त्वा। श्री नि
वृ ज्त्वा पि य स्वा न्य न प ति स्र व तो त स्या पि क न ल न्या ह्स्व स
क मा प्रा त धा व स ह्स्व न स प्र वी। लि र्त्त व र्त्त च द्त्त न णि क स्र

मौक्तमन्त्रः ॥ शान्तः सान्तवः नृक्षिनीकभिकः स्यात् ॥
प्रतिशुभ्रतः कविः नृशुभाषा नमत्प्रनृत्तवित्तु
द्वयधस्रद्वहतादिः संज्ञापापात्तानामराणावन्नम
वित्तमिच्छतापुत्रस्तात्वांगर्षावांगर्षान्तनृत्तकव
तैवादिवतुनृत्तदृक् पदरीक्षागृह्णतात्वा
कतामृषाकृताशुषुषुचस्यार्थिः वृज्वाकिताविकेयल
मितिमः सुत्रापरिहितवृत्तापुत्राभिन्नकवसमाशा
यस्यदिवातिरुन्नासन्नतापुपाद्विः डीकियमाणनिवि
कप्रलान्जाविवाजपुत्रमयगृथीवामदवपायशु
पदिस्यमकस्यद्विजस्रज्ञापादितास्यपतिगजय
प्रकर्मतीक्ष्णविद्यामिन्महाद्वीमह्वगडिपुत्रासस्यम
पदालका महीनापुगानिका महीममन्त्रामह्वपु
यथापतिच्छनकोशमृपतलाद्यायद्वयमह्वामान
वनायथागामायमम्यावित्यनुनृत्तवित्तुद्वः संज्ञल
नृगायत्रपथेनृत्तवित्तुकोऽप्यनुगोत्रायादिनसावा
सधिकमाल्यपुत्रायपंडितरीशात्रिभूमिणवात्सणाप
मेकमासि संकृपलुकात्रिकीपास्यमाम्यात्रिषोऽपुत्रदि
मत्वात्तगवन्तरीवसद्यगकंसमृषीमनापिताना
नृयवादीयमाननागसागदिनृत्तवित्तुमह्वनाजप्रा
पिनृगन्त्रवामितोऽके ॥ सवन्निवात्रपुत्तारलाकाः
मीसत्रुत्तपाणाकालकालपालनीयास्रवक्षिः ॥ व
नृफरलोऽसिपिपः प्रतिगृत्तानिचरत्तमिप्रकृत्ता
नृत्तमिदः ॥ आह्वतावानुमन्त्रावताम्बुचननकावा
नृत्तनृत्तवित्तुमतासुवसिः ॥ म्बुत्तगामिकात्तमिप्रा
वीनृत्तवित्तुः ॥ म्बुत्तवित्तुः ॥ म्बुत्तवित्तुः ॥

- 12 दधे ॥ [११*] भूभारक्षमष्टक¹ श्रुतिप्रणयिनीमालं व्यमानस्तनुं² (I) कुर्वाणः
समरेपि नाकपथगानागच्छतो विद्विषा³ । विख्याता भुवि भूरिमार्गग⁴
- 13 मनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहिनीं यः साक्षात्परमेश्वरः समभवत्क्षम्यक् शिवाराधनात् ॥
[१२*] दिक्वर्यन्तनिखानयूपनिचयः⁵ क्ष्मापालचूडामणस्त-
- 14 स्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्लोकलनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गा-
ङ्गनास[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितक्षीणीप-
- 15 तीर्ता भृश⁶ ॥ [१३*] आसाजये⁷ समदसिंधुरगधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकराः
ककुभां करीन्द्राः[1*] पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव⁸ खेचरनायकस्य चक्रुः
- 16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्निराशाः ॥ [१४*] यस्मिन्मुखैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिवी⁹
चेतसि वर्त्तमाने । त[त्वि]¹⁰ परस्मिन्निव योगभाजां निता-
- 17 न्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीना¹¹ ॥ [१५*] आक्रामदूर्ध्व¹² ब्रह्माण्डसघटस्फुटित यशः ।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं ॥ [१६*] कारापञ्जरवङ्ककी-¹³
- 18 रनृपतिदीप्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयैः¹⁴ तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गयदेवोभवत्¹⁵ । येना-
कारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना
- 19 निर्जित्योत्कलमवधिसीम्नि¹⁶ जयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥ [१७*] अगुणञ्जेति
लोलिति ख्यात यदिह दुर्यश । ¹⁷लक्ष्मास्तदधुना धीतं दिव्यमादाय
- 20 तद्वपुः ॥ [१८*] अतिमनोरथमर्थिजने धनं दिशति यत्तत्स¹⁸ कल्पतरुस्तदः ।
रिपुयशःकुसुदाकरभास्करः¹⁹ सुतमसूत स कर्णनराधि-
- 21 पम् ॥ [१९*] आक्रान्तदृप्तसामन्तप्रतापप्रसरादिव । चरणी रणशौण्डस्य
सोष्माणौ यस्य रेजतुः ॥ [२०*] स्फुरद्ग्या वञ्चचक्राभ्यामेक[व्य]ाजिन ह-
- 22 स्तयोः । वभार²⁰ यः श्रियं सा[च्च]ादिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविजृम्भिनी²¹ ॥ [२१*] ²²सूर्वाहृ-
तधराभारदिक्कुजरकराय[तौ] । आनद्यतां²³ भुजौ यस्य हेलोद्धतवसु-²⁴
- 23 न्धरौ ॥ [२२*] त्याग[व्य]सनिनो यस्य विपुल शस्त्रयोर्हयं । निधान विधिना
मन्ये द्विगुणीकृतमर्षित ॥ [२३*] उद्वण्डसुण्डायविमि[सि]ते-

¹ The Benares plates (above, Vol II p 307, verse 16) read °दृक्

² Read °मालवमान°

³ Read विद्विष.

⁴ Read °नार्गग°.

⁵ Read °खात°

⁶ Read भृश.

⁷ Read आसा.

⁸ Read फूरकार°

⁹ Read °निधी

¹⁰ Read तत्त्वे.

¹¹ Read प्रलीना

¹² Read °दूर्ध्व ब्रह्माण्ड°

¹³ Read °वङ्क°.

¹⁴ Read °चयैस्साम्ना°.

¹⁵ Read °भवत्.

¹⁶ Read °सम्बिसीमनि or °सम्बिसीम्नि वि°

¹⁷ Read लक्ष्म्या°

¹⁸ Instead of च of यत्तत्स the metre requires a short syllable

¹⁹ Read °कुसुदा°

²⁰ Read वभार

²¹ Read °भिषौ

²² Read सूर्वा°.

²³ Read आनद्यतां.

²⁴ Read हेलोद्धत°.

24 न¹ पूत्कारचू[र्णी]कृतशीकरेण । सुक्तापत्रायितमम्बराह² यस्य प्रयाणे पृतना-
गजानाम् ॥ [२४*] नाहं नाथ विपन्नगोत्रवस-

Second Plate, First Side

- 25 तिर्न [त्य]क्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिदिनपतेर्दिक्रक्रमाक्रामत[.*]³ ॥
प्रान्त(ः)श्रान्तवरूथिनीकरिकरास्काला-
- 26 वहेलोक्तासितकल्लोलावलिर्वाहुदण्डमुदधियक्रंद⁴ सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥ [२५*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रु(ः)श्रुतरुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रनृत्यतवेता-⁵
- 27 लोत्तालतालारवभरितककु[पूच]कपर्या(र्य)न्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्यालक्षवाचां⁶ समिति
सुरभसं⁷ दत्तहस्तादिसंज्ञाव्यापारेणामराणां वररम-
- 28 णविधिः कुप्तमासीन्मुहूर्त्त⁸ ॥ [२६*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनस्सुमनोवकीर्ण(ः)संग्राम-
रङ्गभुवि भूमिभृतां पुरस्तात्⁹ । वीरस्य वीरचरितं नष्टवे¹⁰ कवं-
- 29 धैर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठीरभुजस्य यस्य ॥ [२७*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना
प्रागुल्लचारिव्रत¹¹ सार्द्धं वन्मुतया¹² गृहस्थपदवीं का[र]ागृहस्थापनात् [।*] वा-
- 30 नप्रस्थपदं वनाश्रयवशात्¹³ भैक्षाच्च तिक्तोः स्थितिः¹⁴ (।) येनैव¹⁵ चतुरा-
श्रमेकगुक्ता स्पष्टाकता¹⁶ शत्रुषु ॥ [२८*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवांछिताधिकफल-
- 31 प्रास्थे निसन्धुः¹⁷ प्राकप्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरस्यपरत्¹⁸ स्फुरद्वोषणाः । एते¹⁹ निर्मि-
तमाः [पु]रा परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन् कथ²⁰ सम्मा[स्य]-
- 32 न्ति यशान्ति²¹ चेदिदिनपतेराकुलोभूच्चिरं ॥ [२९*] किं तस्य कर्ण[नृ]पते-
र्व्वत वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्ब्रपट्टे²² । उल्कीर्यमाणनिवि-
- 33 डाक्षरचक्रवालवाचालितैर्वधिरभावमियाज²³ विश्वं ॥ [३०*] छ ॥ स षष-²⁴
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु-(।)
- 34 ध्यात(।)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपर[म]माहेश्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमत्क-
र्णदेव²⁵ निजभुजीपार्जितास्वपतिगजप-²⁶
- 35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिः²⁷ श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः कुशली (॥ छ ॥) जयस्कन्धावार²⁸
श्रीमत्कर्णतीर्थधिवासिते महादे[वी] महाराजपुत्रो महाम-

1 Read °घृष्टायविनि, सृतेन पूत्कार°

4 Read °हिलोक्तासितकल्लोलावलिवाहु°.

7 Read सरभस

10 Read नष्टवे

13 Read °वशाद्

16 Read °श्रमेकगुक्ता स्पष्टीकता.

19 Read एतन्

21 Read यशान्ति चेदिदिनपतेरित्याकुलो°

23 Read °वधिरभावमियाज

26 Read °ताम्रपति°.

2 Read °मम्बराह°

5 Read °श्रुत° and °नृत्यवेता°

8 Read ह्यमासी°.

11 Read प्रागुल्ल°

14 Read भिचो स्थिति

17 Read निशम्यात्मम् प्राक्°

20 Read परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्कथ.

22 ताम्रं looks like ताम्बु, read °ताम्र°.

24 Read एष

27 Read °पत्य.

3 Read चेदिदिनपतेर्दिक्रक्र°

6 Read °लक्ष्य°

9 Read °स्तात्

12 Read वम्भु°.

15 Read येनैव

18 Read °धरान्तरसापारात्

25 Read °देवी

28 Read °वार

- 36 न्नी महासान्धिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधर्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो
महाक्षपटलिको महाभाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र-(1)
- 37 मत्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिक एतानन्याश्च[1*]कीर्त्तितान¹ यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुर-
पान्यथाप्रतिस्थान² कोशम्बपत्तलाय³ (॥) चन्द्रपहाग्रामनि-
- 38 वासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथाहं मानयति बोधयति⁴ समाजापयति⁵ [॥*]
विदितमस्तु भवता यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराघ्राटविशुद्धः सजल-
- 39 स्थलः सान्ध्रमधूक[.:#]⁶ सगर्तोपर. सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसीर्मापर्यन्त[:*]⁷
सवनतृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः (1) विदमी कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब-⁸ (1)
- 40 रीषयौवनास्पत्रि()प्रवराय⁹ वाजसनेयसाखिने¹⁰ उपाध्यायसीलूपौत्राय आवसधिक-
माल्हुपुत्राय पडितश्रीशान्तिसर्मणे¹¹ ब्राह्मणाय
- 41 ग्रामोय एतेषा पव¹²कृत्वा श्रीमत्कारणप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सरे
कार्तिके मासि ¹³सुक्लपक्षकार्तिकीपौर्णमास्या तिथौ गुरुदि-
- 42 ने एव सवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमतश्चर्षतीर्थे¹⁴ गगाया स्नात्वा
भगवन्त शिवभट्टारकं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-
- 43 त्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धये चद्रार्कक्षितिपर्यन्त शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
यथादीयमानभागभोगहिरणादिसमस्तराजप्र-(1)
- 44 त्यादायाः एतस्याज्ञाश्ववणविधेयीभूय दातव्याः । तदपचिकीर्षया न केनापि
(न) गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोका. ।
- 45 सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान¹⁵ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1*]
सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३१*] ष¹⁶-
- 46 हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजतिः¹⁷ सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फल ॥ [३२*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति¹⁸ यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति¹⁹
- 47 उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी²⁰ नियतं स्वर्गगातिनी²¹ ॥ [३३*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-(1)
- 48 सेत²² ॥ [३४*] अस्मिन्वसे²³ द्विजज्ञोपि यथान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत्²⁴ । तस्यापि
करलग्नोह शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत्²⁵ ॥ [३५*] सुवर्णमेक गामेका भूमेरप्ये-

1 Read °तान्

4 Read बोध°

7 Read °सीमा°

10 Read °शाखिने

13 Read युक्त°

16 Read वहुभि°

19 Read प्रयच्छति

22 Read वसेत्

25 Read °मेत्

2 Read °पुरुषा° and °स्थान

5 Read समाज्ञा°

6 Read °सान्ध°

11 Read °शर्मणे ब्राह्म°

14 Read श्रीमदृष°

17 Read राजभि

20 Read °कर्माणी

23 Read °वसे,

3 Read कौशाम्बपत्तलायां.

6 Read साम°

9 Read °वौवनाश्व°

12 Read एव

15 Read °वेन्द्रान्

18 Read °गृह्णाति

21 Read °गामिनी.

24 Read °वेत्

49 कर्मज्ञः । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहूतसप्तवं^१ ॥ [३६*] लिखितं चेदं
कारणिकप्रोमर्वानन्देन^२ । उक्तीर्णितं^३ च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

REMARKS BY DR. FLEET ON THE DATE OF THE RECORD
PUBLISHED ABOVE.

The record is dated "in the administration (*vyavaharana*) renowned by the glorious Karna," in the seventh year, and on the full-moon *tithi*, coupled with a Thursday, of the month Kārttika Karnadēva's predecessor was his father Gāngēyadēva, who was reigning, we know, in A. D. 1030,⁴ and for whom we have perhaps also a date in A. D. 1037-38⁵ For Karnadēva as king we have the date Phālguna vadi 9, answering to 18 January, A. D. 1042⁶ On that day he made a grant, having bathed in the river Vēni on Phālguna vadi 2 on an occasion which the record mentions as *samvatsarē śrāddhē* (read *śrāddhē*) of his father Gāngēyadēva. The editor emended the text here into *samvatsara-śrāddhē*, and interpreted the phrase as meaning "at the annual funeral ceremony" in honour of his father Gāngēyadēva. The emendation hardly seems necessary. However, in any case, the text appears to indicate distinctly, not some indefinite anniversary of the death of Gāngēyadēva, but the first anniversary of his death, and it is at any rate fully capable of being understood in this sense. Accordingly, Gāngēyadēva died on Phālguna vadi 2, = 22 January, A. D. 1041.⁷ The month Kārttika in A. D. 1041 was, therefore, in the first year of Karnadēva. The month Kārttika in his seventh year came in A. D. 1047. In this year the given *tithi* was connected quite regularly with a Thursday: it ended at about 11 hours 45 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), that is, at about 5.45 P. M., on Thursday, 5 November, and, being current at sunrise, it gave its number to that same day. And this date, Thursday, 5 November, A. D. 1047, seems clearly to be the date of the record.

The result stated above is in agreement with the points, that this record gives the full titles of paramount sovereignty to Karnadēva in lines 33-4, and that it does not contain anything to suggest that Gāngēyadēva was living when it was drawn up. The following remarks, however, may be added, in case it might be thought that the use of the term *vyavaharana*, 'transaction of business, management, administration,' instead of *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya*, implies that Karnadēva was reigning as the representative of his father, the latter being still alive. As we have seen, Gāngēyadēva was dead by 22 January, A. D. 1041. Before that, the nearest occasions on which the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika can be connected with a Thursday are as follows:—In A. D. 1026 it began at about 21 hours 5 minutes after mean sunrise on Thursday, 27 October, but the lateness of the time (3 hours 5 minutes after midnight) precludes the possibility that the *tithi* should have been cited with that day. In A. D. 1028 it ended at about 11 hours 35 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, at about 5.35 P. M., on Thursday, 31 October, and consequently, being current at sunrise, gave its number to the day, but this is altogether too early a date for Karnadēva to have been associated with his father in the administration for already six years, especially in view of the points, that for Karnadēva's son and successor Yaśahkarna the earliest known date is in A. D. 1120, and that for Yaśahkarna's son and successor Gayākarna we have dates in A. D. 1151 and 1155-56.

¹ Read °सूत°

² Read °श्री°

³ Read चरकौर्ण

⁴ Alberūni tells us this *India*, trans. Sachau, Vol. I p. 202.

⁵ Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions, above, Vol. V Appendix, No. 406.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 407, edited above, Vol. II p. 305.

⁷ Or on 23 December, A. D. 1040, = Māgha vadi 2, if this *tithi* is preferred in consequence of what the editor pointed out in connexion with the weekday being not correct for Phālguna vadi 2 in A. D. 1042, and being correct for Māgha vadi 2, = 12 December, A. D. 1041. But it seems probable that the mistake lies in the weekday (or else in the *tithi*), rather than in the month.

No 14—NARASAPATAM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.,
SAKA-SAMVAT 967

BY PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D., CHRISTIANIA

The grant inscribed on these plates was first brought to light by Mr Appa Rao, and a short note on it appeared on page 111 of Mr Krishna Sastri's Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1908-1909. I now edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who has kindly sent me the following description of the plates —

"These are five copper-plates with slightly raised rims, of which the first bears writing only on the inner side. They measure roughly $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and fluctuate between $3\frac{1}{4}$ " and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. The plates are held together by a circular ring, which measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The edges of the ring are secured in the bottom of an oval seal, which measures roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in its diameters. The seal is surmounted by a high recumbent bull with various emblems around it, which Mr Appa Rao says represent a conch, an elephant-goat, a *trishūla*, a battle-axe, a crescent, a mace, a rope, and a drum. The plates with seal and ring weigh 295 *tolas*. The plates were received from the Narasapatam taluka of the Vizagapatam district."

The inscription consists of 74 lines and is in a fair state of preservation.

The alphabet is the same kind of Nāgarī as in Vajrahasta's Nadagām plates of Śaka-Samvat 979,¹ and in his Madras Museum plates of Śaka 984.² The *ñ* in conjuncts such as *ñch* and *ñj* is placed after the consonant. The compound *ñj*, which occurs in l 69, is not used in any of the other known plates of Vajrahasta. It will be seen that the form of the *j* of this compound is slightly changed. There is almost no difference between *dā* (l 55) and *dā* (l 51), between *tu* (cf l 25) and *tta* (cf l 26), between *lu* (cf l 23) and *rnn* (cf l 22). The *anusvāra* is usually denoted by a circle after the consonant. At the end of line 3 and before the sign of interpunction in l 52, a *virāma* is added underneath. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *nwahn*, l 17, *sambhunak*, l 27. It has been omitted in *avdāna*, l. 21; *purasarāna* . . . *janapadāna*, l. 51, *yāvata*, l 56, *ādityāta*, l. 58, *gaurāvāta*, l 64 f. In *avdāna*, l 21, and *janapadāna*, l 51, the bottom of the letter *n* has been somewhat lengthened. There are several superfluous signs of interpunction in the grant itself, ll. 53 ff. The numerical figures 967 occur in l 73.

In ll 7 and 50 some syllables and words are written in Telugu letters.

With regard to orthography we may note forms like *prakshyalita* instead of *prakshālita*, l. 4, *nairityē* instead of *nairityē*, l 67, and the use of *v* instead of *b*, compare *śavda*, l 9 f; *lavdha*, l 12, *valāt*, l 16, *avdāna*, l 21, *avdakān*, l 27, *ludha*, l 23, *Vardumv*, ll 36, 58, *avda*, ll 39, 73, *āvjayōh*, l 48, *vāhvra*, l 53. The class nasal and not the *anusvāra* is regularly written before surds. Before *h* and *p* we also find the *anusvāra*, thus, *śasāmka*, l 7, *alamkarishnō*, l 14, but *Aniyanha*, l 26, *panka*, l. 46, *Tampavā*, ll 52 f, 71, but *ālampanti*, l. 46. Before *kh*, *gh* and *chh* there are no instances of the class nasal, but the *anusvāra* is used in all cases, thus, *sāmkhā*, l. 9, *samghatta*, l 11, *samghē*, l. 39, *lāmchana*, i.e. *lāñohhana*, l 10. In all other nasal compounds, the class nasal is used.

The consonants *h*, *n*, *t*, *dh*, *m*, *y*, and *v* are doubled in all the instances where they occur after an *r*, thus, *ārkhā*, l 56, *harṇna*, l 8, *kīrttēh*, l 36, *sārdḍha*, l 53, *dharmma*, l. 64; *sūryya*, l 40, *sarvva*, ll 18, 54. A *g* after *r* sometimes remains single and is sometimes doubled, thus, *mārgēna*, l 42, *vinirgata*, l 58, but *nripatir=Ḡgang*, l 26, *varg[ga]*, l. 42. The other consonants which are used after *r* in these plates, viz *j*, *th* and *bh*, are never doubled.

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p 183 ff.

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 94 ff.

Compare *-nrgjt-*, l. 33, *-varjitaḥ*, l. 55, *=arthibhyah*, l. 24, *pārthivah*, l. 27; *manēr=bhagavatō*, l. 8, *-tir=bhuvan*, l. 30, *krimir=bhūtā*, l. 71. Between *m* and *r* a *v*, *i* e a *b*, is inserted in *tāmra-*, l. 61. There are besides, several other mistakes which may be due either to the writer or to the engraver. Thus we find *a* for *ā* in *-prakṣhyalita-*, l. 4, *Gang-*, ll. 13, 26, 44, *samriddhiman-*, l. 30; *-gīyaman-*, l. 36, *-chatta-*, l. 55, *a* for *i* in *-krita*, l. 39, *a* for *u* in *-ācharitam*, l. 41, *ā* for *a* in *ānu-*, l. 48, *gaurāvāta*, l. 64 f, *ā* for *ō* in *-kul-āttamasya*, l. 44; *i* for *ī* or *ai* in *isānyē*, l. 69, *ī* for *i* in *sāsānīka-*, l. 71 f., *ū* for *u* in *-sūdūrāya*, l. 61, *ū* for *ō* in *-ēkūna-*, l. 34, *j* for *ḡ* in *-ujala-*, ll. 10, 30, *-vā[j*]=jātō*, l. 22, *tt* for *t* in *-chatta-bhatta-*, l. 55, *t* for *tt* in *-chchhatra-*, l. 10, *-ōtṅgu-*, l. 12, *t* for *d* in *-samulbhavāyās-*, l. 37, *d* for *t* in *prācchyōdan-*, l. 23, *y* for *yy* in *nyāyēna*, l. 41, *ś* for *s* in *āsīnē*, l. 48, *-śīm-*, l. 54, *śūnu*, l. 59, *śīmānō*, l. 65, *s* for *ś* in *-umisatim*, l. 34, *-māhēsvara-*, l. 49, *-pravēsō*, l. 55, *-yasō-*, l. 57, *kāsyapa-*, l. 57, *sāsānī-*, l. 61, *vāmsa-*, l. 68, *-silā*, ll. 68, 70, *isānyē*, l. 69, *sāsānīka-*, instead of *sāsānīka-*, l. 71 f., *s* for *śh* in *-visayasya*, l. 65, and so forth. Mistakes such as *sē* for *tṣa* in *prasādāsēm(-dāt=sam-)*, ll. 8 f, the numerous instances where an *anusvāra* (cf. ll. 27, 39, 42, 53, 56, 72, 74) or a *visarga* (cf. ll. 21, 28, 51, 54) has been omitted, the omission of *jō* in *tasy-ānu[jō*]*, l. 21, of *r* in *-harishnō[r*]*, l. 14 *sūnu[r*]*, l. 58, of *s* in *samā[s*]*, l. 21; of *sa* in *śā[sa*]nam-*, l. 73, and the many mistakes in l. 62, are probably due to the engraver, while the long omissions in ll. 34 and 65 just as well can be due to the writer of the draft.

There are several instances of wrong or irregular *sandhi* compare *-dattām=rā*, l. 70, *-nrahān sri-*, l. 17, *=gajānn=arthibhyah*, l. 24, *sah śrī-*, l. 25, *prasiddhah cha'uh-*, l. 54, *-ādityāta Rūpadēviyāh jātaḥ*, l. 58, *-pūrvian=tā-*, l. 61 f.

In l. 51 several dots indicate a correction. The engraver probably had to copy a corrected draft, and has reproduced it as he found it. The original reading of the passage was probably *samastāmātyapramukhajanapadān-* as in the Nadagām and Madras Museum plates, or perhaps, *sāmantāmātyapramukhajanapadān-*, see the footnote to the passage.

The language is Sanskrit, but the construction in ll. 58 ff. is very loose and shows that the composer of the grant was not very well versed in the sacred tongue. With the exception of one imprecatory stanza, the body of the grant is written in prose. The introduction contains the same twelve verses as the Nadagām and Madras Museum plates, with only one slight variation in verse 2, where our grant has *mahīpatik* while the other two read *=ianīpatik*. In the grant itself we find the curious expression *bhūmichhīdrapīdhānanyāyēn-*¹ instead of the common *bhūmichhīdranyāyēna*, l. 55. The epithet *paranārīsū(su)dūrāya* used of one of the donees in l. 60 f., is also curious.

The grant was issued from Dantipura by the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, the *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Vajrahasta (III)*, the overlord of the three Kalingas, and bestows some land on Irugana [*alias*] śrī-Mānāditya Chotta and Vira-Bhūriśrava. The name of the former was perhaps not Mānāditya Chotta but Āditya Chotta, though this reading would imply a serious grammatical slip in l. 60. He was the son of Mānāditya or Āditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarājā and Rūpadēvi of the Vaidumba family, to which Vajrahasta's mother Vināyamahādēvi likewise belonged. The donee Irugana Mānāditya Chotta was consequently a relative of the king.

The land granted comprised the Gōrasatta district with, *i.e.* including thirty-five villages outside Tampavā. Its boundaries are given in ll. 65 ff. to the east Vistīrnaśilā, to the south-east a banyan tree sacred to Ganēśa (*Vināyaka-vata*), to the south a hill with the temple of Tanku-Bhattārikā, probably some form of Durgā, to the south-west the Andhārāvēnī hill, to the west Kāñchaśilā on the Vamśadhārā, to the north-west Amrāpāthara; to the north

¹ *Bhūmichhīdr-āpīnāna-* and *bhūmichhītr-āpīdhāna* occur in the two grants of Dandīmahādēvi published by the late Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI, p. 189, text line 31 and p. 142, text line 29), who has corrected them into *bhūmichhīdr-ābhīdhāna-*

Madhupapālī, to the north-east Tālañjaraśilā I cannot localise any of these names with the exception of the river Vamsadhārā, which flows through the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. On it is a village which in the Indian Atlas is called Varanasy, situated in 18° 51' N and 83° 56' E, and which I would identify with the Vārānasi-kataka mentioned in the Purī plates of Narasimhadēva IV.¹ Another locality mentioned in Gānga plates, the Vaiāhavaṭani,² I would look for in the course (*varṭanī*) of the Varāhanadī, which rises in the Golkonda hills to the north of Narasapatam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Vātāda.

The date of our grant is the Śaka year 987, on the ninth day of the (solar) month Mīna, on a Monday. It is consequently the oldest known grant of Vajrahasta III.

The writers of the grant, the *sandhivigrahan* Dhavala, who is described as the grant writer (*śāsana kāyastha*) of Tampavā, and the *kārahi* Mēntōju, are not elsewhere known.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm³ svasti [||*] Śīmatām=akhīla-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vi-
- 2 naya-dayā-dāna-dākṣiṇya-satya śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ā-
- 3 di-gu[na]-rataa-pavitānām=Ātrēya-gōtrānām
- 4 vimala-vichār-ā[ch]ā[ra]-punya-salila-pīa[kshya]ta-⁴
- 5 Kāl-kāla-kalmasha-mashināni mahā-Mahēndr-ācha-
- 6 la-sikhara-pratishṭhitasya sa[cha]i[cha]ra-guroh sakala-
- 7 bhuvana-[nirmān-āka] su(sū)tradhārasya saśāmbha-chu(chū)dā-⁵

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 mauēr=bhagavatō Gōkarnnavāminah prasādā-
- 9 śemāsīdit-aikasamkha-bhāri-pañcha-mahāśa-
- 10 vda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra⁷-hēmachāmara-vatavriṣhabhalāmchana⁸-samujva-
- 11 la samasta⁹-sāmrajya-mahimnām=anēka-samara-samgha-
- 12 tta-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakṣmī-samālingit-ōtunga-¹⁰
- 13 bhujā-danda-manditānim Trikalinga-mahibhujām ¹¹Gāngānām=anva-
- 14 yam=alamkarishnō[1*] Vishuḍi=iva¹² vikīam-ākṛānta-[dha]rā-mandalasya Guna-
- 15 mahārnnava-mahārajasya putrah || ¹³P[ū]rvvam bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya va-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 16 sudhā yā pañchabhūh pañchadhā bhuktā bh[ū]ripārākramō bhujā-
- va(ba)lāt=tā-
- 17 m=ēka ēva svayam | ēkikṛitya vijitya śatru-nivahān¹⁴ śri-Vaj[ra]ha-
- 18 [sta]ś=chatuścha[tvā]rimsatam=atyudāra-charitah sarvvām=arakshit=sa-
- 19 mäh || [1*] Tasya tanayō Gundama-rājā¹⁵ varsha-trayam=apā-
- 20 layata mahīm || tadanujah Kāmārnnavadēvah¹⁶ pañchatri-

¹ Journ Beng As Soc, Vol LXIV, Part I, pp 136 ff, 151 ff

² Above, Vol III, p 127, note 5, Vol IV, p 185, note 5, Vol IX, p. 95 ³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read *prakhālita*

⁵ This line, with the exception of the syllables *nmā*, *na*, and *saśāmbha*, is written in Toluḡu characters

⁶ Read *prasādāt=sam*

⁷ Read *-chchhatra*

⁸ Read *lāmchhana samujjala*

⁹ The *ta* of *samasta* has been engraved over the *pa* of *samupalavdha*, l 12

¹⁰ Read *ōttunga*

¹¹ Read *Gāngānām=*

¹² [There is a superfluous *anuvāra* over the akshara *ri* of *ōriva* —Ed]

¹³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁴ Read *nivahān=*

¹⁵ Read *rājō*

¹⁶ Close to the upper circle of the *visarga* there is another circle whose significance is not clear

- 21 mśatam=avdāna¹ | Tasy=ānu² Vinsyāditya[h*] samā[s*]=tīśrah
 22 || ³Tatah Kāmārnnavā jātō jagati-kalpabhūrahah [1*] yō-rājad=rāpta-
 23 chchhāyō Vajrahastō mahipatīh⁴ || [2*] ⁵Praśhyōdan-māda-gandha-
 luydha(bdha)-madhu-
 24 pa-vyālidha-gandān=gajān⁶= artībhyah

Third Plate, First Side

- 25 samadāt=sahasram=atulo yas=tyāginām=agranih [1*] sah^{6a} śri-
 26 mān=Amayankabhīma-nripatir=⁷Ggang-ānvay-ōttameakah pa-
 27 űchatri[m*]śatam=avda(bda)kūn=samabhunak prithivim⁸ stutah pārthi-
 28 vāh || [3*] ⁹Tad-agrasūnu[h*] Surarāja-sūnunā samah sama-
 29 stām śamit-āri-mandalah [1*] sma pāti Kāmārnnavā-bhūpa-
 30 t[1]r=[bhū]vam samridh[1]man¹⁰-ar[ddha]samām ¹¹samujvalah || [4*] ¹²Tad-ānu
 tad-ānu-
 31 janmā chittajanm-ōpamānō gunamidhir=anayadyō Gundam-ā-
 32 khyō mahīśah | sakalam=idam=ara-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 33 kshat-tri[ni] varshā[ni] dhātrim(tri)-valayam=alaghu-tējō-nurjit-ārāti-
 34 ohakrah || [5*] ¹³Tatō [dva]mātura[s=tasya*] Madhukāmārnnavō nripa[h |
 avati sm=āvanim=ētām=avdān*] ēkūnavimsatim¹⁴ || [6*] ¹⁵Atha Va-
 35 jahasta-nripatēr=ag[r]a-sutād=akhila-guṇi-jau-āgranyah [1*] Kāmārnnavāt=kav-i-
 36 ndra-p[r]agiyaman¹⁶-āyadāta-subha-kirttōh |(||) [7*] ¹⁷Śriya iva Vaidumv-
 (mb)-ānva-
 37 ya-payah-payōnidhi-¹⁸samutbhavāyās=cha [1*] yah samajani Vins-
 38 ya-mahādēvyah śri-Vajrahasta iti tanayah || [8*] ¹⁹Viyad-rītu-nidhi-
 39 sa[m*]khyām yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-samghē Dīnakrita²⁰ Vriśhabha-sthē
 Rōhuni-bhē su-
 40 lagnē [1*] Dhannshū oha sita-pakshē Sūryyavārē tritiyā-yuṇ sakala-dhari-
 41 trim rakshatum yō=blushiktah || [9*] ²¹Nyāyēna yatra samam=²²acharitam
 tri-va-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 42 rg[ga][m*] mārgēna rakshati ma[him] mahita-pratīpē | nirvyādahayaś=cha
 43 nīraghās=cha nīrūpadaś=cha śāśvat=prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhūti-
 44 matyah || [10*] ²³Vyāptē Ganga-kul-āttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravāl[ē] śāśi-pra-
 45 dyōt-āmalmēna ya[sya bhū]vana-prahlāda-sampādīnē [1*] saindū-
 46 [rair=a]tīsāndra-pauka-patalah kumbhasthali-pattakēshv=ālimpa-

¹ Read =āddān

² Read, with the Nadagām and Madras Museum plates, tasy=ānujō

³ Metre Ślōka, read -vāj-jātō

⁴ The Nadagām and Madras Museum plates read =vanipatīh.

⁵ Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭita, read praśhyōtan-

⁶ Read =gajān=

^{6a} Cancel the visarga

⁷ Read =Ggāng-

⁸ Read prithvim, to suit the metre

⁹ Metre Vamsāstha

¹⁰ Read samridhīmān=

¹¹ Read samujjvalah

¹² Metre Mālīnī

¹³ Metre Ślōka

¹⁴ Read ēkōna- vimśatim

¹⁵ Metre Gīti, read Vajra^c

¹⁶ Read -pragiyamān-

¹⁷ Metre Gīti

¹⁸ Read =samudbhā-

¹⁹ Metre Mālīnī

²⁰ Read -kṛit

²¹ Metre Vasantatilaka, read nyāyēna

²² Read =āchāritum

²³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭita, read Gānga kul ōtta

1
2
4
6

1
2
4
6

11 a

8
10
12
14

8
10
12
14

11 b

16
18
20
22
24

16
18
20
22
24

11 a

26
 28
 30
 32

... यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामास ...
 ... शिवीं स्तंभं यद्वि
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...

26
28
30
32

11 b

34
 36
 38
 40

... यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...

34
36
38
40

11 c

42
 44
 46
 48
 50

... यत्प्रतिष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...
 ... यद्विष्ठापयामास ...

42
44
46
48
50

- 47 [nta] punah punas=cha [hā]rītām=ā[dhōra]nā vāranān || [11*] ¹Anurāgō-
 48 na guninō ya[sya va]kshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōh | ²āśinē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=
 °ānukū-
 49 lē vi[r]ājatah || [12*] Sa dēvah || Dantipurāt=parama-⁴māhēsvara-
 paramabha-
 50 ⁵ttuakō mahārājādhīrāja-Trikaling-ādhipati-śrīmad-Vajrahasta-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 51 dūva[h*] kuśali ma[h-ā]mātya-purassarāna(n) sūmanta-pramukha-
 52 rāja-pād-ōpajivinah⁶ samāhūya samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatā[m] | Tam-
 53 pavā-grāma-vāhura-(l)pañchatimsata⁷ grāmēna sārddha[m*] Gōrasatta-
 visha-
 54 yō=yam ⁸prasiddhah chatuh-sim-āvachchunna[h*] sajala-sthalah sarvva-
 pa(pi)-
 55 dā-vivarjatah (l) ⁹achatta-bhattā-prav[ō]sō bhūmi-chhūdra-pidhāna-nyā-
 56 yēn=āchandr-ārka-kshita-sama-kūla¹⁰ yāvata mātā-pitrōr-ā[tmā]nah pu-
 57 nya-yasō¹¹-vridhdhayē (l) Minamāsa-(l)navam[ē]¹² Sōmavārē ¹³Kāsyapa-gōtrāya
 58 Pettakallu-vimrgata-Chotta-Vādayarājā tasya sūnu¹⁴ Vaidumvādityāta
 59 Rūpadēvyāh^{14a} jātah ¹⁵śrī-Mānāditya-Chottah | asya sūnu¹⁶

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 60 Irugana-śrī-Mānāditya-Chottāya Vira-Bhūrīśravāya cha | para-
 61 nārīsūdūrāya¹⁷ (l) saty-ādhishtitha-chētasō || udaka-pūrvvan=tānvrāsāsa-¹⁸
 62 ni-kṛitya pattaka-p[r]adattō=smābhūr-atōsābhūdhōyibhūyāstūra-¹⁹
 63 vanakarāh kshētrakarāś=cha samuchita-bhāga-bhōgādīkam samuparē-
 64 tavyam yathākāla-bhāvibhūh²⁰ svapati dānam=idam Manunō dharmma-gau-
 65 rāvāta²¹ || Gōrasatta-visayasya²² śimānō lūkhyantē || pūrvvatah
 66 Vistīrnnaśīlā || āgnēyē parvvata-samipē Vināyaka-vatah ||
 67 dakshinē Tanku-Bhattārīkā-[si]ma-parvvatah | naurityē²³ Andhārāvēnī-
 68 parvvatah || paschi[m]ē ²⁴Vamsadhārā-tatē Kāñchas[a]lā²⁵ || vāyavyē A-

¹ Metre Ślōka

² Read āśinē

³ Read =anukūlē or =ānukūlyē

⁴ Read māhēsvara-

⁵ The aksharas ttarakō mahārājā are in Telugu characters.

⁶ It looks as if the engraver has placed two dots under hā in mahā-, three under ssa in purassarāna, one before and one after sā in sāmanta and three under v in -vijivinah. The ma of mahā seems to have been cancelled. I take the three dots under purassarāna and rājapādōpajivinah to signify that these words should be cancelled. The two dots under hā perhaps correspond with the two dots, before and after sā, and indicate that -hā- should be replaced by sāmanta. We would then arrive at the reading sāmāntāmātyapramukhajanapadān=samāhūya. The Nadagām and Madras Museum Plates read samastāmātyapramukhajanapadān=samāhūya, which may also be the reading intended.

⁷ Read -bāhura pañcha trimsatā.

⁸ Read prasiddhah=chatuh sim-.

⁹ Read achātābhāṭapravēśō

¹⁰ Read -kālam yāvan-

¹¹ Read yasō

¹² The ē of mē, the ē of pravēśō in line 55 and the ē of chakravālē in line 44 look like v, also the ē of Mēnfōju in line 78 f

¹³ Read Kāsyapa

¹⁴ Read sūnur=Vaidumbādityād=

¹⁶ Cancel the visarga

¹⁵ In spite of śrī Mānādityachottāya, (l. 60) which begins a verse in the ślōka metre, we should perhaps read śrīmān=Āditya Chottah

¹⁶ Read sūnava

¹⁷ Read sūdūrāya

¹⁸ Read tānvrāsāsa-

¹⁹ Read =atō=śya vidhōyī bhūya samastu pravānikarāh [It is not impossible that -bhōy=ājñā=kratanakarāh was meant, see above Vol IX p 173, text l 10 f.—H K S]

²⁰ Read bhāvibhūr=bhūpatibhūr.

²¹ Read -gauravāt-paripālanīyam-it

²² Read -vishayasya śimānō

²³ Read naurityē

²⁴ Read Vamsa°

²⁵ Read -śīlā

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 69 m[r]āpātharah | uttarī Madhupapāhī || (1) usīnyē¹ Talañjara-
 70 silā² || Svadattām parādatām=ṛā³ harī=kaśchid=vasundharām [I*]
 sa vi-
 71 śthāyām kṛimīr=bhūtṛvā pīṭhībhī śtha pachyatō || Tampavā-
 grāma-sāśa-⁴
 72 nika-kāyastha-śrī-sandhivīgrahī-Dhavalēna lkhita[m*]
 73 śā[sa*]nam=īdam || Śakāvda(bda) 967 || itī kākūki-Mē-
 74 ntōjun=āpī lkhita[m]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Ōm ! Hail The son of the *Mahārāja* Gunamahārṇava, who by his prowess conquered the circle of the earth, as (*the god*) *Viṣṇu* by his studies, wishing to adorn the lineage of the glorious *G[ā]ṅgas*, the lords of the three *Kalingas*, who were purified by goms (*in the shape*) of virtues praised over the whole earth, such as prudence, good breeding, generosity, charity, courtesy, truthfulness, purity, valour and firmness, who were of the *Ātrēya gōtra*, who washed off the stains of the impurities of the *Kali* age by the holy water of (*their*) taintless thoughts and deeds, the grandeur of whose universal sovereignty was resplendent by the unique conch-shell, the drum, the five *mahāsabdās*, the white parasol, the golden chowrie, and the excellent bull crest which they had obtained by the favour of the blessed *Gōkarnīsvāmīn*, who resides on the summit of the lofty *Mahēndra* mountain, the lord of what moves and what cannot move, the sole architect in the creation of all the worlds, whose crest jewel is the moon, who were adorned by lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by the goddess of victory won in the scuffles of many battles,—

(Verse 1) The glorious *Vajrahasta* [I], of exalted conduct, protected the entire (*earth*) for forty-four years, after he, the very valiant one, had, himself single-handed by the prowess of his arm, conquered the hosts of his foes and united the earth, which had formerly been divided and enjoyed in five parts by five kings

(L 19) His son king *Gundama* [I] protected the earth for three years, his younger brother *Kāmārnava* [I] for thirty-five years, his younger brother *Vinayāditya* for three years

(V 2.) Thereafter king *Vajrahasta* [II] who was born of *Kāmārnava* [I], and who shone like a wishing-tree on earth, with radiant lustre,

(V 3) the incomparable head of liberal men, who gave to mendicants a thousand elephants, whose temples were sucked by bees attracted by the smell of the rut flowing (from them), he who was praised by kings, the glorious king *Anīyankabhīma*, the ornament of the family of the *G[ā]ṅgas*, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five years

(V 4) His eldest son, who was like the son of the king of gods, king *Kāmārnava* [II] protected the whole earth for half a year, prosperous and resplendent, after he had conquered the circle of (*his*) foes

(V 5) After him his younger brother who was comparable to the mind-born (*Cupid*), a blameless treasure of virtues, the king named *Gundama* [II], protected this whole circle of the earth for three years, after he had vanquished the host of (*his*) enemies with (*his*) mighty splendour

(V 6) Then his brother from a different mother, king *Madhu-Kāmārnava*, [protected this earth for nineteen years]

¹ Read *usīnyē*

² Read *-silā*.

³ Read *-datām ṛā*

⁴ Read *-śāsanka*

17 b

52
 54
 56
 58

52
 54
 56
 58

17 a

60
 62
 64
 66
 68

60
 62
 64
 66
 68

70
 72
 74

70
 72
 74

(V 7-8) Then the son, named the glorious Vajrahasta [III], born from Kāmārnava [II], the foremost of all virtuous men, the eldest son of king Vajrahasta [II], whose pure and shining fame was praised by the chiefs of poets, and from Vinayamahādēvī, who had sprung from the family of the Vaidumbas, as Śrī from the milk-ocean,

(V 9) he who was anointed to protect the whole earth when the aggregate of Śaka years reached the number of the sky (0), the seasons (6) and the treasures (9), while the sun was standing in Taurus, under the Rōhinī *nakshatra*, in the auspicious *lagna* of Dhanus, in the bright fortnight, on a Sunday, combined with the third (*tithi*),

(V 10) whose subjects are always enjoying wealth without ailments, sins and misfortunes, while (*he*), whose prowess is praised, protects the earth on the right path in order to get the three objects of life accomplished simultaneously,

(V 11) while the circle of the (eight) quarters is being filled with the fame, spotless as the light of the moon and procuring joy to the earth, of him (*who was*) the best of the G[ā]nga family, the mahouts of the quarters over and over again anoint (their) elephants on the surface of (their) frontal globes with masses of thick red-lead paste,

(V 12) through love of which virtuous man Śrī and Sarasvatī, sitting in (*his*) bosom and lotus-like mouth (respectively), shine in concord,

(L 49) he, the king, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious king Vajrahasta, being in good health, issues the (following) order from Dantipura, having called together the people headed by the feudatories, preceded by the high ministers, who live at the king's feet,—

(L 52) Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, the well known Gōrasatta district (*vishaya*) with (its) thirty-five villages outside (*bāhira*) Tampavā village, circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, not to be entered by district officers (*chātas*) and *bhātas*, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, by means of a charter, after having made (it) into a copper-plate grant, according to the maxim of the covering of a hole in the ground (*bhūmi-chhadrāpādhāna-nyāya*) to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, on the ninth day of the month Mīna, on a Monday, to Irugana śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the son of śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarāja, who came from Pettakallu, born of Rūpadēvī, the sun of the Vaidumba family,¹ and to Vira-Bhūriśrava (Bhūriśravas), who keeps far off from the wives of others, whose mind is set on truthfulness. Therefore, being obedient to him, the proper *bhāgabhōga* and other (*income*) should be brought to him, together with the *pravānikara* and the *kshētrakara*. Future kings [should preserve] this gift, from reverence for the law of Manu, from time to time.

(L 65) The boundaries of the Gōrasatta district (*vishaya*) are (here) written to the east V. stīrnaśilā, to the south-east the Vināyaka-vata (tree) near the hills, to the south the border hill of Tauku-Bhattārikā, to the south-west the Andhērāvēnī hill, to the west Kāñchaśilā, on the bank of the Vamāsadhārā; to the north-west Amrāpāthara, to the north Madhupapālī, to the north-east Tālañjaraśilā [Here follows one of the customary verses]

(L 72) This charter was written by the illustrious *sandhu-grahin* Dhavala, the grant-writer (*sāsūnika-kāyastha*) of Tampavā village. The Śaka year 987. Thus also written by the *kāraka* Mēntōju.

¹ [It is difficult to reconcile the fact that Rūpadēvī, a lady, is called the 'Sun' of the Vaidumba family. Perhaps Vaidumbāditya is to be taken as a proper name.—H. K. S.]

No. 15 — TIRUVELLARAI INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN

By K V SURESHVANYA Aiyar, B A, Ootacamund*

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on some of the stones forming the margin of the well on the southern side of the Pundarikāksha-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvellarai. This village is at a distance of 12 miles to the north of Trichinopoly and has several interesting ancient monuments. Among them may be mentioned (1) the rock-cut Śiva temple of Jambunātha² called in its inscriptions the Tiruvānaikkal-Perumāṇaḍigal, with an inscribed boulder in front,³ (2) the Viṣṇu temple of Pundarikāksha-Perumāḷ with another rock-cut cave⁴ on the southern side of its first *prākāra*, and (3) the well on which the subjoined inscription is engraved.⁵ Besides the above, there are the ruins of another Śiva temple in that part of the village where the Pallava well is situated. A big *linga* and a large sized Nandi are still to be seen in a field not far from the well.

The stones bearing the record under notice are not in proper order, but as none of them is missing, it has been possible to piece them together and make out the inscription completely. It is in an excellent state of preservation, having been engraved after the stones had been dressed for the purpose. The engraver seems to have taken great care as the record is almost free from any mistakes. The letters are cut deeply and the inscription is written in two sections of two lines each. The language of the record is Tamil prose and verse with an admixture of Sanskrit words and phrases written in Grantha characters.

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve notice. The vertical line to the right of *va* in *sva* reaches the full height of the top letter *sa*. The secondary *v* is written from the right to the left and touches the consonant on the right side only. The secondary *ā* is denoted by a short vertical stroke added to the right of the letter so as to touch it by a small horizontal line at the top. The length of the vowel *ā* and the *ā* of the combined consonant *vā* are as distinctly marked as in the modern characters. *Va* presents an early type. The bottom portion of *du* is drawn out into a flourish as sometimes to completely cover the letter that precedes it. All the *ya*'s occurring in this inscription have a big loop at the beginning. The *ē* symbol

* No. 541 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² The inscriptions on the outer walls of this temple which may be considered not so old as the cave itself, belong to the time of Rājāḷēśarivarman, Parāntaka I and Rājōndra Chōla I (Nos 512 to 514 of 1905). The cave consists of a cell cut into the rock with two niches on either side. Of the two to the right, the first contains an image of Viṣṇu, while the second enshrines the god Ganēśa. In the two niches on the left side are put in stone images of a later date. The front part of the cave may be described as a verandah with four pillars cut out of the same rock.

³ As many as 16 inscriptions have been copied from this boulder (Nos 515 to 530 of 1905). They range in date from the time of a Pallava king whose inscription is partially built in by a modern platform raised in front of the shrine of the goddess, to those of the early Chōla sovereigns Rājāḷēśarivarman, Parakēśarivarman, Parāntaka I and Vikrama Chōla. The texts of 13 of these records have been printed by the late Pandit Natesa Sastrī (*Ind Ant* Vol XXXIV, pp 265 ff).

⁴ Ten inscriptions of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 (Nos 531 to 540) are from this cave, the kings represented being Nandivarman, Rājāḷēśarivarman, Parakēśarivarman, Rājārāja I, and Parakēśarivarman 'who took the head of the Pandya'. One of the inscriptions (No 534 of 1905) dated in the 8th year of a Parakēśarivarman is interesting as it refers to gifts made by the queen of Udayār Anamēṇṇūṇṇār (i.e. the king who died on an elephant's back) to the god Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rukmini of the big temple at Tiruvellarai. At present there is no shrine in the Pundarikāksha-Perumāḷ temple dedicated to Śrī Kṛṣṇa but there is an image of that god found on the outer *gōḍu a*, right of entrance. We cannot be certain if this is the image referred to.

⁵ Nos. 541 and 542 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 are engraved on stones forming the margin of this well.

touches the consonant that follows it. One graphic peculiarity of the record is that the loops of *n* and *ṇ* are fully developed and the consonant *ra* resembles to a great extent the letter *ṇa*. The *pulli* (or *virāma*) is invariably marked by a slightly curved line cut on the top of the letters. It is wrongly marked on *pe* in *peruṅṅināru* (l. 2, section 1) and on *u* in *vaimmiṇēy* (end of l. 2, section 2). The Sanskrit words and letters that occur in the inscription are *śasti* and *śrī* at the beginning of the record, *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, *Dantivarmanu* and *Pallavatilatakulōrbhava* in line 1, *ratsh* of *ratshippār* in line 2 and *śrī* at the commencement of the Tamil verse in section 2, line 1.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the well called Mārppidugu-peruṅṅināru by one Kamban-Araiyān, the younger brother of a certain Visaiyanallūlān of Ālambākkam. The work was commenced in the 4th year of Dantivarman, who belonged to the Pallavatilata (°tilaka) family which is said to have sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, and completed in his 5th year. The capacity of the well accounts for the time taken in its construction. There are four entrances leading into the well and they are so constructed as to give it the shape of the *śastika* symbol 卐¹. The Tamil verse in section 2 is written in the *Āsīryaviruttam* metre, each line containing six feet (*śīr*). It declares that no object in this world is permanent, that life is sure to decay, and that, therefore, if one commands wealth, he must, after taking what is required for his maintenance, utilise the remainder in doing work of charity.

An inscription dated in the 8th year (=A.D. 1262-3) of the Hoysala king Virā-Rāmanāthadēva found on the margin of the same well records that a merchant (*vīṇiyan*) repaired it as it had suffered considerable damage from floods and other causes². The same record refers to the well as having been built by a merchant. In the 13th century A.D. the builder of the well was believed to have been a private individual and not a chief, as the title *Araiyān* appended to his name would lead one to believe³. It is also interesting to learn that repairs were executed to it in A.D. 1262. It was perhaps then that the inscribed stones got out of order.

The proper names that occur in this record are of special interest. Ālambākkam may be identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 miles from Lālgudi on the road to Ariyalūr. Dantivarmamangalam and Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam were its other names in ancient times, and it was situated in Poygai-nādu which was a subdivision of Rājēndrasingavalanādu.⁴ Tiruvellarai is said to have been a village in Vadavainādu, a district of Rājāśraya-valanādu⁵. The members of the village assembly of Tiruvellarai are referred to in two records of the Chōla king Rājārāja I found in the Rājārājēśvara

¹ From each of the entrances, a flight of steps leads to the interior of the well. Midway between the entrance and the bottom of the well, on what may be described as the portal, is a piece of sculpture which was, in all probability, carved at the time when the well was constructed and hence synchronous with it. There are thus four groups of sculptures in all, on the four sides. The principal figures on the northern side are Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a pedestal with attendant deities, flanked on either side by a *nandi*. A number of female figures, probably the *saptamātṛas*, are found on the southern side. With an attendant deity on the right side, the god Yōga Narasimha is figured on the eastern side in a sitting posture with legs folded and crossed and with something like a cloth passing round them. This group is flanked on the left by a lion while to the right is a *yaḷi*. I am not able to identify the images on the western side. Here are the figures of a warrior armed with a sword, a horse and a few other images.

² No. 542 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, p. 63, para. graph 4.

³ In spite of this belief it is not impossible that the builder Kamban Araiyān was a chief who belonged to the Mnttaraiyan family.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909-10*, Part II, paragraphs 14 and 25.

⁵ *South Ind. Insers.* Vol. II, Part III, p. 338.

temple at Tanjore and were required to supply two *brahmachārins* as temple-servants and two other persons as watchmen to that temple¹

The well Mārppidugu-perunginaru should have been named either after the reigning king or a local chief under him. That it was not called after the builder is evident from the fact that he bore a different name. Nor do we know that Dantivarman had the surname Mārppidugu. It may be pointed out here that there was in ancient times a family of kings called Muttaraiyan ruling over a portion of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and a part at least of the Pudukkōttai State.² Some of the members of this family had for their surnames Perumbidugu, Vidēvidugu, etc. Śendalai, one of the places where their inscriptions have been found, is not far off from Ālambākkam whence the builder of the Tiruvellarai well hails. It may further be noticed that at Ālambākkam, there was, according to its inscriptions a big tank called Mārppidug-ēri. It is just possible that both the Mārppidug-ēri of Ālambākkam and the Mārppidugu-perunginaru of Tiruvellarai came into existence at the same time and were named after the same person who, to judge from the similarity of the name, might have been a member of the Muttaraiyan family and a feudatory of the Pallava king Dantivarman of our record.

From the Tamil work *Nāḷāyiraprabandham*, it appears that the Vishnu temple at Tiruvellarai was in existence from an early period,³ as the Vaishnava saints Periyālvār and Tirumangai-Ālvār composed hymns in its praise. The latter saint mentions the village not less than four times in his compositions and there is not much doubt that one of these references, viz. *Vellaraiyul kallaramēl*⁴ has to be taken to denote the rock-cut cave in the Pundarikāksha-Perumāl temple. From the fact that Tirumangai-Ālvār mentions in his hymn on Paramēśvaravinnagar some of the battles where the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla gained victories over the Pāndya sovereign and refers to another Pallava king Vayiramēgan, it has been surmised that the Ālvār was a contemporary of the latter and lived in the period immediately following the reign of the former whose achievements were fresh in the saint's mind.⁵ Tirumangai-Ālvār⁶ has thus been assigned to the 3rd quarter of the 8th century A. D. Accordingly, the cave in the Pundarikāksha-Perumāl temple probably came into existence before that time. One of the earliest inscriptions in the cave belongs to the time of a Pallava tilaka king Nandivarman. This record mentions a certain Viśaiyanallūḷān, who is perhaps the same as that Viśaiyanallūḷān whose younger brother was Kamban-Araiyān, the builder of the well at Tiruvellarai. If this be the case, it may be concluded that Nandivarman was perhaps the predecessor of Dantivarman. At any rate he could not be far removed in point of time from the other.

¹ *Ibid* pp 326 and 338

² Inscriptions of this family have been found at Śendalai and Tiruchchatturai in the Tanjore District where there was a village called Vidēvidugu eaturvēmangalam. Tirumaiyam and Malakkōyil in the Pudukkōttai State also contain their records. The cave at Nārttāmalaī was excavated by the son of Vidēvidugu Muttaraiyan. A weight called *Vidēvidugu kal* was in use at Uyyakkondān-Tirumalaī near Trichinopoly.

³ From some of these stanzas, it appears that the god in the Vishnu temple was in a standing posture in ancient times also.

⁴ *Minnaiy iru-kudurai Vellaraiyul kallaramēl* occurs in the *Peryatirumoli* of Tirumangai-Ālvār.

⁵ Above, Vol VIII, pp 293-4

⁶ One other king referred to by this saint is the ancient Chōla Kō-Chchengannān who is mentioned both in the large Leyden and the Tiruvālangādu plates. Tamil literature speaks of this sovereign as having fought with the Chēra Kanaikkāl Irumborai whom he eventually took prisoner and confined in a place called Kudavāyil-kōttam (*Puram* 74). The poet Poygaiyār celebrates the valour of this king in his *Kaṭavali-nārpadu*. *Puram* 48 and 49 contain stanzas composed by the same author in honour of another Chēra king Kō-Kkōdai māraṇ who, if not identical with Kanaikkāl Irumborai, must have been a near relation of his and a contemporary of the Chōla Kō-Chchengannān. It is worthy of note that the *Peryapurānam* refers to the extensive building operations of this ancient Chōla king. The Saiva saint Tiruñāṇasambandar alludes to the construction of the temple at Tiruvaiganmādkkōyil and other places by the same king.

King Dantivarman of the subjoined record is stated to have been born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. In editing the Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman-Mahārāja, Mr Venkayya remarked that he was perhaps the immediate successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and added in a note that his successors probably spoke of themselves as belonging to the "family of the Pallavatilaka." And *Pallavatilaka* is a shortened form of *Pallavakulatilaka* which was actually borne as a title by Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription¹. Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a usurper as we know from the Kāśā-kudi plates. Subsequent kings (there are at least two known so far) claiming descent in the Pallava line, trace their ancestry apparently to Dantivarman of the Triplicane inscription as evidenced by the epithet *Pallavatilaka-kulōdbhava* prefixed to their names. The application of this epithet to the king of the present record necessitates our distinguishing him from Dantivarman-Mahārāja, "the ornament of the Pallava race." That such a distinction has to be made is also evident from the fact that this is not the only inscription which introduces this family. Not less than five records have, so far, been found where members belonging to the Pallavatilaka family are mentioned,² and it is therefore difficult to suppose that all the writers did not intend any difference between the terms *Pallavakula* and *Pallavatilahakula*.

From the Tiruvālangādīn grant of Rājendra-Chōla I, we know that Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I (A. D. 907—947) fought with the Ganga-Pallava Aparājita³. This king may be supposed to be the son of Nripatngavikramavarman and his successor. In two records of the 18th and 22nd years of Nripatunga, Adigal-Kamban-Māṛambāvai, queen of Nandivarman of the Pallavatilaka family makes grants and there is a much damaged inscription in the Airāvateśvara temple at Niyamam apparently dated during the reign of a Chōla king also registering a grant made by the same queen⁴. From these facts it may be concluded that, of the two kings of the Pallavatilaka family hitherto known, Nandivarman was either a contemporary of the Ganga-Pallava Nripatngavikramavarman or lived prior to his time by a few years. As Dantivarman of the subjoined inscription has been shown to be closer in point of time to this Nandivarman, he may be assigned roughly to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

TEXT

First Section

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Bhāradvāja-gōtrattīṅ vaḷi-ttonṛiya Pallava-tīlata⁵-kulōrbhavan
Dantivarmanmarḷu yāndu nāṅāvāḍ=eduttnkkondu [ai]ndāvadu mūṟṟuvittāṅ
Ālamb[ā]kka-Viśaiyanallūlān
- 2 tambu Kamban Arayan Tiruvellarai-Ttēnnūr=pperun-ginaṟu [||*] Idan piyar
Mārppidugu-[pe]rungaṅṅaṅṅadu |— Idu ratshippar⁶ ivv=ūr-Mūvāiratt-^{6a}
eḷunūṟṟavarman |—

Second Section

- 1 Śrī [||*] Kandār kānāv=ulagattir=kādalsēydu nilādēy⁷ pandēy⁷ Paraman
padaitta nāl pārttu nūṟṟu nāyādēy⁷
- 2 tandār⁸ mūppu vand-mnnai-ttalara=ohcheydu nilāmnnn=undēll⁹=nndu mikkaḍu
ulagamm=ariya [v]aiaminēy⁷

¹ Above, Vol VIII p 292

² Nos 16 of 1899, 300 and 303 of 1901 and 537 and 541 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

³ *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, p 66, paragraph 10 ⁴ *Ibid* for 1898-9 p 7, paragraph 18.

⁵ *Tīlata* is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *tīlaka* ⁶ Read *rakshi*, ^{6a} Read *Mūvāy*.

⁷ In these four instances the final *y* seems to have been inserted to represent the full sound produced in pronouncing the words

⁸ *Tandu* is a variant of the Sanskrit *danda*

⁹ The doubling of the consonant *l* is a mistake. The first of them has to be deleted

TRANSLATION.

First Section

Hail ' Prosperity ' In the fourth year (of the reign) of Dantivarman who was born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gotra, Kamban Arayan, the younger brother of Viśaiyanallūlan of Ālambākkam, commenced (to build) the big well at Tennūr¹ in Tiruvellarai and completed (it) in the fifth (year of the same reign) Mārppidugu-perunginaṟu is the name of this (well) The three-thousand and seven hundred² of this village shall protect this (charity).

Second Section.

Prosperity ' Without being (passionately) attached to this world where men seen (today) are not seen (tomorrow), without giving (yourself) up to despair looking for the (final) day appointed by the Creator, and before your (limbs) become weak at the appearance of old age with its (appendage of a) stick, if you have (wealth) maintain (yourself) and devote (what remains to charity) so that (all) the world may know (it).

No 16—NEW SPECIAL TABLES FOR THE COMPUTATION OF HINDU DATES

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The new Special Tables which I publish now are intended to supplement the General Tables in the same way as the old Special Tables do, which were published in Vol I above, p 450 ff, i.e. they are intended to test, according to one of the principal *siddhāntas* named at the head of the several Tables, the approximate result calculated previously by the General Tables To these new Tables the remark in § 4, p 403 *l. c.* applies also "The General Table is to be used first, and only when by that table the end of the *tithi* falls very near the beginning of the day, and the week day comes out in error by one day only, need the Special Tables for the several *siddhāntas* be tried to see if one of them will furnish the desired result"

The plan on which the new Tables have been constructed is the same as in the General Tables, as far as their object, the highest possible degree of accuracy, will allow Therefore the new Tables (1) refer throughout to mean sunrise at Lankā, not, as the old Special Tables do, to the beginning of the Solar year, (2) they furnish the quantities on which the *tithi* depends, in decimals of the circle and not in degrees, minutes and seconds as is the case in the old Tables. These innovations render the working of the new Tables very easy and almost mechanical

The Special Tables differ from the General Tables in two points, (1) They contain three columns headed *a*, *b*, *c* instead of the two in the General Tables headed '*Tithi*' and '*☾*'s anomaly *a* denotes mean distance of Sun and Moon, expressed in five decimals of the circle By Tables XVIII, XIV, XV *a* can be converted into *tithas*, *ghaṭikās*, and *palas*, *b* denotes the mean anomaly of the moon in four decimals of the circle, and *c* the mean anomaly of the Sun, also in

¹ The southern part of Tiruvellarai was probably called Tennūr in ancient times

² The signatory in one of the inscriptions of Rājārāja I (A D 985 1013) found at Māmallapuram in the Chingleput District is a certain Tiruvadigal Mānikanthan, a native of Tiruvel[*]lāraṅ He calls himself as one of the 3,700 of that village (*South Ind Inscr* Vol I, p 65) This seems to indicate that at an early period there was a body of 3,700 persons at Tiruvellarai to whom later members traced their descent Reference to another such body of men is found in the expression *Tillai mūvāyirarar*

four decimals (2) To the sum of *a* (mean distance of Sun and Moon) *two* corrections (equations) must be applied, while in the General Tables only one equation is needed. The arguments of these equations are the sums of *b* and *c*, respectively, and they are to be looked out in the tables of equations under the several *siddhāntas*. In order to calculate the value of the equation for an argument not entered in the table, but lying between two table values, a column headed $\Delta 10$ has been inserted in the middle of these tables, which gives the increase or decrease of the equation for a difference of ten in the argument.

I now proceed to illustrate the working of the new Tables by a few examples.

First example—Let it be proposed to verify the date Kali-Yuga 4198, Chaitra *su di 2 ravan*, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. We first calculate the date according to the General Tables, and write down the calculation in the proper form (see above, Vol I p 410)

4100 K Y	(1)	5 58	111	Ind \odot	=20 43
98 years	(4)	399	59	Ind <i>su di 2</i>	=22 43
4198 K.Y	(5)	9 57	170		
15th sol Chaitra	(4)	22.52	593		
	(2)	2 09	763		
		eq 763=0			
		2 09			

Result. On the Monday (2) in question, the third *tithi* was running; it commenced on the preceding day (Sunday), about $5\frac{1}{2}$ *ghatikās* before mean sunrise. Now in order to calculate the result according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, proceed as follows. Look out K Y 4100 in 11st century K Y in table I, 98 years in table II, and 15th Chaitra in table XIII (which is the same for all Siddhāntas) and sum up the quantities in the several columns (rejecting integers) thus—

	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
41st century	(1)	18563	6157	7860
98 years	(4)	13299	571	9999
15th sol Chaitra	(1)	75053	5932	9500
K Y 4198, 15 Chaitra	(2)	6915	2660	7353

Now find the equation for *b* 2660 from table III, *viz* 5, and the equation for *c*=7353 from table IV, *viz* 3, then add these equations to *a*, *viz* 6915+5+3=6923. Table XVII gives 6667=*su di 2*, the difference from *a* just found, 6923-6667=256, this is according to tables XIV and XV equal to 4 *ghatikās* (*a*=226) and 32 *palas* (*a*=30). Therefore, according to the Sūrya Siddhānta, the 2nd *tithi* ended 4 *ghatikās* 32 *palas* before mean sunrise. This result is very nearly right, and we may in most cases rest satisfied with it. If the highest degree of accuracy be required we subtract the increase of *a b c* for 4 *ghatikās*, 2 *palas* from tables XIV and XV to the result found before, *viz* from 6915 22—

4 <i>ghatikās</i>	226	24	2	6915	2660	7353
32 <i>palas</i>	30	3	—	-256	27	2
	256	27	2	6659	2633	7351

Equation for $b=2633$ is 4, equation c for 7351 is 3, the sum of both equations=7 added to 6659 makes 6666, which falls short of 6667 by 1. Therefore the end of the *tithi* occurred one *pala* after the moment calculated or 4 *ghatikās* 31 *palas* before mean sunrise at Lankā

Second example —Computing the date K Y 4276 Bhādrapada *su. dr* 13 *ravau*, our calculation by the General Tables stands thus (*l. c.* p 411) —

4200 K Y.	(1)	2 19	699	Ind	●	=26 54
76 years	(5)	1 27	454	Ind	su	dr. 13= 9 54
	(6)	3 46	153			
3rd Āśvina	(2)	8·83	661			
	(1)	12 29	814			
eq 814	=	0 03				
		(1)	12 32=	Sunday, <i>su. dr.</i> 13		

Let it now be required to calculate the end of the 13th *tithi* according to the Arya-Siddhānta. By the General Tables we find that this moment occurred about 40 *ghatikās* (=0 68 *tithi*, table IV) after mean sunrise at Lankā. The Tables for Ārya-Siddhānta furnish the following data —

4200 K Y	(1)	7236	1988	7848
76 years	(5)	4208	4555	9
3 Āśvina	(2)	28266	6615	4271
	(1)	39710	3158	2128
40 <i>ghatikās</i>		2257	242	18
		41967	3400	2146

equation b for 3400 is 215, equation c for 2146 is 1178, their sum 1393 added to a 41967=43360. The difference from 43333, the value of 13th *tithi*, is a 27=25 *palas*, by which the end of the *tithi* occurred before the moment calculated. The exact time is therefore 39 *ghatikās* 35 *palas* after mean sunrise at Lankā

Possible error —As in the tables fractions are neglected or counted as 1, according as they are less or larger than $\frac{1}{2}$, the absolute error in every quantity may amount to ± 0.5 . Usually the plus and the minus of the different figures will compensate for each other, but in extreme cases the neglected fractions may sum up to ± 2.5 or ± 3.5 , according as 5 or 7 a 's are summed up. This error, in time, would be 2, 7 and 3, 7 *palas*, or 1 minute 5 seconds and 1 m 29 s, respectively.

SŪRYA-SIDDHĀNTA

TABLE I—For centuries (of the Kali-Yuga)

cent	w	a	b	c	sol corr	
						gh p
30	2	46261	2028	7854	+ 1	10
31	2	34960	7891	7857	— 6	18
32	2	23659	3754	7861	—13	46
33	2	12348	9616	7864	—21	13
34	2	1057	5479	7868	—28	41
35	1	86370	979	7843	+23	52
36	1	75063	6842	7847	+16	24
37	1	63767	2705	7850	+ 8	56
38	1	52466	8568	7853	+ 1	29
39	1	41165	4431	7857	— 5	59
40	1	29864	294	7860	—13	27
41	1	18563	6157	7863	—20	54
42	1	7262	2020	7867	—28	22
43	0	92574	7520	7842	+24	10
44	0	81273	3383	7846	+16	43
45	0	69972	9246	7849	+ 9	15
46	0	58671	5109	7853	+ 1	47
47	0	47370	972	7856	— 5	40
48	0	36069	6835	7859	—13	8
49	0	24768	2693	7863	—20	36
50	6	10080	8198	7838	+31	57

For Sūrya-Siddhānta with *bija* the last two figures of b must be augmented by 42 in 4500 K Y
 " 43 " 4600 "
 " 43 " 4700 "
 " 44 " 4800 "
 " 45 " 4900 "
 " 46 " 5000 "

For mean Distance (—☉) add 2006 to a

For mean Longitude of the Sun add to c
 2145 between 3000 and 3300
 2146 " 3400 " 4400
 2147 " 4500 " 5000

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2206 to c , and subtract tenth part of equation c

TABLE II—*Sūrya-Siddhānta* Years of the century

year	to	a	b	c	corr	year	to	a	b	c	corr	
0	0	0	0	0	gh 0	50	0	44319	7931	2	gh -3	p 44
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15 32	51	1	80356	395	9995	+11	47
2	2	72013	4928	9986	+31 3	52	2	16362	2860	9987	+27	12
3	4	11106	7756	6	-13 25	53	4	55755	5687	8	-17	10
4	5	17412	220	9999	+2 6	54	5	91762	8151	1	-1	38
5	6	33419	2684	9992	+17 38	55	6	27768	616	9994	+13	54
6	0	19426	5148	9985	+33 9	56	0	63775	3080	9987	+29	25
7	2	58818	7976	5	-11 19	57	2	3168	5907	7	-15	3
8	3	94825	440	9998	+4 12	58	3	39174	8371	0	-0	28
9	4	30831	2904	9991	+19 44	59	4	75181	836	9993	+16	0
10	5	66838	5368	9984	+35 15	60	5	11187	3300	9986	+31	31
11	0	6231	8196	4	-9 13	61	0	50580	6127	6	-12	57
12	1	12237	660	9997	+6 18	62	1	86587	8591	9999	+2	34
13	2	78211	3121	9990	+21 50	63	2	22593	1056	9992	+18	6
14	4	17637	5951	10	-22 39	64	3	58600	3520	9985	+33	37
15	5	53643	8416	3	-7 7	65	5	97993	6347	5	-10	51
16	6	89650	880	9996	+8 24	66	6	33999	8811	9998	+4	41
17	0	25657	3344	9989	+23 56	67	0	70006	1276	9991	+20	12
18	2	65049	6171	9	-20 32	68	1	6012	3740	9984	+35	44
19	3	1056	8636	2	-5 1	69	3	45405	6567	4	-8	45
20	4	37062	1100	9995	+10 30	70	4	81412	9031	9997	+6	47
21	5	73069	3564	9988	+26 2	71	5	17418	1496	9990	+22	18
22	0	12462	6391	8	-16 26	72	0	56811	4323	10	-22	10
23	1	48468	8856	1	-2 55	73	1	92818	6787	3	-6	39
24	2	84475	1320	9994	+12 37	74	2	28824	9251	9996	+8	53
25	3	20482	3784	9987	+28 8	75	3	64831	1716	9989	+24	24
26	5	59374	6611	7	-16 20	76	5	4224	4543	9	-20	4
27	6	95881	9076	0	-0 49	77	6	40230	7007	2	-4	33
28	0	31887	1540	9993	+14 43	78	0	76237	9471	9995	+10	59
29	1	67894	4004	9986	+30 14	79	1	12243	1936	9988	+26	30
30	3	7287	6831	6	-14 14	80	3	51636	4763	8	-17	58
31	4	43293	9296	9999	+1 17	81	4	87643	7227	1	-2	27
32	5	79300	1760	9992	+16 49	82	5	23649	9691	9994	+13	5
33	6	15307	4224	9985	+32 20	83	6	59656	2156	9987	+28	36
34	1	54699	7051	6	-12 8	84	1	99049	4983	7	-15	52
35	2	90706	9516	9998	+3 13	85	2	35055	7447	0	-0	21
36	3	26712	1980	9991	+18 55	86	3	71062	9911	9993	+15	11
37	4	62719	4444	9984	+34 26	87	4	7068	2376	9986	+30	42
38	6	2112	7271	5	-10 2	88	6	46461	5203	6	-13	46
39	0	38118	9736	9997	+5 29	89	0	82468	7667	9999	+1	45
40	1	74125	2200	9990	+21 1	90	1	18474	131	9992	+17	17
41	2	10132	4604	9983	+36 32	91	2	54481	2596	9985	+32	49
42	1	49521	7491	1	-7 56	92	4	93874	5423	5	-11	40
43	5	85531	9956	9996	+7 35	93	5	29880	7887	9998	+3	52
44	6	21537	2120	9989	+23 7	94	6	65887	351	9991	+19	23
45	1	60930	5247	10	-21 22	95	0	1893	2816	9984	+34	55
46	2	96937	7711	3	-5 50	96	2	41286	5643	4	-9	34
47	3	32943	176	9995	+9 41	97	3	77293	8107	9997	+5	58
48	4	68950	2640	9988	+25 13	98	4	13299	571	9990	+21	29
49	6	8343	5467	9	-19 16	99	5	49306	3036	9983	+37	1

TABLE IV — *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

Equation c

argument c	equation	Δ 10	equation	argument c
0	604	3 84	604	5000
104	614	3 84	614	4896
208	684	3 84	684	4792
313	724	3 74	724	4687
417	763	3 65	763	4583
521	801	3 65	801	4479
625	839	3 45	839	4375
729	875	3 36	875	4271
833	910	3 17	910	4167
938	943	3 07	943	4062
1042	975	2 88	975	3958
1146	1006	2 69	1006	3854
1250	1034	2 60	1034	3750
1354	1061	2 40	1061	3646
1458	1086	2 11	1086	3542
1562	1108	2 01	1108	3438
1667	1129	1 79	1129	3333
1771	1147	1 54	1147	3229
1875	1163	1 34	1163	3125
1979	1174	1 02	1174	3021
2083	1183	0 86	1183	2917
2187	1197	0 58	1197	2813
2292	1203	0 29	1203	2708
2396	1206	0 20	1206	2604
2500	1208	0	1208	2500

TABLE III — *Sūrya-Siddhānta*

Equation b

argument b	equation	Δ 10	equation	argument b
0	1402	8 92	1402	5000
104	1307	8 83	1495	4896
208	1215	8 74	1587	4792
313	1121	8 64	1678	4687
417	1035	8 54	1767	4583
521	947	8 35	1855	4479
625	861	8 06	1941	4375
729	777	7 78	2025	4271
833	696	7 40	2106	4167
938	619	7 20	2183	4062
1042	546	6 81	2258	3958
1146	473	6 53	2329	3854
1250	407	6 04	2393	3750
1354	344	5 57	2458	3646
1458	286	5 09	2516	3542
1562	233	4 60	2569	3438
1667	185	4 13	2617	3333
1771	142	3 64	2660	3229
1875	104	3 07	2698	3125
1979	72	2 60	2730	3021
2083	45	1 81	2757	2917
2187	25	1 14	2777	2813
2292	10	0 77	2792	2708
2396	2	0 38	2800	2604
2500	0		2804	2500

ĀRYA-SIDDHĀNTA

TABLE V — Centuries of Kali-Yuga

A — Original Ārya-Siddhānta

cent	<i>v</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr	
36	1	76166	6718	7826	gh +15	p 0
37	1	63891	2580	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52615	8442	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41310	4301	7837	— 8	45
40	1	30064	166	7841	—16	40
41	1	19789	6028	7815	—24	35
42	1	7715	1890	7818	—32	30

B — The same with Ialla's corrections

cent	<i>v</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr	
36	1	76166	6718	7826	gh +15	p 0
37	1	63811	2506	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52523	8475	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41201	4353	7837	— 8	45
40	1	29880	232	7841	—16	40
41	1	18558	6110	7844	—24	35
42	1	7236	1988	7848	—32	30
43	0	92528	7504	7824	+19	35
44	0	81206	3383	7828	+11	40
45	0	69884	9261	7832	+ 3	45
46	0	58563	5140	7835	— 4	10
47	0	47241	1018	7840	—12	50
48	0	35919	6896	7843	—20	0
49	0	24597	2775	7847	—27	55
50	6	9890	8291	7823	+24	10

For mean Distance (—○ add 1987 to *a*

For mean Longitude of the Sun add 2167 to *c*

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2227 to *c* and subtract tenth part of equation *c*

TABLE VI—*Ārya-Siddhānta* Years of the Century

year	w	a	b	c	sol corr		year	w	a	b	c	sol corr	
					gh	p						gh	p
0	0	0	0	0		0	50	0	44339	7939	2	— 3	38
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15	31	51	1	80345	101	9995	+11	34
2	2	72013	1928	9986	+31	2	52	2	16312	2868	9988	+27	5
3	4	11405	7756	61	—13	26	53	4	55744	5695	8	—17	24
4	5	47112	220	9999	+ 2	5	54	5	91751	8160	1	— 1	53
5	6	83118	2685	9992	+17	36	55	6	27757	624	9991	+13	39
6	0	19124	5149	9985	+33	7	56	0	63763	3089	9987	+29	10
7	2	58117	7977	5	—11	21	57	2	3156	5916	7	—15	19
8	3	94823	141	9998	+ 4	10	58	3	39162	8380	0	+ 0	12
9	4	30830	2906	9991	+19	41	59	4	75169	845	9993	+15	41
10	5	66836	5370	9984	+35	12	60	5	11175	3309	9986	+31	15
11	0	6223	8197	4	— 9	16	61	0	50568	6136	6	—13	14
12	1	42235	662	9997	+ 6	15	62	1	86574	8601	9999	+ 2	17
13	2	78241	3126	9990	+21	46	63	2	22580	1065	9992	+17	49
14	4	17634	5953	10	—22	43	64	3	58587	3530	9985	+30	20
15	5	53640	8418	3	— 7	11	65	5	97979	6357	5	—11	9
16	6	89616	882	9996	+ 8	20	66	6	33083	3822	9998	+ 4	12
17	0	25653	3347	9989	+23	51	67	0	6992	1286	9991	+19	34
18	2	65015	6174	9	—20	37	68	1	5008	751	9987	+25	25
19	3	1052	8639	2	— 5	6	69	3	15391	6578	1	— 9	1
20	4	37058	1103	9995	+10	25	70	4	81397	9042	9997	+ 6	27
21	5	73064	3567	9988	+25	56	71	5	17401	1507	9990	+21	59
22	0	12457	6395	8	—18	33	72	0	56796	4334	10	—22	30
23	1	48464	8859	1	— 3	1	73	1	92803	6799	3	— 6	59
24	2	84470	1324	9994	+12	30	74	2	28809	9263	9996	+ 8	32
25	3	20476	3788	9987	+28	1	75	3	61816	1727	9989	+24	1
26	5	59869	6615	7	—16	28	76	5	1205	1555	9	—20	25
27	6	95875	9080	0	— 0	56	77	6	40215	7019	2	— 1	51
28	0	31882	1544	9993	+14	35	78	0	76221	9181	9995	+10	37
29	1	67888	4009	9986	+30	6	79	1	12227	1948	9988	+26	9
30	3	7281	6836	7	—11	23	80	3	51620	4775	8	—18	20
31	4	43287	9301	9999	+ 1	9	81	4	87626	7240	1	— 2	49
32	5	79293	1765	9992	+16	10	82	5	23633	9701	9994	+12	42
33	6	15300	4229	9985	+32	11	83	6	59639	2169	9987	+28	11
34	1	54692	7057	6	—12	18	84	1	99032	4996	7	—16	15
35	2	90699	9521	9999	+ 3	13	85	2	35038	7169	0	— 0	14
36	3	26705	1986	9991	+18	45	86	3	71041	9925	9993	+11	47
37	4	62711	4450	9984	+34	16	87	4	7051	2359	9986	+30	19
38	6	2104	7277	5	—10	13	88	6	46443	5217	6	—14	10
39	0	38110	9742	9998	+ 5	19	89	0	82450	7681	9999	+ 1	21
40	1	74117	2206	9990	+20	50	90	1	18156	115	9992	+16	52
41	2	10123	4671	9983	+36	21	91	2	54162	2610	9985	+32	24
42	4	49516	7498	4	— 8	8	92	4	98355	5137	6	—12	5
43	5	85522	9962	9997	+ 7	24	93	5	29561	7902	9993	+ 3	26
44	6	21528	2427	9990	+22	55	94	6	65868	366	9991	+18	57
45	1	60921	5254	10	—21	33	95	0	1874	2830	9984	+34	29
46	2	96927	7719	3	— 6	3	96	2	41267	5658	5	—10	0
47	3	32934	183	9996	+ 9	28	97	3	77273	8123	9997	+ 5	31
48	4	68940	2647	9989	+25	0	98	1	13280	587	9996	+21	2
49	6	8333	5475	9	—19	29	99	5	19286	3551	9983	+36	34

TABLE VIII — *Ārya-Siddhānta* :

Equation c

argument c		equation	$\Delta 10$	equation	argument c	
0	5000	597	3 71	597	0	5000
104	4896	686	3 71	686	9896	5104
208	4792	675	3 61	675	9792	5208
313	4687	713	3 64	713	9687	5313
417	4583	752	3 55	752	9583	5417
521	4479	789	3 46	789	9479	5521
625	4375	825	3 46	825	9375	5625
729	4271	861	3 46	861	9271	5729
833	4167	895	3 26	895	9167	5833
938	4062	929	3 26	929	9062	5938
1042	3958	960	2 98	960	8958	6042
1146	3854	990	2 88	990	8854	6146
1250	3750	1019	2 78	1019	8750	6250
1354	3646	1046	2 59	1046	8646	6354
1458	3542	1071	2 40	1071	8542	6458
1562	3438	1098	2 11	1098	8438	6562
1667	3333	1111	2 02	1111	8333	6667
1771	3229	1132	1 73	1132	8229	6771
1875	3125	1149	1 63	1149	8125	6875
1979	3021	1162	1 25	1162	8021	6979
2083	2917	1171	0 96	1171	7917	7083
2187	2813	1182	0 77	1182	7813	7187
2292	2708	1189	0 66	1189	7708	7292
2396	2604	1193	0 38	1193	7604	7396
2500	2500	1194	0 10	1194	7500	7500

TABLE VII — *Ārya-Siddhānta* :

Equation b

argument b		equation	$\Delta 10$	equation	argument b	
0	5000	1300	8 74	1300	0	5000
104	4896	1299	8 74	1299	9896	5104
208	4792	1298	8 64	1298	9792	5208
313	4687	1118	8 64	1118	9687	5313
417	4583	1029	8 51	1029	9583	5417
521	4479	942	8 35	942	9479	5521
625	4375	857	8 16	857	9375	5625
729	4271	774	7 97	774	9271	5729
833	4167	691	7 68	691	9167	5833
938	4062	626	7 59	626	9062	5938
1042	3958	562	7 10	562	8958	6042
1146	3854	500	6 72	500	8854	6146
1250	3750	443	6 43	443	8750	6250
1354	3646	387	5 95	387	8646	6354
1458	3542	331	5 57	331	8542	6458
1562	3438	275	5 09	275	8438	6562
1667	3333	218	4 61	218	8333	6667
1771	3229	184	4 03	184	8229	6771
1875	3125	152	3 64	152	8125	6875
1979	3021	101	3 07	101	8021	6979
2083	2917	72	2 69	72	7917	7083
2187	2813	46	2 02	46	7813	7187
2292	2708	25	1 41	25	7708	7292
2396	2604	10	0 77	10	7604	7396
2500	2500	2	0 19	2	7500	7500

BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA AND SIDDHĀNTA-SĪRŌMANI

TABLE IX — Centuries of Kali-Yuga

A — BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA

cent	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr
37	1	63840	2581	7857	^{gh} p +13 7
38	1	52564	8469	7861	+ 3 45
39	1	41287	1358	7866	- 5 37
40	1	30010	247	7870	-14 59
41	1	18734	6135	7874	-21 22
42	1	7458	2024	7878	-33 11
43	0	92795	7550	7855	+16 53

B — SIDDHĀNTA-SĪRŌMANI

cent.	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol corr
42	1	7263	1995	7819	^{gh} p -33 13
43	0	92595	7520	7825	+16 55
44	0	81114	3408	7828	+ 7 51
45	0	70033	9296	7832	- 1 52
46	0	58752	5184	7836	-11 14
47	0	47471	1072	7839	-20 37
48	0	36190	6060	7841	-27 59
49	0	24909	2548	7846	-31 22
50	6	10241	8373	7822	-11 16

For the first 6 — 0 and 10
to a

For the first 6 of the Sun add
to a 2161 before 1100 K Y and
2165 from 1100 K Y

For the first 6 of the Sun add
to a 2161 before 1100 K Y and
2165 from 1100 K Y

NOTE — The beginning of the Solar month according to the Brahma-Siddhānta and the Siddhānta-Sīrōmanī is earlier by one day than according to the other Siddhāntas.

TABLE X.—*Brahma-Siddhanta and Siddhanta-Sūtram*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*

NOTE.—The Table is correct for *Siddhanta-Sūtram*, for *Brahma-Siddhanta* the value of *a* is to be augmented by 1 after the year 7, by 2 after 22, by 3 after 37, by 4 after 51, by 5 after 65, by 6 after 79, by 7 after 94.

year	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	cor	year	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	cor	
0	0	0	0	gh	50	0	10750	7099	2	
1	1	36006	2165	9993	+15	51	1	8756	118	9994
2	2	72013	4329	9986	+31	52	2	16373	2373	9957
3	4	11406	7756	6	-13	53	4	5706	5799	5
4	5	47113	221	9999	+ 2	54	5	91773	8107	1
5	6	83220	2685	9992	+17	55	6	27779	129	9993
6	0	19127	5159	9985	+33	56	0	63786	2691	9986
7	2	58820	7977	5	-11	57	2	170	5921	7
8	3	94827	112	9995	+ 1	58	3	39186	8286	0
9	4	30833	2906	9991	+19	59	4	75193	870	9993
10	5	66840	5371	9984	+35	60	5	11199	2315	9955
11	0	6233	8198	4	- 9	61	0	59599	6112	6
12	1	12240	663	9997	+ 6	62	1	5599	8007	9999
13	2	78247	1127	9990	+21	63	2	22606	1671	9992
14	4	17640	7955	10	-22	64	3	58719	273	9984
15	5	53646	819	3	- 7	65	3	9846	173	5
16	6	89653	884	9996	- 8	66	4	24913	8828	9988
17	0	25660	3318	9989	+23	67	0	70419	1992	9991
18	2	65053	6176	9	-20	68	1	6626	1757	9983
19	3	1060	8640	2	- 5	69	3	15417	6584	4
20	4	37066	1105	9995	+10	70	4	81426	9649	9997
21	5	73073	3569	9988	+25	71	5	17133	1513	9990
22	0	12466	6397	8	-18	72	0	56826	1311	10
23	1	48473	8861	1	- 3	73	1	82832	6835	3
24	2	84480	1326	9994	+12	74	2	28339	3270	9996
25	3	20487	3790	9987	+27	75	3	64846	1733	9989
26	5	59880	6618	7	-16	76	5	1239	1502	9
27	6	95886	9082	0	- 1	77	6	40246	7026	2
28	0	31893	1517	9993	+11	78	0	70253	9191	9995
29	1	67900	4011	9986	+29	79	1	12260	1955	9988
30	3	7293	6839	6	-11	80	3	51652	1783	7
31	4	43300	9303	9999	+ 0	81	4	87659	7247	1
32	5	79306	1768	9992	+16	82	5	23666	9712	9994
33	6	15313	4232	9985	+31	83	6	59677	2176	9987
34	1	51706	7060	5	-12	84	1	99066	5004	7
35	2	90713	9524	9998	+ 2	85	2	35072	7468	0
36	3	26720	1989	9991	+18	86	3	71079	9933	9993
37	4	62726	4453	9984	+33	87	4	7086	2397	9986
38	6	2119	7281	4	-10	88	6	46489	5225	6
39	0	38126	9745	9997	+ 4	89	0	82186	7689	9999
40	1	74133	2210	9990	+20	90	1	18492	154	9992
41	2	10140	4674	9983	+35	91	2	54499	2618	9985
42	4	49533	7502	3	- 8	92	4	93892	5416	5
43	5	85540	9966	9996	+ 6	93	5	29899	7010	9998
44	6	21546	2431	9989	+22	94	6	65906	375	9991
45	1	60939	5258	10	-22	95	0	1912	2839	9984
46	2	96946	7723	2	- 6	96	2	11396	5667	1
47	3	32953	187	9995	+ 8	97	3	77312	8131	9997
48	4	68960	2652	9988	+24	98	4	13319	596	9990
49	6	8353	5479	9	-20	99	6	49326	3060	9983

TABLE XII — *Brahma-Siddhanta and Siddhanta-Srōtram.*

EQUATION

argument	equation	argument	equation	argument	equation
0	5000	0	601	0	5000
104	4896	9896	595	9896	5104
208	4792	9792	525	9792	5208
313	4687	9687	455	9687	5313
417	4583	9583	385	9583	5417
521	4479	9479	315	9479	5521
625	4375	9375	245	9375	5625
729	4271	9271	175	9271	5729
833	4167	9167	105	9167	5833
938	4062	9062	35	9062	5938
1042	3958	8958	307	8958	6042
1146	3854	8854	237	8854	6146
1250	3750	8750	167	8750	6250
1354	3646	8646	97	8646	6354
1458	3542	8542	27	8542	6458
1562	3438	8438	221	8438	6562
1667	3333	8333	151	8333	6667
1771	3229	8229	81	8229	6771
1875	3125	8125	11	8125	6875
1979	3021	8021	41	8021	6979
2083	2917	7917	115	7917	7083
2187	2813	7813	86	7813	7187
2292	2708	7708	58	7708	7292
2396	2604	7604	38	7604	7396
2500	2500	7500	10	7500	7500

TABLE XI — *Brahma-Siddhanta and Siddhanta-Srōtram.*

EQUATION

argument	equation	argument	equation	argument	equation
0	5000	0	1395	0	5000
104	4896	9896	1486	9896	5104
208	4792	9792	1578	9792	5208
313	4687	9687	1668	9687	5313
417	4583	9583	1757	9583	5417
521	4479	9479	1848	9479	5521
625	4375	9375	1929	9375	5625
729	4271	9271	2012	9271	5729
833	4167	9167	2093	9167	5833
938	4062	9062	2171	9062	5938
1042	3958	8958	2244	8958	6042
1146	3854	8854	2316	8854	6146
1250	3750	8750	2389	8750	6250
1354	3646	8646	2464	8646	6354
1458	3542	8542	2538	8542	6458
1562	3438	8438	2610	8438	6562
1667	3333	8333	2684	8333	6667
1771	3229	8229	2757	8229	6771
1875	3125	8125	2831	8125	6875
1979	3021	8021	2904	8021	6979
2083	2917	7917	2978	7917	7083
2187	2813	7813	3051	7813	7187
2292	2708	7708	3125	7708	7292
2396	2604	7604	3200	7604	7396
2500	2500	7500	3275	7500	7500

TABLE XIII

For the months and days

1			2			3			4			5			6		
CHAITRA OR PRECEDING YEAR			VAISHAKA			JYAISHTHA			ASHADHA			SRAYANA			BHADRAPADA		
day	w	c	day	w	c	day	w	c	day	w	c	day	w	c	day	w	c
0	2	88271	0	4	89841	0	3	99793	0	1	1615	0	0	8185	0	3	2491
1	3	91638	1	5	93227	1	4	98203	1	2	1613	1	1	11541	1	4	2519
2	4	95011	2	6	96614	2	5	10390	2	3	1670	2	2	11928	2	5	2516
3	5	98384	3	0	0	3	6	4976	3	4	1697	3	3	18314	3	6	2571
4	6	10175	4	1	3986	4	7	8362	4	5	1725	4	4	21700	4	7	2601
5	0	5181	5	2	6773	5	8	11749	5	6	1752	5	5	25087	5	8	2628
6	1	8569	6	3	10149	6	9	15135	6	7	1780	6	6	28473	6	9	2656
7	2	11956	7	4	13545	7	0	18521	7	8	1807	7	0	31859	7	0	2683
8	3	15342	8	5	16952	8	1	21907	8	9	1834	8	1	35246	8	1	2710
9	4	18728	9	6	20358	9	2	25294	9	0	1862	9	2	38632	9	2	2738
10	5	22115	10	0	23701	10	3	28650	10	1	1889	10	3	42018	10	3	2765
11	6	25501	11	1	27096	11	4	32006	11	2	1916	11	4	45405	11	4	2793
12	0	28887	12	2	30477	12	5	35433	12	3	1944	12	5	48791	12	5	2820
13	1	32274	13	3	33863	13	6	38830	13	4	1971	13	6	52177	13	6	2847
14	2	35660	14	4	37249	14	0	42235	14	5	1999	14	0	55563	14	0	2875
15	3	39046	15	5	40636	15	1	45612	15	6	2026	15	1	58950	15	1	2902
16	4	42432	16	6	44022	16	2	48588	16	0	2053	16	2	62336	16	2	2929
17	5	45819	17	0	47403	17	3	51974	17	1	2081	17	3	65722	17	3	2957
18	6	49205	18	1	50795	18	4	55360	18	2	2108	18	4	69109	18	4	2984
19	0	52591	19	2	54181	19	5	59745	19	3	2135	19	5	72495	19	5	3011
20	1	55977	20	3	57567	20	6	62543	20	4	2163	20	6	75881	20	6	3038
21	2	59364	21	4	60954	21	0	65930	21	5	2190	21	0	79268	21	5	3066
22	3	62750	22	5	64340	22	1	69316	22	6	2218	22	1	82654	22	6	3094
23	4	66137	23	6	67726	23	2	72702	23	0	2245	23	2	86040	23	0	3121
24	5	69523	24	0	71113	24	3	76089	24	1	2272	24	3	89427	24	1	3148
25	6	72909	25	1	74509	25	4	79475	25	2	2300	25	4	92813	25	2	3176
26	0	76296	26	2	77885	26	5	82861	26	3	2327	26	5	96199	26	3	3203
27	1	79682	27	3	81272	27	6	86248	27	4	2354	27	6	99586	27	4	3231
28	2	83068	28	4	84658	28	0	89634	28	5	2382	28	5	102960	28	5	3258
29	3	86455	29	5	86044	29	1	91020	29	6	2409	29	6	106334	29	6	3285
30	4		30	6	91431	30	2	96406	30	0	2437	30	0	110708	30	0	3313
											2464						

TABLE XIII

For the months and days

7 8 9 10 11 12

ΑΒΥΣΣΑ ΜΑΡΓΑΣΙΤΑ ΠΑΥΣΙΑ ΜΑΧΗΤΑ ΠΗΛΙΟΥΣΑ

7		8		9		10		11		12		
day	α	β	α	β	α	β	α	β	α	β	γ	
0	18168	5826	23083	6776	21672	7664	8188	6671	8713	7117	9001	8268
1	31493	5889	26469	7159	28059	8027	8531	6680	9076	7474	9063	8295
2	24879	6252	29855	7503	31445	8390	8914	6768	9439	7362	926	8323
3	28266	6615	33242	7885	34831	8753	9277	6775	9862	7529	689	8450
4	31653	6978	36629	8228	38218	9116	9640	6790	1021	7566	1052	8576
5	35038	7341	40014	8591	41604	9479	9987	6790	1052	7566	1113	8701
6	38425	7704	43401	8954	44990	9842	10491	6817	1083	7611	1176	8826
7	41811	8066	46787	9317	48377	10204	10978	6814	1113	7618	1241	8951
8	45197	8429	50173	9680	51763	10567	11466	6822	1143	7666	1306	9076
9	48584	8792	53560	10043	55149	10930	12123	6829	1173	7691	1371	9201
10	51970	9155	56946	10406	58535	11293	12680	6837	1203	7718	1436	9326
11	55356	9518	60332	10769	61922	11656	13237	6834	1233	7745	1501	9451
12	58743	9881	63719	11131	65308	12019	13794	6831	1263	7772	1566	9576
13	62129	10244	67105	11494	68694	12382	14351	6828	1293	7800	1631	9701
14	65515	10607	70491	11857	72081	12745	14908	6825	1323	7827	1696	9826
15	68902	10970	73878	12220	75467	13108	15465	6822	1353	7854	1761	9951
16	72288	11333	77264	12583	78853	13471	16022	6819	1383	7881	1826	10076
17	75674	11696	80650	12946	82240	13834	16579	6816	1413	7908	1891	10201
18	79061	12059	84036	13309	85626	14197	17136	6813	1443	7935	1956	10326
19	82447	12422	87423	13673	89013	14560	17693	6810	1473	7962	2021	10451
20	85833	12785	90809	14037	92399	14923	18250	6807	1503	7989	2086	10576
21	89220	13147	94195	14401	95785	15286	18807	6804	1533	8016	2151	10701
22	92606	13510	97582	14765	99171	15649	19364	6801	1563	8043	2216	10826
23	95992	13873	100968	15129	102558	16012	19921	6798	1593	8070	2281	10951
24	99378	14236	104354	15493	105944	16375	20478	6795	1623	8097	2346	11076
25	102765	14599	107740	15857	109330	16738	21035	6792	1653	8124	2411	11201
26	106151	14962	111126	16221	112716	17101	21592	6789	1683	8151	2476	11326
27	109537	15325	114512	16585	116102	17464	22149	6786	1713	8178	2541	11451
28	112924	15688	117898	16949	119488	17827	22706	6783	1743	8205	2606	11576
29	116310	16051	121284	17313	122874	18190	23263	6780	1773	8232	2671	11701
30	119696	16414	124670	17677	126260	18553	23820	6777	1803	8259	2736	11826

TABLE XV—For Palas

palas	a	b	palas	a	b
1	1	0	31	29	3
2	2	0	32	30	3
3	3	0	33	31	3
4	4	0	34	32	3
5	5	0	35	33	3
6	6	1	36	34	4
7	7	1	37	35	4
8	8	1	38	36	4
9	9	1	39	37	4
10	10	1	40	38	4
11	10	1	41	39	4
12	11	1	42	39	4
13	12	1	43	40	4
14	13	1	44	41	4
15	14	1	45	42	4
16	15	2	46	43	5
17	16	2	47	44	5
18	17	2	48	45	5
19	18	2	49	46	5
20	19	2	50	47	5
21	20	3	51	48	5
22	21	3	52	49	5
23	22	3	53	50	5
24	23	3	54	51	5
25	23	3	55	52	5
26	24	3	56	53	6
27	25	3	57	54	6
28	26	3	58	55	6
29	27	3	59	56	6
30	28	3	60	57	6

TABLE XIV—For Ghatikads

gh	a	b	c	gh	a	b	c
1	56	6	0	31	1750	187	14
2	113	12	0	32	1806	194	15
3	169	18	1	33	1862	200	15
4	226	24	2	34	1919	206	16
5	282	30	3	35	1975	212	16
6	339	36	3	36	2032	218	16
7	395	43	4	37	2089	221	17
8	451	48	4	38	2145	230	17
9	508	54	4	39	2201	236	18
10	561	60	5	40	2257	242	18
11	621	66	5	41	2314	248	19
12	677	73	5	42	2370	251	19
13	731	79	6	43	2427	260	20
14	790	85	6	44	2483	266	20
15	847	91	7	45	2540	272	21
16	903	97	7	46	2596	278	21
17	959	103	8	47	2653	281	21
18	1016	109	8	48	2709	290	22
19	1072	115	9	49	2765	296	22
20	1129	121	9	50	2822	302	23
21	1185	127	9	51	2878	308	23
22	1242	133	10	52	2935	314	24
23	1297	139	10	53	2991	321	24
24	1354	145	11	54	3048	327	25
25	1411	151	11	55	3094	333	25
26	1467	157	12	56	3151	339	26
27	1524	163	12	57	3207	345	26
28	1580	169	13	58	3273	351	26
29	1637	175	13	59	3339	357	27
30	1691	181	14	60	3386	363	27

TABLE XIII
(Continued from p 177)

13

CHAITRA

day	10	a	b	c
0	3	24950	488	9089
1	4	27646	651	9117
2	5	31033	1214	9144
3	6	34419	1577	9173
4	0	37805	1940	9199
5	1	41192	2303	9226
6	2	44578	2665	9254
7	3	47964	3028	9281
8	4	51349	3391	9308
9	5	54735	3754	9336
10	6	58121	4117	9363
11	0	61507	4480	9391
12	1	64894	4843	9418
13	2	68280	5206	9445
14	3	71666	5569	9473
15	4	75053	5932	9500
16	5	78439	6295	9527
17	6	81825	6658	9555
18	0	85212	7020	9582
19	1	88598	7381	9610
20	2	91984	7746	9637
21	3	95371	8100	9664
22	4	98757	8472	9692
23	5	2143	8875	9719
24	6	5590	9198	9747
25	0	8916	9561	9774
26	1	12302	9921	9801
27	2	15689	987	9829
28	3	19075	650	9856
29	4	22461	1013	9883

VAISAKHA OF

FOLLOWING YEAR	
0	5
1	6
2	0
3	1
4	2

1375	9911
1738	9938
2101	9966
2464	9993
2827	20

TABLE XVI—For converting Decimals of the circle into Degrees, Minutes and Seconds

1st Decimal	°	2nd Decimal	'	3rd Decimal	°	'	"	4th Decimal	'	"	5th Decimal	'	"	
01	36	001	3	36	0 001	0	21	36	0 0001	2	10	0 00001	0	13
02	72	002	7	12	0 002	0	43	12	0 0002	4	19	0 00002	0	26
03	108	003	10	48	0 003	1	4	48	0 0003	6	29	0 00003	0	39
04	144	004	11	24	0 004	1	26	24	0 0004	8	38	0 00004	0	52
05	180	005	18		0 005	1	48		0 0005	10	48	0 00005	1	5
06	216	006	21	36	0 006	2	9	36	0 0006	12	58	0 00006	1	18
07	252	007	25	12	0 007	2	31	12	0 0007	15	7	0 00007	1	31
08	288	008	28	48	0 008	2	52	48	0 0008	17	17	0 00008	1	44
09	324	009	32	24	0 009	3	14	24	0 0009	19	26	0 00009	1	57

TABLE XVIII—Tithi Table

TABLE XVII—For converting Degrees, Minutes and Seconds into Decimals of the circle

(Argument A = a corrected by eq b and eq c)

Degrees		Minutes		Seconds	
1	0 00277 8	1	0 00004 6	1	0 00000 1
2	0 00555 6	2	0 00009 3	2	0 00000 2
3	0 00833 3	3	0 00013 9	3	0 00000 2
4	0 01111 1	4	0 00018 5	4	0 00000 3
5	0 01388 9	5	0 00023 1	5	0 00000 4
6	0 01666 7	6	0 00027 8	6	0 00000 4
7	0 01944 4	7	0 00032 4	7	0 00000 5
8	0 02222 2	8	0 00037 0	8	0 00000 6
9	0 02500 0	9	0 00041 7	9	0 00000 7
10	0 02777 8	10	0 00046 3	10	0 00000 8
20	0 05555 6	20	0 00092 6	20	0 00001 5
30	0 08333 3	30	0 00138 9	30	0 00002 3
40	0 11111 1	40	0 00185 2	40	0 00003 1
50	0 13888 9	50	0 00231 5	50	0 00003 8
60	0 16666 7				
70	0 19444 4				
80	0 22222 2				
90	0 25000 0				
100	0 27777 8				
200	0 55555 6				
300	0 83333 3				

Tithi	Light fortnight	Dark fortnight
	A	A
0	0	50000
1	3333	53333
2	6667	56667
3	10000	60000
4	13333	63333
5	16667	66667
6	20000	70000
7	23333	73333
8	26667	76667
9	30000	80000
10	33333	83333
11	36667	86667
12	40000	90000
13	43333	93333
14	46667	96667
15	50000	00000

No 17 —NAVALAKHI PLATES OF SILADITYA I —[GUPTA-] SAMVAT 286

By PROFESSOR H. M. BRADAMFAR

I edit the following plates from two impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Archaeological Superintendent, Western Circle. The two impressions together leave no doubt as to the correct reading of the original with the exception of a few marks at the beginning of the second plate. In the case of these two names, the original itself seems to be damaged.

The plates were first found in 1904-5 at Navalākhi near Shahpūr, a village about 8 or 10 miles from Junāgadh, and are now preserved in the Bahadur Museum, Junāgadh. They are two in number, each inscribed on one side only. The edges are fashioned into rims on the four margins. The plates appear to have been held together by thick rings passing through two holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second. The holes are nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter, and seem to have been bored before the grant itself was inscribed. The usual seal must have been attached to one of these copper rings but as it is not forthcoming, I presume it has been lost. The plates measure about 10" by 9". The first bears 21 lines and the second 16. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ".

The subjoined inscription is comparatively free from mistakes and differs in this respect from other records of the same dynasty, e.g. the Rājākot Museum plates of the same reign dated in Gupta-Samvat 290, published by Dr. Bühler¹ (referred to in the sequel for the sake of brevity as 'the grant of 290'). The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. As regards paleography, it is enough to note that the aksaras *ṣu* and *dh* are hardly distinguished (e.g. *kāryya-phalah*, l. 7, and *ṣiḥṣāḍha*, l. 11). The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of three imprecatory verses at the end. The rules of *sandhi* are followed in many places but neglected in others. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted —

The letter *gh* is used instead of *h* in *samghatis* (l. 5), and *samghatārāṭi*² (l. 11). The guttural *n* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *chātārīnsatē* (l. 25) according to the practice of the Yajurvēdi Brāhmanas in their Vedic recitations, and the dental *n* takes its place in *ḥhāsuratarānsa* (for *ḥtarānsa*) as is the practice with the Gujarātis of the present day. The final *m* of a word is changed only once into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs in *sāmānyāṅcha* (l. 30), while in other cases it is generally changed into an *anusvāra*. The letters *tri* in *ḥtridaśagurā*³ (l. 6), and *tri* in *trinavāḍ*⁴ (l. 7) are both wrong and should be corrected by a reciprocal interchange. Consonants conjunct with the *rēpha* are generally doubled (according to Pāṇini VIII, 4-46) except in the case of sibilants, e.g. *darśayitā* (l. 11), and *varsha* (l. 33). When the letter *dh* is conjunct with *ya*, the unaspirated *d* is also prefixed, e.g. *ḥpādānuddhyāta* (ll. 12-13), in *ḥsambaddhyamīvalin* (l. 18), and in *ḥvāḍḍhyāya*⁵ (ll. 19-20). The double *na* is written as *na* in *ḥchandārākārnara*⁶ (l. 28). The sign of *ṣhāmūliya*, which, in form, is just the letter *ṣi*, is written conjunct with *lh* in l. 16, and *l* in l. 17, and to the group so formed the vowel signs of *i* in the first case, and of *u* in the second are added in the way usual with other conjunct letters. These are the only two occasions for this sign in the whole of this inscription, but while there are about half a dozen cases where the *upadhmanīya* symbol may be expected, it is written only twice in conjunction with *p* in *mātāpitrōhpunypūyānāya*, l. 19, and *sīdhuhpunarādāta*, l. 33. This sign is like the letter *chh*. Final *t* is denoted by the usual sign for the syllable *ta* with a slight stroke at the top slanting to the right.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 237, et seq.

The inscription is one of the *Paramāhēsvara śrī-Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya*, the son of Śrī-Dharasēna, and grandson of śrī-Guhasēna who belonged to the royal family founded by Bhatārka. It is dated in the year 286 (A D 605) on the 8th day of the dark half of Āshāḍha. The date furnishes the numerical symbols for 200, 80, 6, and 8. The preamble of the grant, including the description of each one of the kings, is, as is quite natural, exactly the same as that of the grant of 290, referred to above¹. A comparison of the copper-plate records of the family shows that Silāditya I was the first king who omitted the names of the kings intervening between Bhatārka, the founder, and Guhasēna, the grandfather of the present donor,—a practice which was subsequently adopted in all the later grants of this family.

The subjoined inscription records the gift of a village called Bhōndānaka, situated within the provincial limits of Vatanagara. I am not certain whether this Vatanagara is the same as Vadnagar in the Baroda State, or is the Vatapadra which Dr. Bühler took to be the modern Vadodra or Baroda². In any case the village cannot be identified. The gift was made to forty-four Brāhmanas who had emigrated from Saṃgapurī, which is believed to be the same as the present Shahāpūr near Junāgadh. The cause of the immigration is not recorded. Probably they were induced to settle in this place by the present gift.

The names of the Brāhmanas are curious. Some look like surnames or family names, while others are clearly the names of particular individuals. The name Boppasvāmi may show that he was very likely a Tailaṅga Brāhmana³. Some are Prākṛit forms of Sanskrit names, e.g. *Khanda-Shanda*, *Sīha-Simha*, *Nattak* = *Nartaka*, *Gōtasarmuvā* = *Gōpasarmuvā*, as also *Bhatti* which seems to be derived from *Bhartṛi*. The last name is familiar as the one borne also by the author of the *Bhatti-lāya*. It is probable that the names Bappataka, Nāvuvaka, Khokkhak, Gimjaka, and Goggaḷa are also similar in origin, though I am unable to suggest the precise derivation⁴. Other names are pure Sanskrit. *Vatsa* is a gōtra or family name of several Brāhmanas even at present. The names Drona, Bhatti, Aditya, Bhadra, Bappataka and Gōpa appear to belong to more persons than one among the donees of the present grant, and hence the individual of the same name subsequently mentioned is distinguished from the first named person, by prefixing *dvī*, *trī* as may be required. The prefixes mean, I believe, the second and the third⁵.

The following officials are mentioned in the grant —

- (a) *Āyuktāla* — This word appears to be very old being found in Pāṇini II 3, 40, where it signifies a person appointed to some small work of a special character, and from the nature of the example given in the *Kaumudī* to illustrate the rule, it seems probable that these may be Brāhmanas employed for religious or charitable purposes, such as the *pūjāris* or the worshippers at temples, etc., or the *āśritas*, i.e. the learned men patronised by the king for holy merit.

¹ [The text follows more closely the Walā plates of Silāditya I dated in Gupta Samvat 286 — Ed.]

² The fact that the grant of 290 records the names of several villages ending in *ānaka*, gives greater probability to the second alternative. The fame, however, of Vadnagar as an early residence of Brāhmanas is yet preserved in the name of the local caste of Brāhmanas, and hence one feels inclined to the first supposition. I cannot decide the matter for want of more accurate information.

³ Compare the name of Bōpadīva, the grammarian.

⁴ It is not unlikely that they are derived from the names of the villages to which their families originally belonged. The name *Guhilabhatti* (l. 20) may be traced to Gohilwad pranta of Kathiāwad.

⁵ This leads to the inference that these may be family names. It is worthy of remark that among these names we recognise two of the modern ones of the Kōkanastha families, viz. Bāpat and Bhīnu. These are now met with only amongst the so-called Daśeḥini Brāhmanas and I believe are not to be found amongst the original residents of Gujārat or Kathiāwad at present. [In later inscriptions, e.g., the Māndhātā plates (above, Vol. IX, p. 110b), the abbreviations *dvī* and *trī* stand for *divīda* and *trivīda* — H. K. S.]

- (b) *Vimuktaka* —This may be the officer in charge of the village as *pātāl* (the headman), *kulakārnī* (the clerk of the village) or some such village officer
- (c) *Draṅgha* —The word *draṅga* means 'a town' and *d.āṅgha* may denote a town officer or merely an inhabitant of it
- (d) *Maha'tura* —This is often used to signify men of special respectability in a place, such as the heads of particular communities. It is also possible that this may form one word with the previous one and the two together may then mean 'the respectable inhabitants of the town'
- (e) *Chāta* —Monier Williams' Dictionary raises the query whether this should properly be *chāra* (a spy). As, however, the word occurs in this form in almost all the grants of this family, this explanation is not tenable. Dr Bühler renders it by 'fortune-teller' (*Ind Ant* Vol IV p 106, note) though he is not certain of it. Yīṣṇavalkya speaks¹ of *chātas* along with thieves, etc., as men who are likely to be injurious to the public. In *Mṛichukhaṭālakā*, Act V, the friend of the hero remarks in Prākṛit that "even dogs won't go to a place where the *chātas*, courtisans, etc reside" (Bombay Sanskrit series, Vol I, p 223, line 63). The similarity in sound with *chālu*, 'flattery' which this word presents is so close as to lead one to translate the word by 'flatterer', and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be the servant whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers. [For other explanations of the term *chāta*, see above, Vol. IX, p 261, note 10, and p 296 —Ed.]
- (f) *Bhata* means 'a soldier'. Perhaps the word is connected with *Bhāta*—the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises.
- (g) *Kumārāmātyas* is rendered by Dr Bühler as 'the princes and ministers' (*Ind Ant*, Vol IV, p 175). As, however, the word *rājasthānīya* occurs before the expression under consideration, I believe it should be rendered as one word by 'the princes, the noble lords of *Rājasthān*'. Dr Bühler, however, translates the epithet as 'representing royalty'. The princes of the royal blood are even now given the epithet of *kumāra*, and I believe in old times they formed a council of the nobles, and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on points of imperial importance. [For a different explanation of the word *kumārāmātya*, see above, Vol X, p 50, note 2 —Ed.]

The requirements of a formal *sāsana* include also an accurate description of the granted land, which should be declared as given free of all dues for ever. The subjoined attributes of the word *grāma*, should accordingly be interpreted as supplying these requirements:—

sōdrangah —The word *ulranga* is given in the Petersburg Dictionary as a synonym of *dranga* (a town) and hence this adjective of *grāma* may be rendered by 'together with the hamlets'

sōparikarāh —Possibly means 'together with its appurtenances' as timber, trees, etc standing on the land. Drs Bühler and Fleet, however, suggest that all these attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenue. In that case, this adjective may mean 'together with municipal taxes levied on tradesmen, etc for the management of the town' in accordance with Manu VII, 137². It appears to

¹ चाटनकरद्वृत्तसंगसाहसिकादिभिः ।

पीड्यमाना प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्यैव विशेषतः ॥ Yaḥ Sm I 331-5

² वृत्तिकचिदपि वर्षस्य दाप्येरवा रसञ्जितम् ।

व्यवहारिण जीवन्त राजा राष्ट्रे शुभरक्षणम् ॥

me, however, that all such dues accruing from the village are mentioned by the adjective *sadhānyakhranyādēyah*. Hence it seems preferable to take the first three adjectives as referring to the description of the gift

savātabhūtapratyāyah — Several grants read **pratyayah* instead of *pratyāyah*. The meaning of both seems to be nearly the same. The compound word may be translated by 'as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place'. I am told that this word is actually used in the *Narmadāmāhātmya* to signify the extent of the region on either bank as belonging to the Narmadā, where the distinctive breeze from the river is recognised. The boundary marks are, broadly speaking, described by Nārada,¹ quoted in many other *smritis*, as fivefold viz. (1) huge trees or mountains, (2) rivers or tanks, (3) underground signs, (4) artificial marks made by men, and (5) by the order of the king. It is, I believe, to all these that this adjective refers. See, however, Dr Buhler's note on the word (*Ind Ant* Vol IV, p 106). He understands the word as referring to certain dues from the village. Dr Fleet also, in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 170, note 9, appears to agree with Dr Buhler.

sadhānyakhranyādēyah is clearly 'together with the revenues in grain and gold'

sadaśāparādhaḥ — 'with the right to the fines for the ten offences,' see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 189, note 4

sōtpadyamānavṛshṭih — *vṛshṭi* yields *vētha* in Marāṭhī. The adjective means 'with the right to forced labour as occasion for it occurs' as prescribed by Manu VII, 138²

ahastaprahshēpanīyah — This word is equivalent to the Marāṭhī idiom *hāta ghālanē* (lit to put one's hand in a matter). The phrase, therefore, should be rendered 'not to be meddled with' by any of the royal officers.

bhūmichchihdranyāyēna — 'according to the principle of a hole in the earth'. This popular maxim is variously explained by Dr Bhandarkar (*Ind Ant* Vol I p 46) and by Dr Buhler (*ibid* Vol IV p 106, note). In the uncertainty thus caused I may propose a third explanation. The word usually occurs after *pūrvapratta-dēvabrahmadēyavarjṭah*, though sometimes without it, and is to be connected grammatically with *nisrṣṭah* that follows. It appears from this that both these words signify the reservations from the gift. The previous attribute having reserved the gifts to temples or Brāhmanas previously made, this word seems to reserve the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasure-trove, etc. The right of the king to these³ is always urged against a gift unless it is expressly transferred. The word, therefore, may reserve this right in favour of the royal donor in spite of the gift of the land.

The word *dūtaka* (l. 34) is translated by some as 'messenger'. Seeing, however, that in several cases, princes of the royal blood are styled in this manner, I believe this must be a responsible officer who had to attest such *sāsanas* as required by the *Smritis*. In Manu VII, 63-5 the *dūta* is spoken of as a chief minister in special confidence with the king. His counsel was always sought on matters of utmost importance like peace and war. The word, therefore, should

¹ अजिनी मरिचिनी चैव नैधानी भयवर्जिता ।

राजशासननीता च सीमा पञ्चविधा स्रता ॥

² कारुकान् शिल्पिनश्चैव सूद्रायारमीपजीविन ।

एकैक कारयेत्कर्म मासि मासि नष्टीपति ॥

³ See *Anandarāmāyana*, *Sārakānda* III, 264

यद्भूम्या वर्तते विच्य तद्द्रुपस्य न चश्य ।

be translated with Dr Bhandarkar as 'the minister, the executive officer' In this sense the word may perhaps be derived from द्वितीय, a joint officer¹

The word *duirapati*² seems to signify the head-clerk or at the most the chief secretary of the king According to the Smritis a *sāsana* had to be in the handwriting of the clerk whose business was to draft the important orders of peace and war, so it must be such an officer who is spoken of as *duirapati*

TEXT

First Plate.

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्ति 'वलभीत. प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणा 'भैत्रकाणामतुलवल⁴सपन्नमण्ड-
लाभोगससक्त⁵प्रहारशतलक्षप्रतापा[अ]-
- 2 तापोपनतदानमानार्ज्वोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलमृत[अ]णीवलावासराज्यश्रियः प-
रममाहेश्वरश्री-
- 3 भटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मष. शैश-
वात्मभृति खड्गद्वितीयवा-
- 4 हुरेव ससदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्व⁶निकषस्तत्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभास-
सक्तपादनखरश्मि-
- 5 'सघतिसकलसृतिप्रणीतसार्ग्यसम्यवपरिपालनप्रजाहृदयरजनान्वर्थराजशब्दः रूप-
कान्तिस्त्रैर्य्यधैर्य्य'गा-
- 6 श्रीर्य्यबुद्धिसपद्भि⁷ स्मरशशङ्काद्विराजोदधि¹¹तृदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानशरणागता-
भयप्रदान⁸परतया
- 7 ¹²त्रिणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफल¹³ प्रार्थनाधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृदप्रणयि¹⁴हृदयः
पादचारीव¹⁵ सकलभुवन-

¹ See also Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, page 100, note 3

² It is interesting to note that this word *duira* presents a close similarity to the word *dabira*, and is possibly a Sauri fused form of the latter *Dabira*, I learn, is an Arabic word meaning 'manager' or 'secretary' It was the official name of one of the eight ministers of Shivaji and is equivalent to the title *svamanta* of Sanskrit origin This officer was very much the same as a "foreign secretary" and had charge of all the records concerning treaties, &c. with foreign powers

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ For the position, etc. of this city, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 165, and note

⁵ For *Moitrakas* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV p. 361, note

⁶ For 'sampoanna' here and in later grants, the earlier reading is 'sapatna', on which see Dr Hultzseh's interesting remarks in Vol. III, p. 319, above

⁷ For 'prahāra' here and in later grants, the earlier ones of the same family read 'samprahāra'

⁸ Read 'सत्त्व'

⁹ Read 'सहति'

¹⁰ The word *dhairyya* does not occur in this compound in any of the Valabhī grants except the present one, the grant of 290, and that of Dharasūna II (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 71) In its absence the word *adrirāja* in the following compound means *Himalaya*, but when the word occurs, the phrase *adrirāja* has to be split into two to correspond to the two qualities *sthairyya* and *dhairyya* In that case *adr:* may mean any mountain as a type of steadiness (*sthairyya*) and *rāja* may perhaps denote *Dharmarāja* as a type of courage (*dhairyya*), as suggested by his name *Yudhishtira*

¹¹ Read 'गशाद्ध'

¹² Read 'त्रिदशगुरु'

¹³ Read 'तृणवद'

¹⁴ Read फल The reading *phala* is also found in other grants

¹⁵ Read 'सुहृत्प्रणयि'

¹⁶ *Pādachār-īva* means 'personified as it were', cf. प्रहृष्टस्वैव धर्मस्य प्रसादो सूर्तिसचर, *Uttararāmācharita*,

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The image shows a rectangular metal plate with a grid of 20 numbered lines. Each line contains a line of ancient Indian script, likely Gupta script. The text is densely packed and appears to be a formal inscription or record. There are some irregularities and what looks like a hole or a mark on the right side of the plate.

- 8 मण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगृहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तान-
विसृतजाङ्ग[वी]जलौघप्र-
- 9 चालिताशेषकल्पः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितस्वरभसमा-
भिगाभिकैर्गुणैः¹
- 10 सहजशक्तिश्चिन्ताविशेषविस्मापिताखिलबलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपाल-
यिता धर्मदा-
- 11 यानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपह्वानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवा-
सस्य सघतारातिपक्ष-
- 12 लक्ष्मीपतिभोगदत्तविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्चिः² परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध-
रसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
- 13 ज्ञातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्गण्डलस्समरशतविजयशो-
भासनाद्यमण्डला-
- 14 ग्रद्युतिभासुरतरन्सपिठो दूढगुरुमनो[र]थमहाभारस्सर्व्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविम-
लमतिरपि सर्व्व-
- 15 तस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषस्समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि
सुचरितातिशयसुव्य-
- 16 क्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावखिलीभूतकृतयुगन्तपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदयकीर्त्तिर्दम्मानुप-
रोधोज्वलतीरकृता-
- 17 र्यसुखसपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यकु-
शली सर्व्वानेवायुक्त-
- 18 कविनियुक्तकद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटभटकुमारामात्यादीनन्यांश्च यथाभिसंबद्धमानका-
न्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः
- 19 संविदित यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय सगपुरीविनिर्गतनाना-
गोत्रचरणतपस्स-³
- 20 ज्ञायोपेतब्राह्मणद्रोण-⁴ इन्द्रवसु-वत्स-प्रष्ठि-गुहिला-भट्टिसूर्य्य-दिन्नभट्टि-
- 21 लुद्रक-आदित्यवसु-द्विद्रोण-त्रिद्रोण-कुमारशर्म-भट्टि-आदित्यरवि-

Second Plate

- 22 [गणक⁵]⁶ उ[ञ्ज]⁷ क्र⁸ गोपाव्यक-खन्द-शर्म-भद्र-आदित्य-द्विआदित्य-वप्यटक-मत्स्य-¹⁰
- 23 म्ना-ईश्वर-वोप्यस्वामि-द्विवप्यटक-गोप-दाम-द्विभद्र-खीकक-केशव-

¹ *Ābhigāmkāh gūnāh*, 'inviting virtuous qualities', see *Gupta Inscr* p 169, note 2

² Read सघताराति⁰

³ Read °पार्थिवश्चि

⁴ Read °भासुरतरांसपीठो⁰

⁵ Read °ञ्जल⁰

⁶ Read °स्वाध्यायोपेत⁰

⁷ Read इन्द्रवसु (?)

⁸ I am not able to make out the name It may be *Ganaka*, or *Ganarkka* (a mistake for *Ganārka*) But the letter after *na* is more probably *na*, in which case it may be *Ganatna* (a mistake for *Ganaratna*)

⁹ I am not sure whether I have read the name correctly, nor can I make out anything of it

¹⁰ Read मादशर्मा

- 24 गोवशर्मा-अग्निशर्मा-द्विगोप-नावुव[क]-कुमारभद्र-सीह-नट्टक-गिंजक-गोगक-संगम[-]
- 25 द्विमष्टि-भानु-एवं चतुश्चत्वारिंशते¹ ब्राह्मणेभ्यः वटनगरस्यत्यन्तर्गतभोण्डानक-
ग्रामस्योद्भङ्ग-
- 26 स्योपरिकरस्यवातभूतप्रत्यायस्यधान्यहिरण्यादेयस्यदशापराधस्योत्पद्यम[र]न²विष्टिस-
व्वर[र]-
- 27 जकीयानामहस्तप्रचेपणीय³ पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायिनाच-
- 28 न्द्रार्काण्णवर्णचितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण
धर्मदायी
- 29 निष्टष्ट. यतः ए[षां] भुजतां [ह]पतां कर्षयतां प्रदिशता वा न कैश्चिद्द्व्या-
सेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्र-
- 30 नृपतिभिरप्यस्य[हं]श्लैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्विरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च
भूमिदानफलम-
- 31 वगच्छद्भिरयमस्यहायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेति ॥ ⁴बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
भिस्सग-
- 32 रादिभिः [i*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ ⁵यानीह
दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्दैर्द्विनानि ध-
- 33 श्मायतनीकृतानि [i*] निर्भुक्तमाख्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत ॥ [ष]ष्टि वर्षस-
- 34 हस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदेत⁶ भूमिदः [i*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकस्या-
- 35 च भद्रादित्ययशाः [i*] लिखितं सन्धिविश्रहाधिकृतदिवीरपतिवचमष्टिना⁷ ॥⁸
- 36 सं २०० ८० ६ आषाढ व ८ ॥०।
- 37 सहस्रो मम ॥

¹ More properly ° चत्वारिंशते

² Read ° विष्टिस⁰ or ° विष्टिकस्य, according to several other grants.

³ Read ° एषव⁰

⁴ This verse is introduced in the grant of 290 by the words *uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna*

⁵ The metre is *Upajātī* made up of *Upēndravajrā* and *Indravajrā*

⁶ For *mōdēta* many other grants read *mōdats*, but we have got *vasats* instead in the Smṛiti passages where it occurs

⁷ The original clearly reads the name as *Vatrabhattinā*, which does not make any sense. The grant of 290 reads *Chandrabhattinā* instead which perhaps is the proper spelling of the name. It should be noted, however, that Dr Bhandarkar's plate (*Ind Ant Vol I p 17*) also appears to read the name as *Vatrabhatti* which the Doctor reads as *Vashabhata*, as it does not look quite clear at the place

⁸ [The symbol here corresponds to the symbol at the beginning and may be read *ōm* — H K S]

No 18 —BANSWARA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA, [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1076

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

Although the approximate period of the reign of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Dhārā is settled from references in contemporary literature,¹ the only inscription of his time which had been discovered so far was the Ujjain copper plate grant of Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021.² The copper-plate inscription now published is dated about two years earlier, *viz* in the [Vikrama] year 1076, on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha (1 31). The date of the grant was the anniversary of the conquest of Konkana (1 10). It follows from this that Bhōjadēva had undertaken an expedition into the Konkana either in Samvat 1075 or in one of the years preceding it.

The subjoined transcript is based on an ink-impression prepared by Pandit Gaurishankar H Ojha, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and transmitted to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya. I have received no description of the original, which was found in the possession of the widow of a *thathērā* (copper-smith) living at Banswara.³ But as the impression shows two ring-holes at the bottom of the first side and at the top of the second side, it may be presumed that the inscription is engraved on two copper-plates which are held together by two rings and measure $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth and $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border (before lines 23 to 32) a flying figure of Garuda, facing the proper left and carrying a snake in his left arm.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same type as in the Ujjain plates.⁴ The *avagraha* is used, improperly, for marking the elision of a short *a* after a long *ā* in 11, 10 and 22. The consonant *ṣ* is expressed by *ṣ* throughout. Once *ṣ* is wrongly replaced by *ṣ*,⁵ and *ṣ* by *ṣ* in four cases.⁶ The gerund *वृत्ता* is twice spelt *वृत्ता*.⁷

The document is drawn up in Sanskrit prose mixed with verses which are nine in number. Excepting the different date and the particulars of the donee and the object granted, the new grant is practically identical with the Ujjain plates. A short abstract of it will therefore be sufficient for all purposes.

After two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakēśa*, v 1, or *Smarārātri*, v 2), Bhōjadēva, successor of Sindhurājadēva, successor of Vākpatirājadēva, successor of Siyakadēva informs all royal officers coming to Vatapadraka included in the Ghāghradōra district (*bhōga*) of the Stnālī province (*mandala*) and the Brāhmanas and other inhabitants, that, at the anniversary of the conquest of Konkana, having bathed and worshipped Śiva (*Bhavānīpati*, 1 10), he granted 100 *nivartanas* (in words and figures, 1 16) of land in the above-mentioned village (*viz* Vatapadraka) to the Brāhmana Bhūila, son of Vāmana, of the Vasishtha *gōtra* and the Vāji-Mādhyamdina *śākhā*, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chhīnchhā city (*śihāna*, 1 18).⁸

¹ See Bühler's remarks in Vol I pp 230 233, above.

² Published, with English translation, by N J Kirtane, *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 53 ff. The date was calculated by Kielhorn, *id.* Vol XIX p 361, No 169.

³ This fact is very suggestive. If the copper smith had not died, and if Mr Ojha had not rescued the copper plates from his widow, they would have shared the fate of many of their fellows, *viz* the conversion into copper vessels.

⁴ See the lithograph, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI pp 53 and 54. Instead of °विनिर्गतराघसुर° (1 2 f of plate 11) we may have to read विनिर्गतरा (11) भूसुर°.

⁵ See note 3 on p 183.

See notes 6 and 11 on p 183.

⁶ See notes 6 and 9 on p 182, and 2 and 5 on p 183.

⁷ Cf *Chimcha kshētra*, above, Vol IV p 207, text line 29.

Line 31 contains the date Samvat 1076 Māgha śu di 5. A facsimile of the royal signature "this (is) the own hand of śrī-Bhōjadēva" is affixed at the end of either plate (II 15 and 32)

The date does not include any details which admit of actual verification. But Dr Fleet tells me that, with the year 1076 taken as expired, as in the Ujjain record, the details which are given take us to 3rd January, A D 1020. The localities named in the grant cannot be identified, because there is no clue as to the exact neighbourhood in which we are to look for them, and because enough of them are not mentioned.

TEXT I

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 ओ^१ [॥^२] जयति व्योमकेशौ^३ यः सर्गाय विभर्त्ति^४ ता । पदवी
शिरसा लेखा ज-
- 2 गद्दीजाकुराकृति^५ ॥ [१^{*}] तन्वतु वः क्षरारातेः कल्याणमनिश जटा. ॥ क-
- 3 त्यातसमयोहामतडिहलयर्पियला ॥ [२^{*}] परमभट्टावल्महारा-
- 4 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[श्री]यकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
- 5 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाकृतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
- 6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
- 7 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेव कुशली ॥
- 8 खलीमंडले घाघ्रदोरभोगांत.पातिवटपद्रके ^६शमुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-
- 9 ^७रूपान्त्राह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवाभिजनपदादीश्च समादिशत्यसु^६ वः संविदित ॥
- 10 यथाऽस्माभिः कोकणविजयपर्वणि श्रात्वा^८ चराचरगुरु भगवन्तं भवानोपति
- 11 समभ्यर्च्य स[स]ारस्या[स]ारता दृष्ट्वा । वाताश्रैविभ्रममिद् वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमा-
- 12 नमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणागजलविदुसमा^{१०} नराणां (1) धर्मैः सखा
- 13 परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ [३^{*}] भ्रमत्ससारचक्रायधाराधारामिमा श्रियं ।
प्राप्य ये न
- 14 ददुस्तेषा पञ्चात्ताप पर फल ॥ [४^{*}] इति जगती विनश्चर स्वरूपमा-
कलय्योपरि-^{११}
- 15 स्वहस्तोय श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥^{१२}]

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 लिखितग्रामात्^{१२} भूनिवर्त्तनशतैकं नि १०० स्वसीमावृणोचरयूतिपर्यंतं
द्विरखा- (1)

^१ From the ink-impression

^२ Expressed by a symbol.

^३ Read ^०केशौ

^४ Read विभर्त्ति

^५ Read जगद्दीजा^०

^६ Read समुप^०

^७ Read ^०रूपान्त्रा^०

^८ Read ^०त्यसु

^९ Read चात्वा

^{१०} Read ^०पायजलविदु^०

^{११} This line is continued on the next plate (I 16)

^{१२} Read ^०ग्रामाद्

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

६ कृयति यो मके सोऽयः स शोचति रुति तापे दवं विमसात्मिका
 यद्दीक्षां कुर्यात् तं त्रुतः श्रुतात्तः कल्याणमनि श्रुतात्तः ॥
 ल्यात्तममवा इम तडि हल य पि यत्तः ॥ यत्र मरु द्वार कम दाना
 जातिना कुप स मश्च र शी गी य क ए व बा दानु यात य मरु द्वार कम
 दाना जातिना कुप स मश्च र शी वा श्रुतिना कु ए व या दानु यात य मरु
 द्वार कम दाना कु विना कुप स मश्च र शी श्रुतिना कु ए व या दानु यात
 य मरु द्वार कम दाना कु विना कुप स मश्च र शी कु ए व या दानु यात
 कुली म ड ल वा च आ र ल गा त ष्या ति व ट प ड क श म्प य ता न म म्प न ड य
 क बा ड ष्म णी न्द य य ति वि वा श्रु न य या शी श्रु म्प मा इ श य न्द ः सं वि ति न
 य वा श्रु म्प ः ता क ए वि कु म्प व वि श्रु ता र म म्प र्शु न्द य व न्द र व नी म्प ति
 न म र्शु श्रु स सा र श्वा सा र म्प ड्वा वा ता ड् वि कु म्प र्शु क वि य त् म्प या त म्प
 व म ड्वा वि य लो प र्शु यः ॥ वा ण म्प र्शु क ल वि कु म्प न रा णा वि म्प ः श्रु वा
 ए न म र्शु प र लो क आ लो ड् म्प र्शु स र स को य क म्प न मि ना श्रु ता वा य ड् म
 इ ड् म्प र्शु य श्रु ता यः ॥ य र्शु म्प ः ॥ वि कु य ता वि न्द र म्प र्शु म्प क ल य वा य वि

- 17 इयमेत सभागभोग सोपरिकर सर्वादायसमेतं ¹ब्राह्मणभाइलाय वामन-
 18 सुताय ²वशिष्ठसगोत्राय वाजिमार्धंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय च्छिच्छास्थानविनिर्ग-
 तपूर्व-
 19 जाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यसोभिहृद्ये³ अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चंद्राकार्ण-⁴
 20 वक्षितिसमकाल यावत्परया भक्त्या ⁵शाशनेनोदकपूर्व प्रतिपादितमिति
 मत्वा त-
 21 त्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्णाटिकमात्राश्रवणविधेयै-
 22 र्भूत्वा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यमिति ॥ सामान्य चैतत्पुण्यफलं ⁶बुध्वाऽस्मदंशजै-
 रन्यै-
 23 रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमतव्यः⁷ पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं
 च । व-⁸
 24 हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [५*]
 25 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्वैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवांतिप्र-
 तिमानि
 26 तानि की नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [६*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि-
 रन्यैश्च दानमि-
 27 दमभ्यनुसोदनीयं । लक्ष्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचचलाया⁹ दानं फल परयशः-
 परिपाल-
 28 न च ॥ [७*] सर्वानितान्माविनः पार्थिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
 29 सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणा काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [८*]
 इति कम-
 30 लदलाबुविंदुलोला¹⁰ त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुयजीवित च । सकलमिदमुदा-
 31 हृतं च बुध्वा¹¹ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ [९*]
 सवत् १०७६ माघ शु दि ५ [१*]
 32 स्वयमात्रा । मगल महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोय श्रीभोजदेवस्य [११*]

¹ Read ब्राह्मण°⁴ Read चंद्राकार्ण°⁷ Read °धर्मादायो°¹⁰ Read °दलाबुविदु°² Read वशिष्ठ°⁵ Read शासने°⁸ Read व°¹¹ Read बुध्वा³ Read °यशो°.⁶ Read बुध्वा⁹ Read °बुद्बुद°.

No 19—THE SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHASIVA-GUPTA¹

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

Sirpur is a small village on the right bank of the Mahānadi in the Mahāsamunda tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is 37 miles north-east of Raipur and 15 miles from Ārang. Sirpur was once the capital of Mahā-Kōsala² and was then known as Śrīpura,³ as given in the stone inscriptions found there, and also in the copper plates found in Rājīm⁴ and Baloda⁵. The ruins in and around the village indicate that it was once a great city and there are scores of temple sites, the identification of which is now rendered impossible by the removal of the idols they contained to a place near a brick temple, which is the only one now standing as it was originally built. It is popularly known as the 'Lakshmana temple'. Writing of the bricks with which it is built, Mr Cousens who visited it in 1904 remarked⁶ that they were of a finer make than any he had till then seen, either ancient or modern. They are moulded and carved with considerable artistic skill. About a third of the temple tower was gone, while the *mandapa* had totally collapsed and was a heap of ruins when it was taken under Government conservation. It was while removing the debris of this *mandapa* that the subjoined inscription was found and removed to the Raipur Museum where it is at present deposited. Sir A Cunningham visited Sirpur in 1881-82 and noticed all the inscriptions he found there, remarking that *one of them* must belong to this temple. He was right in supposing that the temple must have had some inscription but it had not come to light then and it was about 2 years⁷ ago that it was accidentally discovered.

It is perhaps the biggest inscription yet found in Sirpur. It is engraved on a thick reddish stone, which is not exactly rectangular, the breadth of the upper corner being 3' 8½" and that of the lower 3' 9", while the height at the right side is 2' 3½" and at the left 2' 1½". The writing covers a space 3' 8" by 2' 1". There are altogether 26 lines of writing, but some parts of the stone coming in contact with others have peeled off, and portions of lines 3, 4, 5, 6 at the left hand top corner and the last 4 lines have been partially damaged. The characters are Nāgarī, beautifully engraved, their average height being ¼". They belong to the Northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or 9th century A D. The most noticeable peculiarities are the antiquated forms of the letters *ī*, *na*, *sa*, *dha*, *tha*, *bha* and *ja*. The *mātrā* of *ā* is represented by a top stroke, and *ē* by a small stroke prefixed to the letter. The sign of *u* is added in the middle of the letter *ra* as usual, but when made long it is bent upwards as in *gurūpacharanē* in line 7 and *-rūpanī* in line 12. In the case of the short *ru* in *Purushōttama* in line 1, the bend is upwards instead of downwards, but this is probably a mistake as other short *rus* have it in the usual way downwards. The signs for *ñ* and *n* when joined to a class letter appear to be identical compare *puñja* in line 1 and *mandanam* in line 12. Forms of final *m* occur in ll 4, 11, 12, 13 and 14 and of *t* and *n* in ll 6 and 16 respectively⁸. The language is excellent Sanskrit, highly rhetorical, containing 42 verses in various metres.

The record consists of two parts, *viz* a eulogy in 23 verses and rules for the temple management from line 16 to the end. The inscription begins with an invocation to Purushōttama, which is in prose. The first three verses are devoted to the praise of the Nrisimha or man-lion incarnation of Vishnu King Mahāśivagupta, his mother and two ancestors.

¹ [This paper was partially prepared for the Press by Dr Sten Konow when he was Government Epigraphist in 1908 and by Mr H Krishna Sastri when he officiated in that post for two months, from 17th July to 17th September 1911.—Ed.]

² [On this name and its denotation, see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol XVII p 68 f.—Ed.]

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII p 179, and Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol XVII p 25 ff.

⁴ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 291.

⁵ Above, Vol VII p 102.

⁶ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year 1904*, p 20.

⁷ That is calculating from the date this article was given for publication in 1908.

⁸ [Final *n* occurs in line 6 also.—Ed.]

(father and grandfather), are next mentioned. The historical information which is here furnished is that, in the lunar race, there was a hero whose name is illegible (v 4). His son was Harshagupta (v 9). From him was born Mahāśivagupta (v 12) who was also known as Bālārjuna owing to his proficiency in the use of arms (v 13). He apparently had a younger brother named Ranakēśarin (v 12). We are then informed that his mother, named Vāsata (v 15), was the daughter of Sūryavarmā, king of Magadha (v 16). She became a widow (v 17) and caused to be constructed a temple of Hari (v 20), the same to which this inscription was affixed. She and her acts are praised in seven verses (vv 17 to 23).

The writer of this eulogy who calls himself *prasastikārah kavīh* was Chintāturāṅka Īśāna (v 24)¹, who in the second part proceeds to lay down the regulations for the management of the temple as follows—Five villages, *viz* Tōdankana, Madhuvēdha, Nālipadra, Kurapadra, and Vānapadra, were given (v 25) for the maintenance of the temple to which apparently a *sattra* or an almshouse was attached. The villages were divided into four shares, three of which (subdivided into three separate parts) were to be reserved for the maintenance of the almshouse, repairs (to the temple) and for the support of the servants attached to the sanctuary (v 26). The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts, of which twelve were to be enjoyed by a corresponding number of Brahmanas fully conversant with the Vēdas, each of the three Vēdas (Rik, Yajus and Sāman) having four experts. The remaining three parts were to be enjoyed by a sacrificial priest and two others who were Bhāgavatas². The names of these fifteen persons are duly recorded and it is enjoined that their descendants should inherit the gift if properly qualified for it, otherwise the grant should go to some other relatives by their own selection and not by order of the king (vv 27 to 34). An additional village named Vargullaka is stated to have been given separately to the god himself, for meeting the expenses of offerings to him (v 36). The engraver was a certain Ārya Gonna (v 35), the same who wrote the slab built flat into the pavement of the new work outside the court wall of the Gandhēśvara temple at Sirpur.³

Like other inscriptions of Sirpur this is also undated, and therefore its age can only be determined from its characters, which, as stated before, belong to the 8th or 9th century A D. Mahāśivagupta who is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions so far found in Sirpur, seems to have been a temple-builder, or at least he encouraged others to build them. Apparently he was a Śaiva, although his mother was a Vaiṣṇava and so was his father who is described in verse 20 as *upāsītāchryutah*, i.e. by whom Viṣṇu was worshipped. From an inscription⁴ in the temple of Gandhēśvara (correctly Gandhervēśvara as given in an inscription affixed to the parapet there) we know five ancestors of Mahāśivagupta, so that our inscription gives no additional information about the family, as it only takes us back to his grandfather. But verse 6 leads us to the important inference that Mahāśivagupta's grandfather [Chandragupta] had an elder brother who was the king's commander in chief. This elder brother cannot I suppose be any other than the Tivaradēva of the Rājim and Balōdā plates. He was the son of Nannadēva, Chandragupta's father. Tivaradēva's inscriptions were issued from Śrīpura and he is described as being the 'supreme lord of Kōśala'⁵. He had apparently no issue and his brother probably succeeded him. A second historical fact to be gleaned from our inscription is the discovery of one additional name in the line of Varmā kings of Magadha, *viz* Sūryavarmā who must have flourished about the 8th century A D. He apparently belonged to the Western Magadha dynasty. He must have been a contemporary of Chandragupta, to whose son Harshagupta he gave his daughter in marriage.

Attention may be called to the name Ranakēśarin (in verse 12) who would appear to have been a younger brother of Mahāśivagupta, although the word has been used in a double sense. Dr Kielhorn⁶ has drawn attention to this name with a view to show that names

¹ [The name intended seems to be Īśāna *alias* Chintātura.—H. K. S.]

² [That these three parts were to be so disposed of, is implied. It is not clearly expressed in the text of the inscription.—Ed.]

³ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1904, p. 50.*

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p. 179.

⁵ *Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 296.*

⁶ *Above, Vol. IV. p. 257.*

ending in Kēsarin were not foreign to this family as a curious coincidence between the Sirpur kings and the Orissa Kēsari family. The second name of Bhavadēva who, Dr Kielhorn says,¹ was 'a cousin of Indiabala's son Nannadōva, the father of both Tivaradēva and Chandragupta,' was also Ranakēsarin, but we meet it in the direct line here. In spite of the overwhelming palæographic evidence² which tends to disprove any connection between the Sirpur dynasty and that of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak (or more correctly of Vinitapura or Yayātinagara), in both of which a Śivagupta occurs, it seems possible that General Cunningham may still prove to have been right in linking them together, although the dates assigned to them by him are all wrong.³ The kings of Sirpur appear to have been ousted by the kings of Śarabhapura,⁴ which place has not been identified as yet.⁵ The inscriptions of the latter have been found in the country round about and in close vicinity of Supur, viz: at Ārang, Raipur, Khariār and Śarangarh which enclose Sirpur from all directions, north, south, east and west. I have already identified several of the villages mentioned in them (see above, Vol. IX. p 283) and their position shows that a very large portion of the present Chhattisgarh Division came under their sway. Probably they could not conquer the whole of Mahā-Kōsala which extended from the confines of Berār to the boundary of the Katak District. The Sirpur dynasty having been driven further east settled in some place on the bank of the Mahānadi. They still continued to rule at least a part of Kōsala. That seems to be the reason why they continued to call themselves 'Lord of Kōsala' unwilling to show a reduced front. They had probably lost the western portion of Mahā-Kōsala for ever, and that seems to be the reason why most of the villages granted by them are situated in the Sambalpur District and the adjoining feudatory states of Patnā and Sonpur.⁶ The Sirpur dynasty probably regained its former power but could not regain the lost kingdom, as although the Śarabhapura kings seem to have fallen as quickly as they rose, they were succeeded by another rising power, the Haihayas of Tummāna, who eclipsed the chiefs of the whole of Chhattisgarh and extended their dominions still farther.

Dr Fleet assigns the characters of the records of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak to the eleventh century and says that even if a somewhat earlier period than what has been arrived at, should be hereafter established for Śivagupta and his successors of the Katak line, the palæographic changes in so many details appear more than can possibly be covered by the lapse of a single generation.⁷ His conclusion is that the kings mentioned in these inscriptions 'are to be placed somewhere between A D 1000 and 1100.'⁸ Since the characters of the Sirpur inscriptions are believed to belong to about the 9th century, it would appear that Dr. Fleet would place an interval of a little more than 100 years to account for the palæographic difficulties. This is a period which may easily be covered by three generations, and on examining the genealogical table made out from the records of the Sōmavamśi kings as given by Dr Fleet,⁹ it seems to me that a link of two generations is at present missing, which further discoveries might bring to light.

¹ *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p 622

² Above, Vol III. p 333

³ [The date assigned by Prof Kielhorn to Śivagupta Bālārjuna on the 'amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty' is about the beginning of the 9th century, while the Katak king Mahābhavagupta II and his three predecessors belong to about the 11th century (above Vol IV p 257). If these two approximate dates are correct, then we would have two kings, viz: a doubtful Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta, of whom no records have so far been found, for about two centuries.—Ed.]

⁴ [Mahāśudōva of Śarabhapura has been assigned by Mr Hiralal to about the 8th century (above, Vol. IX p 283). And Tivaradōva, Prof Kielhorn has assigned without hesitation to the middle of the 8th century. If these two approximate dates are correct, the usurpation by the Śarabhapura kings would have taken place at a time when the Sirpur kings must have been powerful.—Ed.]

⁵ It may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śripura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name, who is believed to be a match for a lion, with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be *Kēsari* (lions).

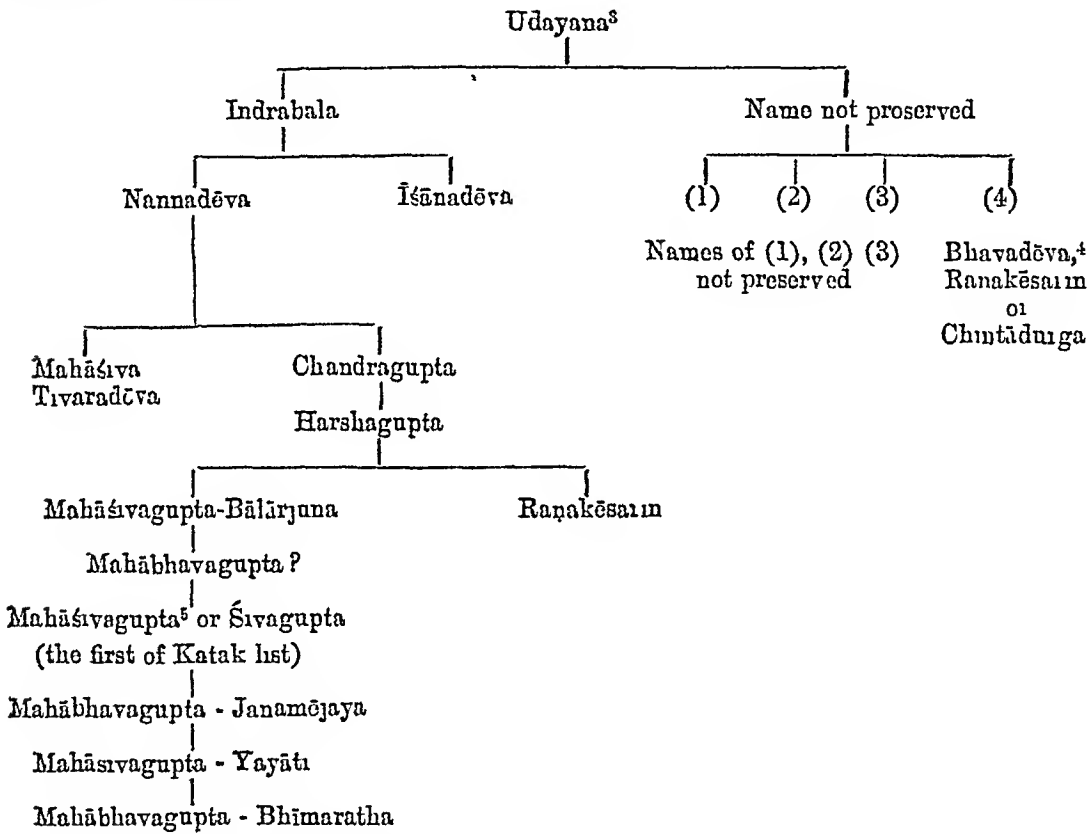
⁶ See tabular statement appended at the end giving the geographical information ascertained by local enquiry or otherwise and map showing the situation of places identified.

⁷ Above, Vol III p 334

⁸ *Ibid.*, p 333

⁹ *Ibid.* p 323

There are four kings in this list, but there are only two names, viz Śivagupta and Bhavagupta ¹ Three of them have a second name which may have been their birth-names or titles The Śivagupta of our inscription had also a second name, viz Bālārjuna Thus Bālārjuna Śivagupta may possibly be the grandfather of the titleless Śivagupta of the Katak inscriptions By the way it may be noted that his granduncle Tivaradōva who was king was also called Mahāśiva as stated in the Balōdī and Rājum plates ² I suppose that the title of Harshagupta must have been Mahābhavagupta, and any further discoveries giving both the names would, I venture to think, confirm this surmise So we can trace back the official title of Mahāśiva up to Tivarvadōva at least and he was possibly great-great-granduncle of the first Śivagupta of the Somavamsī records According to this view the genealogical tree of the amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty would be as under —



¹ These were probably official names, assumed on installation as king, as is still done in some of the states towards Orissa, for instance, the Rāja of Bāmra is either a Sūdhadōva or a Tribhuvanadōva. The present chief whose name was Satchidānanda when he was *yuvārāja*, is Tribhuvanadōva, and so was his grandfather, and his grandson will bear the same name.

² See above, Vol VII p 103, and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 296

³ For sources of information for this genealogy, see *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII p 179, *J R A S* 1905, p 621, Conson's *Progress Report* of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1904, p 54, and above, Vol III p 327. Note that Mahāśiva Tivaradōva's regnal uncle and his possible predecessor at least in one part of Mahā Kōśala was a Bhavadōva, Chuntādurga or Rānakēśarin. Whether the name Bhavadōva was merely fortuitous or otherwise, I leave the reader to consider.

⁴ [From the extracts given by Prof Kielhorn (above Vol IV p 257) it appears that Bhavadōva was the fourth son of Udayana and not the fourth grandson as represented in the genealogical table. But on further examination of the inscription, Prof Kielhorn has stated that "Bhavadōva Rānakēśarin was the fourth son of Indrabala's younger brother whose name has not been preserved," (*J R A S* for 1907, p 621 f -Ed.)

⁵ Above, Vol VIII p 140

The Sirpur inscriptions show that Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta must have been in a fairly prosperous state and so it was probably his son, a possible Mahābhavagupta who was ousted from his ancestral capital. If we do not find any of his records, there is nothing to wonder at. A person in calamity driven out of his home would hardly think of bestowing grants or revel in perpetuating his name when his own position was so shaky, and his descendants would hardly be inclined to mention one who was in such a plight, it being better to omit than to record his tale of defeats¹. For the matter of that, they might also have omitted his son Śivagupta's name as he also does not seem to have been in a much better position, but he was the direct ascendant of his renowned son, and it is possible that he might have prepared the way to the conquest of Trikalīnga of which all his successors are called *adhīpati*, though no such title attaches to his name in any of the inscriptions. It appears that it was Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta (I) who retrieved the good name of his dynasty by conquering the Trikalīnga country. So far as is known, he was the first in his line to take the title of Trikalīngādhipati, though it was disputed by the Harhaya kings of Chēdi, as we find the title used by the Kalachuri Karnadēva of Tripuri in his Benares plate of 1042 A D² and by other members of the same family up to 1174 A D. But they were apparently raiders with superior power, the real rulers of Trikalīnga being the Sōmavamsīs. There is little doubt that these two houses came in contact with each other as in one of the Patnā plates (marked H) the donor claims a victory over Chēdi.

With regard to geographical names, the country of Magadha whence the temple builder was brought in marriage is well known. The other places mentioned are 6 villages given to the temple and its accessories. Of these, I think Karapadra is the same as Kulapadar, 15 miles south-east of Supur, and Vargullaka is apparently Gullū, about 10 miles south-west of Supur and 5 from Ārang. Tōdankana may be Turēngā near Kulapadar. About 4 miles from Turēngā there is a village named Madhuban which may be identical with Madhuvēdha of the inscription. As regards the remaining two, Nālipadra and Vānapadra, I could not find any villages answering to their names. Vānapadra must have been quite close to Sirpur, as it is stated to be 'on the spot'.

An endeavour has been made in the appended statement to identify places mentioned in other records of these kings, and it may not be out of place here to discuss the unsettled question of the capital of these kings. In the records of the Somavamsīs the phrase '*śrīmatō vjaya-Katakāt*' occurs which has been interpreted to mean 'from the victorious Kataka', the capital, in preference to its simple meaning 'from the victorious camp'. That the latter is the real meaning clearly appears from the copper plates³ of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya belonging to the 3rd year of his reign (the oldest of all so far found), in which the word *skandhāvārāt* has been used instead of the usual *katakāt*. It will be observed from other inscriptions that whenever *kataka* is used, the name of the camp (a separate place-name) is invariably⁴ given, but this is not the case when the charters purport to be issued from Yayātinagara or Vinītapura, which Dr Fleet considers to be fanciful names of Kataka itself. It has been assumed that Kataka was the capital of these kings, but I am

¹ Another reason why his name is omitted may be found in the fact that all the records of this dynasty give only the name of the donor and his father in the ordinary business-like way, and since his son Sivagupta for reasons stated further on in the text probably never made a grant, it seems very doubtful whether we would ever get a direct proof of his existence.

² Above, Vol II p 298

³ These plates were found some 13 years ago at Sōpur, the capital of the state of the same name. They were shown to me when I visited that place about 12 years ago (i.e. 1896) and I took a copy of the inscription [They have been published by Mr Mazumdar (above, pp 93 ff) —Ed]

⁴ There is only one exception found in the Patnā plates marked H in which Vinītapura and Kataka are both mentioned, but Mr Laskar has noted that this record is full of mistakes and gross inaccuracies. See *J. A. S.* B 1905, Vol I p 6

unable to share this view. The question has already been discussed by other scholars,¹ and the identification of Yayātinagara with the modern Jāppur has been suggested, but Dr Fleet² has pointed out that this suggestion is untenable as the inscriptions distinctly imply that Yayātinagara was on the Mahānadi, whereas Jāppur is only on the Vantani, about 50 miles away from the former river.

The name Yayātinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinitapura during the reign of Yayāti otherwise known as Mahasivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayātinagara does not occur in any inscriptions. In fact he himself used the older name Vinitapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably somewhere between the 15th and 24th year of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayātinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and 25th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th year of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinitapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has usually asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinitapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binkā. This is a small town in the Sōnpur State, 16 miles north of the present capital of that state. It fulfils all the conditions appertaining to Vinitapura. It is on the bank of the Mahānadi, and the river scenery there is as beautiful as described in the inscriptions. From Sirpur it is about 100 miles as the crow flies and about 180 by river—quite a safe distance to which the ousted family might have removed itself. The two places are so situated that if one fled straight to the east he would meet Binkā as the first place on the Mahānadi, as between these two places the river flows in a curve.³ Binkā, moreover, is central to all the camps from which the kings issued their charters. Of the 13 so far discovered, 5 were issued from the capital itself, 3 from a pleasure garden, which must have been somewhere in the big groves still to be seen on the outskirts of Binkā, 3 were issued from Mūrasīma or the present Mursingā in the Pitrā state, about 11 miles from Binkā, one from Sōnpur, and one from Vīmandāpātī⁴ or Bāmrā, 60 miles to the north-east, but this last was issued by a feudatory from his own headquarters, and he has mentioned his overlord's capital as Yayātinagara. The villages granted so far as they have been identified are situated close to and round about Binkā as a glance on the accompanying map will show.⁵ The existence of a village named Rājpalī (meaning royal hamlet) within a mile of the present Binkā town is significant. There are also remains of a fort close by and a ghāt embankment on the Mahānadi.

¹ See above, Vol VIII p 189 (where Professor Hultzsch prefers to take *katala* in the sense of 'a camp') and *J A S B*, 1905, Vol I, pp 2 and 3.

² Above, Vol III p 355.

³ My idea is that when Bālārjuna's successor was driven out from Sirpur he fled straight off to the east and settled at a spot where he first met the sacred Mahānadi whose waters had sanctified generations of his ancestors. To this obscure place he in his dejection gave the appropriate name of Vinitapura or the 'town of the humbled.' I feel this is rather fanciful, as at this distance of time it is difficult to read the motives which actuated the founder to name the town in that way, and all that can be said is, that the explanation is plausible.

⁴ It may be noted that Bāmrā is still called Bāmandā by the Oriyā people of Sambalpur.

⁵ It is remarkable that there are amongst the donees Brāhmana immigrants from Madhyadēśa and even distant Śrāvastī in Ondh. Their advent to this remote place may easily be explained by the fact that Binkā lay, as it does now, on the high road to Jagannāth Purī, one of the four *dhāmas* or the most sacred places of India, which Hindus from all corners of the country visited as they still continue to do. Some of these learned Pandits of the celebrated district of Śrāvastī might have been induced to settle there, either by solicitations of the king or by necessity owing to the difficulty of crossing long distances for want of good communications, accentuated by the dangers of the road which was infested by robbers of all description.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री² नमः पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥³ अन्योन्यप्रान्तरान्तर्विचलदुरुमरुत्युञ्जगुञ्जारवोत्रै-
रङ्गुल्यग्रैरुदञ्चन्नखकिरणशिखास्पष्टदंष्ट्राकरालैः । क्रामन्वः पातु पञ्चानन
इ[व] चरणञ्चक्रिणः खे घनौघान्विध्वस्य ध्व[र]-
- 2 न्तधाम्नः करिण इव किरन्मौक्तिकाभानि भानि ॥⁴ [१*] लब्धी निर्भेतुमेभिर्न रिपु-
रिति रसादत्तचक्षुर्नखेषु त्रासात्तन्नीड⁵रन्ध्रीदरकुहरदरीमेव लीन विलोक्य ।
हासोह्लासावहेल तदितरकरजायेण निर्भिय [सद्यः कोशा] ⁶चिन्नेप तज्जं
मलमिव
- 3 दनुजं यः स वोव्यान्वृसिद्धः ॥⁷[२*] वहद्विव [रु]चा शा[ड्]ख्या दंष्ट्रां]
सजिह्वमिवासिना ज्वलदिव दधञ्चक्रेणास्यं गदा मुकुटीमिव । ग्रसितुमसुरा-
न्संभूयेव श्रितान्तकविस्त्रम दुरितमिति [विदोयं⁸ विष्णोः] ∪ — ∪ ∪
— ∪ — ॥⁹[३*] [आसीच्छशी]व भुवनाद्भुतभूतभूति¹⁰-
- 4 रुङ्गुतभूतपति[भक्तिसम]प्रभावः । चन्द्रान्वयैकतिल[ल]कः खलु चन्द्रगुप्त[रा]जा-
ख्यया पृथुगुणः प्रथित पृथिव्याम् ॥¹¹[४*] गरीयान्भारोय दुरधिगमिद
वर्त्म - पुरतो न मे प्रष्टः कश्चिन्न च समधुरः कश्चन सखा । इ —
— — — — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ गणेशः स्वशक्त्या
- 5 निर्व्यूटिं ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ॥¹²[५*] दुर्धर्ष[कीर]-
वर[दो] रणदारुणेषु¹³ सीरायुधः स इव कंसनिषूदनस्य । राजाधिकारधवलः
सबलो बभूव यस्याग्रजोप्यनुचरश्चरतो रणेषु ॥¹⁴[६*] कुम्भैरङ्कितमस्तका-
नति[ग¹⁵]दिव्याहारमुग्धात्मनो वक्तान्यस्तवृणानधःकृतकरा-
- 6 न्मातङ्गकान्मारयन् । श्वेव श्वापदराट् न यस्य नृपतेः शीर्ये जगामोपमां
हन्तुः कोशपराक्रमान्वयनयस्तीतत्विषां विद्धिषां ॥¹⁶[७*] तस्याभूद्वनिभृता-
मधीश्वरस्य प्रख्यातो जगति सुतो यथा हिमाद्रेः । रत्नानां वसति-
रखण्डितोरुप[क्षो] मैनाको गिरिरिव यः [स्व]भावतुङ्गः ॥¹⁷[८*]

¹ From the original stone² Expressed by a symbol³ This stroke is corrected from a *visarga*⁴ Metre Sragdharā⁵ Read °नीड or °नीष° [On the impression the reading seems to be °तन्नीड —H K S]⁶ Read कीषा°⁷ Read °सिद्ध Metre Sragdharā⁸ [The reading here intended appears to be वेपीय —Ed]⁹ Metre Harinī¹⁰ The *akshara* त of मृत looks as if it had been corrected from ति¹¹ Metre Vasantatilaka¹² Metre Śikhari¹³ Mr Kṛishna Śāstri suggests the reading वैरिवरवारणदारुणेषु which gives better sense and is adopted in the translation¹⁴ Metre Vasantatilaka¹⁵ Probably नयच [On the impression the reading appears to be °नतिमद° —H K S]¹⁶ Metre Śārūlavikṛidita¹⁷ Metre Praharshupi

- 7 स्थानं चिरादुचितमेतदभून्ममेति लक्ष्मीः प्रसूतिसमये यमुवाह हर्षम् । तेना-
द्वतः सततमेव शुचामगम्यः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति नाम ततो [य ऊहे] ॥¹[८*]
ससक्ताः सकलोपभोगविपये धर्माध्वनि प्र(प्रा)ध्वराः सद्गोष्टोषु निरन्तराः
परवलध्वन्ने²प्यवन्धाः सदा । [अच्युष्णाः] सतत [गुरू]पचरणे
- 8 यान्ति स्म विस्मापिनो यस्यानेकसुखाक्रियासु युगपत्संभाविनी वासराः ॥³ [१०*]
क्षुण्णा भित्तिरनेकधा विघटिताः सर्वेऽप्यमी [स]न्वयो वीथ्यङ्गान्यपि विद्व-
तानि परितः शुष्कोस्थिव(व)न्धक्रमः । चित्रं प्रच्युतमासुखादपि कथ किं
वेदितेनामुना यस्येति द्विपता कुनाटकमिव द्विष्ट पुरं
- 9 प्रेक्षकैः ॥⁴[११*] तस्मादजायत महाशिवगुप्तराजो धर्मावतार इति निर्वि-
तयं प्रतीतः । भीमेन यः सुत इव प्र[द्य]मः पृथायाः पृथ्वी जिगाय
रणकेसरिणानुजेन ॥⁵[१२*] भावी हन्त पितामहादपि महाना⁶चर्यमप्यो-
जसा जेष्यत्येप रणे वलेन भविता तत्कोस्य वैकर्त्तनः । अस्ता[भ्य]स्तिष
य सम[स्त]-
- 10 जयिन मत्वेति वालार्जुन स्त्रे देहेपि ऋहु स्पृहामरिगणाः प्रागेव
सम्पत्तिपु ॥⁷[१३*] यः प्रहेपवतां वधाय विद्वतीरास्थाय मा[य]ामयोः
क्षणो [योव]तरन्नभूद्विह स खल्वव्याजलूनद्विषः । नासीदेव समो
हरिर्धवलतामात्यन्तिकीं विभ्रतो यस्याकल्कमतेर्न चापि भविता क[ल्की]
भवियन्पुनः ॥⁸[१४*]
- 11 तस्योरुजन्यजयिनो जननी जनानामीशस्य शैलत[न]येव मयू[रके]तोः ।
विस्मापनी विबुधलीकधियां वभूव श्रीवासटेति नरसि[ङ्गत]नोः⁹ सटेव ॥¹⁰
[१५*] निष्यङ्गे भगधाधिपत्यमहता जातः कुले वर्मणां पुण्याभिः
कृतिभि कृती कृतमन कम्पः सुधाभो[जि]नाम् ।
- 12 यामासाद्य सुता हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्मा नृपः प्राप प्राक्परमेश्वर-
श्वश्रुतागर्वानिखर्वं पदम् ॥¹¹[१६*] गतेपि पत्यौ दिव[मेक]रूपैः सदी-
पवासव्रतकशितैरपि । न सुक्तमेवावयवैर्यदीये. स्वभावलीलामयमात्ममण्डनम्
॥¹²[१७*] या वण्णात्रमिणां त्रयीव शरण राज्यस्य नीति[र्य]था
- 13 प्रज्ञेव प्रविवेचनी सदसतोस्तृष्णावता श्रीः स्वयम् । उत्खाताखिलकल्मषप्रसरया
किञ्चिच्चलन्ती स्थिते सन्धानाय यया सखीव पृथिवी भूयः कृत स्मारिता ॥¹²

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka² Read ध्वने°³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁵ Metre Vasantatilaka⁶ Read °चार्य°⁷ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Read नरसिङ्ग वनमूर्धो त्वपि स्त्री स्यात् चिबल्ये विरले कृष्णे—इति मेदिनी⁹ Metre Vasantatilaka¹⁰ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹¹ Metre Upajati¹² Metre. Śārdūlavikrīḍita

- [१८*] दमयन्त्या [ह्य'पि] पुरा यः स्थल प्राप्य गर्वितः । स
क[लिः] खेपि समये हतमान कृतो यया ॥^१[१९*] तथा निजः
- 14 प्रेत्य पतिर्यथाविधे वसत्यसौ नित्यमुपासिताच्युतः । प्रकाशितु तादृशमेव
कारित विभोरिट धाम हरे सनातनम् ॥^१[२०*] दिव्यादेः सकलस्य
जन्तुनिवहस्योच्चावचैः कर्मणा वैचिन्यादयमद्भुतो बहुविधावस्वैवपुःपञ्जरैः ॥
[यः*] प्रासाद'ह[ह]च्छलेन क-
- 15 धितः संसार एव स्फुट पश्यन्तस्तदिम मनः कुरुत भो पापेषु मा
सूक्ष्मिपाः ॥^१[२१*] क्षणमधः क्षणमुत्पतितैर्नभः पवनलील[त]या [ध्वज]-
पल्लवैः । (1) हरणपालनयोश्चिते गती कथयति स्वयमेव महोभुजा
॥^१[२२*] तट एव भवास्वुधेस्तरितुं निहि-
- 16 तो धर्ममयः श्रुवो महान् । परिपालयितव्य एष भूपैरवदोर्णां हि निमज्ज-
यत्यधः ॥^१[२३*] इति वः प्रशस्तिकारः कविः स चिन्तातुराह ईशानः
॥ यत्पालनार्थमर्थयति पार्थिवास्तां स्थितिं शृणुत ॥^१[२४*] तोडङ्गण-
म[धु]-
- 17 [वेढी] नालीपदश्च कुरपदश्च^१ [1*] स्थानेन वाणपदश्च पञ्च दत्ता इमे ग्रामा
॥^{१०}[२५*] एषां भागास्त्रयः सत्रे खण्डस्फुटितसस्कृती । पादसूलपरीवा-
रपोषणे च त्रिधाकृताः ॥^{११}[२६*] यस्तु [च]तुर्यो भागः स पञ्चदश-
धाकृ-
- 18 तो विभागेन ॥ तत्र द्वादश विप्राः प्रतिवेद प्रतिचतुष्केन ॥^{१२}[२७*]
ब्रह्मत्रिविक्रमोर्कश्च विष्णुदेवस्तथापरः ॥ तथा महिरदेवश्च चत्वारो
बह्वृचोत्तमाः ॥^{१३}[२८*] एव कपर्दीपाध्यायो भास्करो मधुसूदनः ॥ वेद-
गर्भश्च चत्वा-
- 19 रो यजुर्वेदस्य पारगाः ॥^{१३}[२९*] तथा भास्करदेवश्च स्थिरोपाध्याय एव
च ॥ त्रैलोक्यह[न्सो] मोडङ्ग[चत्वारः] सामपारगा ॥^{१३}[३०*] भाव्य
तत्पुत्रपीत्रैश्च साग्नि[हो]त्रैः षडङ्गिभिः ॥ द्यूत[वि]श्याद्यनासत्तैरपिष्ठाकैरसिक्त्रै
॥^{१३}[३१*] य[स्तु]
- 20 नवविधो^{१४} स[हि] यश्चापुत्रो विपत्स्यते ॥ तयोरङ्गे प्रवेश्योन्मः पूर्वोक्तगुण-
वान्निज ॥^{११}[३२*] स चैषामिव सम्बन्धी सविद्यत्वे वयोधिकः [1*]

¹ [On the impression the reading seems to be अपि —H K S]

² Metre Anushtubh ³ Metro Vamśasthāvīla

⁴ [On the impression the reading seems to be ब्र instead of ह —H K S]

⁵ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita ⁶ Metre Drutaḥlambita

⁷ Metre Vartāhya

⁸ Metre Āryā

⁹ Read °पद

¹⁰ Metre Āryā

¹¹ Metre Anushtubh

¹² Metro Āryā

¹³ Metre Anushtubh

¹⁴ [On the impression the reading appears to be भावी —H K S]

एभिरेव च साम्प्रत्याख्येश्यो न वृपा[त्र]या(तु) ॥¹[३३*] ततो वास-
वनन्दीति [वि]प्रः

21 पु[स्थाह]²वाचकः ॥ द्वी च भागवती नाम्ना वामनः श्रीधरस्तथा ¹॥
[३४*] एते पञ्चदशान्ना विवर्जिता दानविक्रियाधानैः ॥ सर्व्वेपि
[च] सङ्गोच्याः (॥) लेख³क⁴धार्यगोण्ण इति इति⁴ ॥⁵[३५*] यस्तल ए[व]
ग्रामो वर्गुल्लकसंज्ञितः स [दि]-

22 वस्य [॥] बलिचरुनिवेद्यसत्री[प]करणहेतोः पृथग्दत्तः ॥⁶[३६*] अत्र च
साधिष्ठानैः सपादमूलैश्च सर्व्वकार्याणि ॥ सम्भूय विप्रमुख्यैः करणीयान्यै-
कमत्येन ॥⁶[३७*] स्थितिरिय च्छितिपाः परिपाल्यतां च[ल]तु

23 ⁸सैष क्ततोपकृति[क्र]मः ॥ [न]नु भविष्यति का पुनरु[त्तरा] गतिरहो
भवतामपि की[र्त्ति]षु ॥⁷[३८*] [ग]जस्त्रानं जातं [खलु] चरणकुहास-
नमिद स्वयं पुण्योस्थानं⁸ यदिह परकीर्त्तित्तकृतां ॥

24 ⁹मदक्लाम्यत्तन्वीनयनतरलान्वीस्य विभवानतः श्रेयः ¹⁰शुद्धं व्रतम[नुचर]न्कीर-
[नु?]दिरं ॥¹¹[३९*] भवाब्धि[र्म्म]प्रवक[र्ण]धारी वन्भूव देव्याः कुलशील-
शाली ॥ केदारनामा स [इ]दं समग्र-

25 मकारयत्पुण्यमहानिधानं ॥¹²[४०*] श्री शिवगुप्तो राजा क्लित्वा वैलोक्य --
७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — — — — त्येन प्रादा[त्गो]णा-
[र्थ]भट्टाय ¹³[४१*] भागमिहैक स्या[नं]¹⁴ गुणवद्दि¹⁵जभोज्यमुत्तमगु-
[णाय] ॥

26 शास्त्रव्याख्याविदुषे विदुषे [१०]शास्त्रेषु वेदेषु ॥¹⁷[४२*]

¹ Metro Anushtubh. [The letter, read नु, resembles a floral device which was perhaps inserted to indicate that the main part of the grant ended here —H K S]

² [On the impression this word looks like पुस्तक^o—Ed].

³ [The metre requires this syllable to be long, perhaps we have to read लेखाङ्गवाच—H K S] [On the impression the reading appears to be लेखकधाच—Ed]

⁴ इति is repeated a second time by mistake It must be cancelled Metro Āryā

⁵ Motre: Āryā

⁶ सै looks like सै

⁷ Motre - Drutavilambita

⁸ [On the impression the reading is पुण्योस्थान —H K S]

⁹ [On the impression the reading seems to be क्लाम्यन्तारी^o—H K S]

¹⁰ [On the impression the reading seems to be शुद्ध कुरुत ननु भी क्षीरमदिर—H K S]

¹¹ Metro Śikharinī

¹² Metro Upsyāta

¹³ Metro Āryā [On the impression

the reading seems to be प्रादागोलायभट्टाय —Ed]

¹⁴ [Ed]

¹⁵ [Read गुणवद्दिज^o.—H K S]

¹⁶ [On the impression the letter looks like सा.—Ed.]

¹⁷ Metro Āryā.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Ōm! Salutation to Parushōttama (Vishnu)

(Verse 1.) Let the discus-holder's (*Nṛisimha's*¹) foot protect you—the foot whose sharp claws emitted a sound like that of *guñjā* berries (*shaken*) by the gust of strong winds passing through the long spaces between each other, and (*looked*) terrific (more so) with the jaws shinning with the flame of rays (*emanating*) from the nails, when they being lifted up, tore through the mass of dark clouds in the sky and revealed the stars with pearly brilliance, like a lion who, having overcome that storehouse of darkness,— the elephant, jumps about scattering brilliant pearls (*torn from his temples*)

(V 2) Let that Nṛisimha protect you, who looking with eagerness at (*his own*) nails, for the enemy (*Hiranyakaśipu*) who had not been secured for being torn with these (claws), happened to see him hiding through fear in the cavern-like cavity in the interior of the deep hollow of those (*nails*) With a laugh (*at his foolishness in taking shelter in the place where he could be easily crushed out*), joy (*at finding him out*) and contempt (*at the miserable creature*) he split the demon at once with the point of the other claw and threw him away with wrath like dirt that had collected there

(V 3)² As if bearing the jaws like a beautiful conch and the tongue like a sword, with the face burning like the discus (*and*) with the eye-brows (*as if carrying*) the mace, this form of Vishnu born for devouring, like sins, the demons, presented the appearance of the god of death

(V 4) There was the unequalled crest-jewel of the lunar race, whose wealth was wonderful on earth, just as the origin of the moon was miraculous and whose dignity was commensurate with his devotion to the lord of goblins (Śiva) He was indeed of manifold virtues, (*and*) famous on the earth by the name of [Chandraguptarāja]

(V 5) This task is very difficult, this path before (me) insurmountable I have no guide nor (*have I*) any friend (*who can*) share the burden (*with me*) I accomplish this single-handed

(V 6) Even his elder brother shining with regal power,³ became his follower in battles and (*through him*) mighty, like him whose weapon is the plough (Balarāma), who likewise followed the killer of Kamsa (Krishna) in tearing up the mighty elephants of his unassailable enemy⁴

(V. 7) In bravery, a lion killing the elephants with (*swelling*) frontal globes,—rendered dull by the ories (*due to*) excessive rut,—with fodder placed in their mouths, or the trunks hanging down, is like a dog and cannot stand comparison with the king destroying (*his*) enemies blooming with the prosperity of their treasures, prowess, race and statesmanship⁵

¹ [There seems to be a reference here not to Nṛisimha but to the Trivikrama-avatār of the god Vishnu — H. K. S.]

² The poet here seems to show that the terrific face of Nṛisimha bore the symbols of Vishnu as also of Yama. The jaws being white bones were like the conch, the tongue like the sword which is also one of the weapons of Vishnu, the round face, the discus and eye brows the mace. Yama's attributes are projecting jaws, long tongue, red hot face and a club

³ [Perhaps Adhikārādhavala was a name or surname of his elder brother — H. K. S.]

⁴ [As the reading in the text is clearly °dārannēshu (not dāranēshu as Mr Hiralal seems to take it) the compound ending with that word is evidently an attribute of the word ranēshu — Ed.]

⁵ [The passage कुम्भेऽद्वितमसकान्तिसद्व्याहारमुग्धात्मनो वक्रत्यसद्व्यापनच कृतकरान् admits of two meanings, one applicable to the subdued kings and the other to elephants — H. K. S.]

(V 8) Of him, the lord of the rulers of the earth, was born a son famous in the world (*who was*) a very treasure of jewels, (*who had*) a large number of undivided allies and (*who was*) high in character, (*thus*) resembling the high Maināka hill which is the offspring of the lord of mountains, *viz* the Himādri (mountain), has extensive wings which are unclipped and is a mine of jewels

(V 9) At the time of his birth, the goddess of wealth was transported with joy saying 'It is a long time since I found such a suitable place for myself' Ever filled with joy (*harsha*) and verily inaccessible to grief he accordingly bore the name śrī Harshagupta

(V 10) His precious days passed in enjoying all the sensuous objects, (*they were*) indefatigably applied in the path of virtue, and unceasingly (*spent*) in good assemblies, they never went fruitless (*when employed*) in the destruction of hostile power and were uninterruptedly devoted in the service of the elders Thus they always caused wonder in (*the performance of*) many pleasing duties simultaneously.

(V 11) His enemies' town is hated by the spectators as the walls are crushed to powder, all the joints are separated in various ways, the limbs of the streets are also torn asunder, and on all sides there is an exhibition of dry bones (*They exclaim*) 'what is to be seen here? How has the variegated appearance even of the entrance (*of the town*) disappeared?' Thus (*saying*) (*the spectators*) hate it like a bad drama destitute of interest even in the prologue, with torn curtains (*bhitti*), disjointed incidents, broken dialogues and dry plot

(V 12) From him was born king Mahāśivagupta truly renowned as an incarnation of virtue (*dharmāvatāra*)¹ who conquered the earth with (*his*) younger brother Ranakēśarin as did Prithā's first son (Yudhishtira) with the aid of his younger brother Bhīma who was like a lion in battle

(V 13) Indeed! greater than even his grandfather (*as he is*) he would beat even his teacher in battle with his prowess and strength, who would therefore be his vanquisher (*karttana*)? The crowd of enemies considering him Bālārjuna, (*to be*) an all-conqueror amongst practisers of arms, gave up the hope even for their lives (*as they had done*) already for their wealth [like the foes of Arjuna (*viz* the sons of Dhṛitarāshtra) who first gave up their hope for wealth when they found that young Arjuna promised to excel Bhīshma and surpass Drōṇa in prowess What was Karna before him in the practice of weapons!]

(V 14) He who took deceptive forms for destroying the enemies, who was born black (Kṛishna) on this (*earth*) and who again becomes in the future also sinful (Kalki)—that Hari (Vishnu) could not really stand comparison with him who kills his enemies without practising any deception, who bears the utmost whiteness² and who has no sinful motives

(V 15) Of that lord of men, the conqueror in fierce battles, the illustrious Vāsatā was the mother, like the very mane (*satā*) of the man-lion form (of Vishnu) bewildering the minds (*even*) of wise men (and of the gods), just like the mother of him who rides the peacock (Kārttikēya), the daughter of the mountain (*viz* Pārvati)

(V 16) Born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of (*their*) supremacy over Magadha, the illustrious (and) pious king Sūryavarmā who had caused trembling in the hearts of the gods by his virtuous acts, having got this daughter, obtained the very proud honour of being the father-in-law of the great lord (*Paramēśvara*) of the East, like Himāchala (who obtained before a similar honour by marrying his daughter Pārvati to the great god (*paramēśvara*), Śiva)

¹ [Dharmāvatāra may have been a *biruda* of the king—H K S]

² [Perhaps the king had the surname Atyantadhava—H K S]

³ [It is worthy of note that the Sarabhapura kings Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudēva granted villages in the Eastern country (Pūrva rāshtra), Gupta Inscriptions, pp 192, 195, 197 and 199—Ed.]

(V 17) Even after (*her*) lord went to heaven, in spite of her always observing fasts and austerities, which cause leanness (*of the body*), her unaltered limbs retained their natural charming grace

(V 18.) She, like the Vēdas, was the shelter to the people belonging to the four *varnas* (castes) and *āśramas*¹ (or) like Policy to a kingdom, like Wisdom (*herself*) in deciding between truth and falsehood, (*and*) the goddess of Wealth herself to the greedy. The spread of all sins was checked by her and the earth that was about to abandon her fidelity (*by wooing, so to speak, the Kali age*) was again reminded by her, as a friend, of the *Krita (age)* for the sake of reunion [as a lady's maid reminds her mistress of (*her husband's*) acts to bring about a union (*between them*) when somewhat disturbed]

(V 19) By whom Kali during his own regime (*is the Kali age*) was dishonoured, that Kali who boasted of having access even to Damayanti² in olden times

(V 20) By her this eternal abode of the lord Hari was caused to be made, to show exactly (*the abode Vairūntha*) where her deceased lord lived worshipping daily the imperishable (*Vishnu in the heavens*)

(V 21) Oh kings! do not turn your minds to sins, seeing what has been clearly described of this wonderful world (*samsāra*) under the guise of the temple (*ic*) the diversity of acts of all creatures high and low— with cage-like bodies (*passing*) through various stages of existence—from the celestial beings (*downwards*)

(V 22) This itself tells the kings the appropriate fate of destruction and protection (*of charity*) by (the waving of) its flags (*tossed*) by the unsteady wind, in one moment going down, and in another rising up towards the sky

(V 23) On the very bank of (*this*) ocean of the world, the great boat of *dharma* has been placed to cross it. This must be protected by kings. Neglected (*it*) would sink down

(V 24) O (*future*) kings! (*Now*) listen to the perpetuation which the poet Chintā-turāṅka Īśāna, author of the *praśasti*, submits to you for the protection of it (*ic* the charity)

(V 25) Tōḍankana, Madhuvēdha, Nalipadra, Kurapadra and in this place (*sthāna*) Vānapadra,— these five villages are given

(V 26³) Of these (*villages*) three shares have been divided in three ways for (*the maintenance of*) the almshouse, the repair of breaks and cracks (*in the temple*) and the support of the servants of the sanctuary (*one share being allotted for each of the purposes*)

(V 27) The fourth share has been divided into fifteen parts. These are (*for*) twelve Brāhmanas, four for each Vēda

(V. 28) Brahma-Trivikrama, Arka and another Vishnudēva, as well as Mahiradēva (*are*) the four best learned in the Rigvēda

¹ The Sūtras cannot study the Vēdas and have no *āśramas*.

² Damayanti pretended that she would marry, thinking that hearing this news, her husband Nala would come forward and dislodge himself, and although her intention was most noble, she nevertheless committed a sin by procuring an unholy wish, and Kali thus secured a victory over this exemplary chaste lady, who was free from sin by act, thought or speech. The 19th verse alludes to this occurrence, and I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda, M.A., Officiating Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, for pointing it out to me and for his kindness in going over the manuscript

³ I am indebted to Mr Krishna Śāstri for pointing out that खडकटित has a technical sense here. पादमूल he thinks means 'the sanctuary', both of which I have adopted in the translation

(V 29) Similarly, Kapardōpādhyāya, Bhāskara, Madhusūdana and Vēdagarbha (are) the four fully conversant with the Yajurveda.

(V 30) Agan, Bhāskaradēva, Sthirōpādhyāya, Trailōkyahamsa and Mōuddha (are) the four accomplished in the Sāmavēda

(V 31) Their sons and grandsons (*who succeed them*) should be such as offer sacrifice to fire and know the six supplements of the Vēdas, who are not addicted to gambling, prostitutes and such other (*bad associations*), who have their mouths clean (*apittaka*) and who are not servants

(V 32) If one does not answer to this description, (*he should be abandoned*), also one who dies sonless—in their places must be appointed other Brāhmanas possessing the foregoing qualifications

(V 33) He should be their relative, advanced in age while being learned. He should be appointed by their consent alone and not by order of the king

(V 34) Further, (*there are*) the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin who at sacrifices declares holidays¹ and the two Bhāgavatas by name Vāmana and Śrīdhara

(V 35) These fifteen parts, (*the alienation of which is*) prohibited by gift, sale and mortgage, must all be (*thus*) enjoyed by virtuous men. The writer of this is Ārya-Gonna.

(V 36) The village which is on a low level² and is known as Vargullaka is separately given (*as a supplementary contribution*) for the maintenance of the almshouse, for *baḥi*, *charu* and *nivēdya* to the god

(V 37) All the transactions should be performed unanimously by the principal Brāhmaṇas (resident there), and the worshippers (*pādāmūla*) meeting together

(V 38) Oh Kings! protect this organization. Let this arrangement of mutual obligation continue (*for ever*). Alas! what indeed, will be the future of your fame!

(V 39) The establishment of (*the places of*) *punya* (*i.e. almshouses, etc*) by those who destroy the (*deeds of*) glory of others is just like an elephant-bath (*throwing dust on one's own head*) or an axe for (*cutting one's*) feet. Therefore, seeing that riches are as fickle as the eyes of an intoxicated woman, it is better to follow the path of virtue and

(V 40) He who was distinguished for the nobility of his character and family and whose name was Kēdara, became the helmsman of the boat of virtue in the ocean of existence for the queen and got this great receptacle of religious merit built completely.

(V 41) The illustrious king Śivagupta the three worlds, gave to Gōnārya-Bhatta

(V 42) One part of this (*gift*) which is to be enjoyed by a virtuous Brāhmaṇa is reserved for one who is well read in the *Sāstras* and (*their*) commentaries, as well as the Vēdas and is of excellent character

¹ [*Punyāha tāchaka* (as Mr Hirralal has read) is a priest who officiates in all auspicious ceremonies and proclaims by certain *mantras* a happy day to the ceremony and its performer—H K S]

² [*Tala ēra* may be more appropriately translated 'close at hand'—H K S]

³ [Following the note 10 on page 193 above, I translate —'O men! keep therefore (your) virtue, which is lovely as milk, unsullied'—H K S]

Geographical names in the records of the Somavamsi kings of (Kafak) Vinīapūa, with identifications where ascertained

Designation of the record and reference to its publication	Place of find.	Name of place whence issued	Villages granted.	Name of country in which the village granted was situated	Grantor's residence and place from which he emigrated	REMARKS
1 A — Patnā copper plate grant of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I Above, Vol III p 341	2 Patnā Stato	3 (1) Mūrasīna = Mursiṅgā, in Patnā Stato, about 13 miles south west of Bolangir, the present capital of Patnā Stato	4 (1) Vakavediā = probably Bakti, 15 miles north of Bolangir and 4 miles south of the Ongā river	5 (1) Ongūta vis haya = District on the bank of the Ongā river which flows in Patnā forming the boundary between it and Sonpur in the north	6 (1) Loisringā = Loisingā, the headquarters of a Zamindārī of the same name in Patnā Stato, 11 miles north of Bolangir (2) Khandāpara = Khandāpara? in the tributary stato of the same name touching the south-western boundary of Cuttack district (3) Lapatringā = probably Lepta (?), 6 miles south east of Bolangir (4) Pampāsarsi (5) Otrāyāringā = probably Udayagiri in Cuttack district, 4 miles from the celebrated Bhuvanēśvar (6) Konkaleda = probably Koknara in Borī Sambhar Zamindārī of Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Narsinghānath (7) Kalinga = country on the coast of Bay of Bengal Kalinganagara = Mukhalingam in the Gaujam district	7 In all the inscriptions of these kings they are invariably recorded as lords of Trikalinga, which is identified with Telungā and is believed to have included the whole of Orissa.

<p>B—Katak copper-plate grant of the 31st year of Mahābhaya Gupta I Vol III Above, Vol III p 345</p>	<p>Chaudwār oppo- site Cuttack on the other side of the Mahā- nadi</p>	<p>(2) Ārāma or Pleasure garden</p>	<p>(2) Raudhā = Raudhī in Patnā State, 6 miles east of Bolangir</p> <p>(3) Alindalā = Alandā, 8 miles east of Bolan- gir</p> <p>(4) Arkagrāmā =</p>	<p>(2) Pāvā vishnya = Pow in Sonpur State, 19 miles south of Bunkā, 12 miles north east of Bolangir and 8 miles north east of Raudhī</p> <p>(3) Kōśala dīśa = country between Berār and Cuttack afterwards limited to Chhattisgarh</p> <p>(4) Tālmāna Khandā = Turum on the Mahānadi, 27 miles south of Sambal- pur</p> <p>Kōśala dīśa same as No (3)</p> <p>(5) Sandhānā-vishaya = probably Sandhā, 11 miles east of Sonpur</p> <p>Kōśala-dīśā, same as No (3)</p> <p>(8) Marada-vishaya</p> <p>(9) Dakshina Kōśalā, i.e., southern Kōśalā</p>	<p>(8) Turvunā</p> <p>(9) Takārī = possibly the one, 16 miles north-west of Gya</p> <p>Turvunā, same as No (8)</p> <p>Takārī, same as No (9)</p> <p>Turvunā, same as No (8)</p> <p>Ṭakāri, same as No (9)</p> <p>(10) Śilabbāñja pāṭī</p> <p>(11) Ōdra dēśa = Orissa</p> <p>(12) Śrīvallagrāma = probably Bilgrāma, 20 miles from Ayōdhya</p> <p>(13) Madhya dēśa = The country lying between the Hamāya, the Vindhya, Vinasāna in the west and Prayāga in the east. Fakkāra, probably same as No (9)</p>	<p>In plates issued from Vihita- pura or Yayāta- nagara, the well-known river Mahānadi which rises in the Raipur Dis- trict and falls into the Bay of Bengal is men- tioned.</p>
<p>C—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year Above, Vol III p 345</p>	<p>Chaudwār oppo- site Cuttack</p>	<p>Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No (2)</p>	<p>(5) Tulendā or Trūlondā = Tulendā?, 6 miles north of Bolangir in Patnā State</p> <p>(6) Chāndagrāma</p>			
<p>D—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year Above, Vol III p 345</p>	<p>Chaudwār oppo- site Cuttack</p>	<p>Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No (2)</p>				
<p>E—Katak copper-plate grant of the 9th year of Mahāsiva-gupta Above, Vol III p 351</p>	<p>Found among the official re- cords at Cut- tack</p>	<p>(3) Vihitapura = Bunkā on the Mahānadi in the Sonpur State, about 16 miles up</p>				

Onomographical names in the records of the Somanasa kings of (Katak) Vantapura, with identifications where-ascertained—contd

Designation of the record and reference to its publication	Place of find	Name of place whence issued	Villages granted	Name of country in which the village granted is situated	Grantor's residence and place from which he originated	REMARKS
I F—Katak copper plate grant of the 8th year of Mahāvāgupta Gupta II Above, Vol III p 355	2 Believed to have been found somewhere close to Cuttack	3 (4) Vantapura, or partly another name of Vantapura No (3)	4 (7) Gaudasamull	5 (10) K. di. Sika n g a n d a n h, (Khadyantā?) vishya	6 (11) Singā grāma = probably Singhat in the Kharir Zamindari in the extreme south of the Raipur district (15) Dēvabhāga vishya = Debbhog in the Bhadrī Nayānath Zamindari in the extreme south of Raipur District Kōsra [Ch. 2] = Chhattisgarh (16) Kāsuli (17) Srīnāsi mandala in Oudi, round about the present Sahet Mahet. Loisingrā, same as No (1) (18) Kommipura	7
G—Patnā copper plates of the 8th year of Mahāvāgupta I J A S B 1905, Vol I p 1	Patnā State	Mūrasīma, same as No (1)	(8) Pīatalā = Potalā, 2 miles east of Bologir	(11) Poti? probably same as No (2)	(19) Jalajodā = Jalajodo near Talgaṇa, 10 miles south east of Bologir (20) Madhvila	The plates mention the Chelli country, which lay south of the Jamna and extended at least up to the Bilaspur District of the Central Provinces; also Dahan, probably another name of Pāhaja, or Jubbulpore country
H—Patnā copper plates of the 8th year of Mahāvāgupta Gupta J A S B 1905, Vol I p 6	Patnā State	Vantapura, same as No (3)	(9) Talakajja = Talagaṇa, 10 miles south-east of Bologir (10) Dīstūrī anadi This is probably now known as Nimeruti river to the north of which is Jalajodo and to its south Talagaṇa, the distance between the two villages being only 2 miles	(12) Samīlī = Somulā in Patnā State, 20 miles south of Bologir and 22 miles south-west of Talgaṇa Kōśalā-dīśa, same as No. 3		

<p>I.—Patnā copper plates of the 24th year of Mahāśi v a g u p t a J A S B 1905, Vol I, p 7</p>	<p>Patnā Stato</p>	<p>Yayātinagara, same as No (4)</p>	<p>(11) Hūlābōli or Dākā dēli</p>	<p>(13) Telātata = country on the bank of the river Tel, a tributary of Mahānadi rising in Kālā-hendī and joining it at Sonpur Kōśala, same as No (3)</p>	<p>(21) Antarādī (22) Lāvādī vishaya = Lebda P. 48 miles south-west of Bolangir Kāśhī, same as No (16) Śrīvastī, same as No (17) Antarādī, same as No 21 Lāvādī, same as No 22 Kāśhī, same as No 16 Śrīvastī, same as No 17</p>	<p>Lōrupura is mentioned as the inscription writer's residence.</p>
<p>J.—Patnā copper plates of the 28th year of Mahāśivagupta J A S B 1905, Vol I, p 8.</p>	<p>Patnā Stato</p>	<p>Yayātinagara, same as No (4)</p>	<p>(12) Lūtārumā</p>	<p>Telātata, same as No (13) Kōśala, same as No 3</p>	<p>(23) Hastipada.</p>	
<p>K.—Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta II Above, Vol IV p 256</p>	<p>Kudopali in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district</p>	<p>(5) Vāmandā pāṭi = Māmrā, a feudatory state in Bengal still called by the Oriyas Bāmrāndī Bāmrā-garh (old capital of Bāmrā) is 60 miles north east of Bunkū</p>	<p>(18) Lōstrā, a village of the same name in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur District, 13 miles south east of Bargarh and 16 miles south west of Sambalpur It is 9 miles south of Sarandā and 3 miles south of Kudopali</p>	<p>(14) Gūlāndī (correctly, Sūlāntī) mandala, is the same as Sarandā in Bargarh tahsil, 11 miles south-west of Sambalpur town</p>	<p>(24) Murujungī (25) Purnabhāmandapa in Oāri dēś (same as No 11)</p>	
<p>L.—Nāgpur Museum plates of the 8th year of Mahābhavagupta I Above, Vol VIII p 188</p>	<p>Satlamā in Sambalpur district</p>	<p>M[ū]raīna, same as No 1</p>	<p>(14) Satlamā = Satlamā, in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur District, 15 miles south of Bargarh and 33 miles south west of Sambalpur</p>	<p>(15) Kāśālōdī vishaya = Kusardī, 15 miles south west of Bargarh and 31 miles south west of Sambalpur It is 10 miles north west of Satlamā</p>	<p>(26) Mērandī = Mendī, 17 miles west of Sonpur (27) Kādūbhāmvallika dāra = Kairākol, a feudatory state contiguous to Sonpur, the village Kairākol being 45 miles from Sonpur</p>	
<p>M.—Sonpur copper plates of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta I Above, p 93 ff</p>	<p>Sonpur</p>	<p>Savarasapura = Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the capital of a feudatory state of the same name in Bengal</p>	<p>(15) Vāratentālī = Bar-tentuli in Sonpur State, 16 miles west of Sonpur town</p>	<p>(16) Lūpātārā-khānda, probably the same as No 3 of column 6</p>	<p>(26) Mērandī = Mendī, 17 miles west of Sonpur (27) Kādūbhāmvallika dāra = Kairākol, a feudatory state contiguous to Sonpur, the village Kairākol being 45 miles from Sonpur</p>	

No 20—THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE

By F E PARGITER, M A, I C S (Rtd)

The Wardak vase or urn was found by Masson in the topes of Khawat in the district of Wardak in Afghanistan during the years 1834-7. He called the place Kohwät and gave this description of it —“These topes are situated on the course of the river, which, having its source in the Hazarajat, flows through Lóghar into the plain east of Kabul, where it unites with the stream passing through the city. They are distant about 30 miles to the west of Kabul” (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117). The map of Kabul and its neighbourhood compiled by the Survey Department of India shows the district as “Khawat or Wardak,” and as lying from 34 to 50 miles south-west of Kabul. Khawat therefore and not Kohwät is the correct name of the spot where the vase was found in the Wardak district. Masson’s description of the finding of the vase is this —“There are five or six topes, strictly so called, with numerous *tumul*. . . I found that three or four of these structures had been opened at some unknown period, and before the present Afghan inhabitants had dispossessed the former occupants, Hazaras, about one hundred years since. . . In the principal tope an internal cupola was enclosed, or rather had been. I directed certain operations to be pursued, even with the opened topes, and pointed out a number of *tumul* which I wished to be examined, as they were very substantially constructed. The results proved successful, in great measure, and comprised seven vases of metal and steatite, with other and various deposits. One of the brass vases was surrounded with a Bactro-Pali inscription, of which I did not take a copy, as to have done so I must have cleansed it. I was averse to take this liberty, being aware that the characters being firmly dotted in could by no chance be obliterated” (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117-8).

The inscription was copied and published in a plate, which is numbered X in E Thomas’s Edition of *Prinsep’s Essays*, vol 1, and E Thomas there says —“I have devoted plate X to the exhibition of the inscription on the brass urn discovered in a tope about 30 miles west of Kabul in the district of Wardak. This urn, which in shape and size approximates closely to the ordinary water-vessels in use in India to this day, has originally been thickly gilt, and its surface has in consequence remained so excellently well preserved, that every puncture of the dotted legend may be satisfactorily discriminated” (*ibid*, 161-2). He tried to decipher the inscription and published his results there. Mr E C Bayley then took the inquiry up but was not satisfied with his endeavours, and the elucidation was then entrusted to Babu Rajendralala Mitra. He published his rendering of the inscription together with the same plate in *J A S B*, 1861, p 337, to which Mr Bayley added a note (*ibid*, p 347). Prof J Dowson next undertook the decipherment of this and other records in the Kharóshthi character and published his results together with the same plate in *J R A S*, 1863, vol XX, pp 221-68. His scrutiny left many parts of this inscription still undeciphered, and so the matter rested. Other scholars have given some attention to this inscription lately but were unable to complete the investigation¹. Dr Fleet then asked me in November 1910 to undertake the work, and supplied me with excellent ink-impressions. I now publish the results that I have been able to obtain².

This vase is now in the British Museum, and I have inspected it and compared the ink-impressions with the inscription. The vase is 6.9 inches high and 6.6 inches broad at its

¹ See for instance M. Senart’s rendering of part, *Journal Asiat*, sér 8, vol XV (1890), p 121, and sér 9, vol VII (1896), p 8 and Prof Luders’, *J R A S*, 1909, p 661.

² I have to thank Dr F W Thomas for valuable suggestions and criticisms on my results; and for the convenience of scholars I have mentioned many of them, at his desire, when they differ from my results.

widest part Dr Read tells me that it bears no traces of ever having been gilt, but that parts of the brass might have presented a brilliant appearance like gold, if they had been protected by remaining in contact with certain earth while buried in the tumulus

The inscription is in the Kharōshthī script and consists of two portions. The first is written in three lines encircling the shoulder of the vase, and the second consisting of one line is written around the broadest part of the vase below the former and separated from it by three lines, and occupies not quite half the circumference. The first is the main portion and is in letters varying generally from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height. In the fourth line or second portion the letters are about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch longer and correspondingly broad. They are formed of minute dents pricked into the metal, and the dents are so close together that from 8 to 10 are generally contained in $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in the first three lines, and from 7 to 8 in the last line.

The two plates annexed hereto, giving a facsimile of the record, have been prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision from the ink-impressions which also were made under his direction. The shape of the part of the vase where lines 1 and 2 lie is such that ink-impressions of them cannot be made without introducing a gap at some point or another, the place selected was naturally that where the record begins, and a supplementary ink-impression was made of that part of the record and has been reproduced below the complete lines. It shows how the lines run right round the vase without any blank space in line 1, and with only a small space at the end of line 2, and gives in their complete forms the final *ti* of line 1 and the initial *i* of line 2, which are not perfect in the circular impression. To have reproduced line 3 in one piece would have entailed a somewhat cumbersome folding plate, hence it has been treated in three parts overlapping each other, thus 3-B repeats the last six syllables of 3 A, and 3 C repeats the last five syllables of 3 B and also shows at its end the *bha* with which 3 A begins. A fourth piece 3 D has been added to show how this line also practically runs quite round the vase, and contains the last seven and the first eight letters of the line.

The style of the script is that of the Kushana inscriptions portrayed by Bühler in Table I of his *Indische Palaeographie*, cols x to xii. Further specimens of the script have been published lately, namely, the Taxila plate by Bühler (E I iv, 54), the Taxila vase by Prof Lüders (E I viii, 296) and the Mathurā Lion capital by Dr F W Thomas (E I ix, 135). Mr E. Thomas in discussing this inscription spoke of "the little care that has been taken to mark the nicer shades of diversity of outline which, in many cases, constitute the only essential difference between characters of but little varying form" (*Prinsep's Essays*, vol I, p 162). But it seems to me after a careful and detailed comparison of the letters, that the inscription has been carefully made, the letters are generally well-formed, only a few clerical errors occur, and the distinctions between letters which are similar in shape are generally expressed clearly¹ except as regards two particular letters, *y* and *s*. For instance, *t* and *r* have the same general shape, and are fairly well distinguished, in that the downward stroke of *t* is usually of about the same length as the horizontal stroke, while in *r* it is generally about twice as long, and in only one or two places is the difference neglected. No distinction is made between long and short vowels, and the only special form that need be mentioned is *nē* in *munē* (l 1).

The exception just referred to occurs in the letters *y* and *s*, and these are the only letters that cause real uncertainty. Ordinarily *y* has a pointed top and *s* a flat top, but the distinction is very far from being observed here and is indeed more often ignored, especially since sometimes the top has an intermediate roundish form and sometimes the letters are distorted by

¹Characters should primarily be read as what they strictly appear to be, and the resultant words accepted and scrutinized. This is essential in dealing with the endless diversities in the different kinds of Prākṛit. To read characters so as to agree with the commoner forms of the Prākṛit words intended seems to be almost certain to obscure Prākṛit modifications that may be important critically and linguistically. See p 208, note 3.

being tilted over to the right. We may confidently read *y* in *īya Khavadamri* (l. 1), and *ś* in *Śakya* and *sarira* (l. 1), *śava* (l. 3 A) and *saphatiga* (l. 3 B), but in all other instances it is hardly possible to say positively, solely from the shape of the letter, whether it is *y* or *ś*, and regard must be had to the meaning. This is well illustrated by the word *puyae* which occurs thrice in l. 2 and once in l. 3 B. The *y* has a different shape in each of these places; in the last place it has undoubtedly the form of *s*, and in all the other places its appearance is far more that of *ś*, than of *y*. In all these instances then what looks like *ś* is really *y*. Hence it is clear we must be prepared for similar confusion in other passages where one or other of these letters is intended, and the decision must rest mainly, if not entirely, on the sense. Thus we can read without doubt *y* in *Arlamisiyasa* (l. 1) and in *padiyamsam* (ll. 2 and 3 C), and *s* in the words *lusala* (l. 2), *mahisa* (ll. 2 and 3 B) and also in *padiyamsam*. There remain some words in which *y* or *s* is combined with a vowel mark or another consonant, and, since *y* is written sometimes with a flat or rounded top, there would be nothing surprising if its top is made wide in order to find room where the vowel marks *i* and *ō* have to be inserted, so that *yi* and *yō* would then look like *si* and *sō*. Accordingly *y* and not *s* appears to be the correct reading in *kadalayigra* (l. 1), *pariyata* (l. 3 A), *jalayuga* (l. 3 B), and *yō adra* (l. 3 A), while *ś* is right in *śōcha* (l. 2), while what looks like *asamśrana* (l. 4) is doubtful. These words will be discussed in the Notes *infra*.

The characters for *b* and *v* require some notice. *V* proper approximates to the character for *b*, but they are distinguished in that the top line is flat in *v* and is curved upwards on the left side in *b*. Thus we have *v* initial in *vagra* (thrice, ll. 1, 2) and *vihara* (ll. 1, 4) and medial in *bhagra* (l. 3 A) and *avashatri* (l. 3 C), while *b* occurs in *bhradaba* (l. 2) and *nabagira* (l. 3 A), and in conformity therewith it is proper to read *b* rather than *v* in *paridhabēti* (l. 1). Another character is found for what is properly *va*, which occurs only as a medial and is evidently distinguished from *va* proper, for it is always small and without the stroke to the left at the bottom. It is used in *bharatu* always, also in *bhagravada* (l. 1) and *parivāra* (l. 3 C), and apparently in *Khavadamri* (l. 1). This difference in shape may denote a difference in value, and this small form may perhaps have had the sound of *w*.

No distinction appears to be recognized between the letters *n* and *ñ*. A slight difference may be perceived between the character in *imēna* (l. 1) and *mulēna* (l. 2) and that in *Hashtuna* (l. 2) and *avashatrigana* (l. 3 C), and that constitutes the difference which Buhler has shown in his Table I, cols. x and xi, but his form of *n* occurs here, not only in words where it should properly appear as in *sarīna* and *Rōhana* (l. 3 B), but also in words where it is inadmissible as in *imēna* (l. 1), *mulēna* (l. 2) and *satvana* (l. 3 A). There appears therefore to be no real distinction observed between *n* and *ñ*, and this is what Prof. Lüders has noticed in his paper on the Taxila vase (E. I. viii, 297).

A letter that presents some difficulty is that which I read as *di* in *gadigrēna* (l. 1) and *padiyamsam* (twice ll. 2, 3 C). It is one and the same in all three places, for its form in the first and second places is identical, and, though it varies somewhat in the third place, yet it occurs there in precisely the same expression *agra bhaga padiyamsam* as in the second, and must be the same in these two places¹. Hence it must be read the same in all. It is certainly

¹ The letter has a tail or stroke to the right at the bottom, in the first two places the stroke is a straight line and in the third an upward curve. The difference seems to be intentional. In discussing the *r* stroke *infra* (p. 208) I have pointed out the difference made in it in the two portions into which the inscription must be divided, namely, the straight *r* stroke does not denote a real *r* in the first portion but does so in the second. The first two instances of this letter occur in the first portion, and its tail being made straight there like the unreal *r* could not create a misunderstanding, but in the third instance, which occurs in the second portion, that straight stroke might have suggested a real *r* stroke, and misunderstanding has been avoided by turning the tail into a curve, which has no special significance in the second portion (though it does represent a real *r* in the first portion).

not as *ṣ*. M. Sonart has taken it as *tī* and Prof. Lüders as *tri*, thus they read the word as *ṣāṅgāṅgā* and *śrīṅgāṅgā* respectively,¹ but I do not think it is *tī* or *tri*, because the right shoulder of the character is carried upwards far higher than in all other instances of the letter *t* and it differs from the genuine *t* found in *paridhātī* (l. 1), *raṅgāṅgā*, *natyā*, *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 2), and *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3B) and from the *tri* found in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3C). There is no other letter that it resembles except *d* or *dh*, which are figured in Bühler's Table I and in Dr. Thomas's Table IV (E. I. ix, 146). The word is evidently the same as in *śrīṅgāṅgā* on the Mauryāśoka stone, in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (E. I., i, 390, n° XVIII) and in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (E. I., i, 249) as noticed by M. Sonart and Prof. Lüders.² Since this letter corresponds to the first *t* in those words, it cannot be *dh* and can only be *d*, which in this Prakrit represents that *t* as will be explained (p. 208). This then is a modified or new form of *d*.

A character occurs, which must apparently be a final *anuvāra*, in the word *śrīṅgāṅgā* (ll. 2, 3C). M. Sonart and Prof. Lüders have read it as *ṣ* as noticed above, but *ṣ* occurs in *śrīṅgāṅgā* and *śrīṅgāṅgā* (ll. 2, 3B) and *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3A) and is wholly different from this letter, so that it cannot be *ṣ*. Moreover, it is quite different from the *ṣ* in *śrīṅgāṅgā* on the Mauryāśoka stone.³ All the letters in the Kharoṣṭhi script have been figured by Bühler in his Table I and by Dr. Thomas in his Table IV (E. I. ix, 146) except *ṣ*. This character is like none of these, nor can it be *ṣ* which never occurs as a final in Prakrit. The only other sound for which no separate character has been met with is *m* standing by itself as a final. *Anuvāra* is generally denoted by a leftward curve added to the bottom of a consonant, as in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 1), *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 2), *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3A) and thrice in l. 4, but, if it should be difficult or inconvenient to add the curve to certain characters, such as *lu*, *bu* or *hu*, final *m* could only be expressed by some independent sign, so that presumably there must have been some character to denote it in such cases, and it appears to be this character. The construction of the sentence supports this inference. It is not necessary to suppose that the dative is intended after *śrīṅgāṅgā* here, for the construction with *śrīṅgāṅgā* is clearly changed afterwards to the nominative, as in *śrīṅgāṅgā śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3C), and here the construction is evidently similar. *śrīṅgāṅgā* is obviously the nominative to *śrīṅgāṅgā* which follows it in both places, and, as its termination is not masculine nor feminine, it must be a neuter nominative ending in *m* (see p. 209). This character can hardly denote a final *m*, because *m* does not occur as a final in Prakrit, as far as I know, except in poetry where a short syllable is required or before a vowel,⁴ and neither of these conditions exists here, yet it would come practically to the same result if this character be read as final *m*.

A letter occurs which appears to be a new form of *ph*. It is discussed in the note on the word *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3B), *infra*, p. 217.

As regards compound letters, we have *ṣ* in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 1), *ry* in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3A), *śr* or *ry* in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 4), *śh* in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 2) and *śh* in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 2). *śv* occurs plainly in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3A) and the first *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3B), and is apparently intended by the similar character without the loop in the second *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3B). *ṣ* appears to be meant by the *t* with the upright line added in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 3A), and a new letter which I take to be *mb* in *śrīṅgāṅgā* (l. 1) is discussed in the Notes (p. 213).

¹ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII (1896), p. 10. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

² This seems to me a most important feature and constitutes a strong reason why the letter cannot be read as *t*, besides which the arguments mentioned in note 3 on p. 208 militate against its being read as *t*, and this character, if taken as *t*, would add a fourth form to the three noticed there. Dr. Thomas however would read it as *t*.

³ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, pp. 8-10. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

⁴ See plate in Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 8.

⁵ See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 348, 349.

The letter *y* as the second member of a compound letter is well illustrated here, being formed by a rightward hook added to the tail of the first member as in *arupyata* (I 3 B). Since the tail is often curved to the left, the addition of the hook gives the appearance of a double curve as in *Kamagulya* (I 1) and *tya* in *Mityagasya* (I 3 C), or even a triple curve as in *Sakya* (I 1). This conjoint *y*-mark is added to another letter which resembles *d* or *n*, but the compound can only denote *sy* in the genitive termination *sya* because of its position. It is best formed in *masya* (I 1), *Hōvēshkasya* (I 2), *Vagra Marēgrasya* (I 2) and *Mityagasya* (I 3 C), somewhat variant in *Hashtuna Marēgrasya* (I 2), and badly shaped in *Marēgrasya* (I 1).

The mark for *r* as the second member of a compound letter is a stroke to the right attached to the lowest point of the first member. It occurs often and raises some interesting questions. Dr Thomas found on the Mathurā Lion-capital that conjunct *r* is so represented and also in two other ways, namely, by a similar stroke to the left and by a dot (E I ix, 137). The dot is not so used in this inscription. The stroke to the left occurs often, but has no significance, thus (to cite only a few instances) it is added to an initial *a* sometimes as in *Artamisiyasa* (I 1), *agra* sometimes (II 2, 3) and *arupyata* (I 3 B), to the first *ra* but not the two others in *maharaja rajatiraja* (I 2) and to *bh* in *bharatu* sometimes but not always (II 2, 3). These illustrations also shew that it cannot denote the doubling of a letter, nor a distinction between the vowels *a* and *ā*, nor the vowel *u* or *ri*. It seems to be a mere flourish in finishing the tails of letters written from right to left.

This stroke to the right occurs chiefly with the letter *ga*, which represents the suffix *ka* and is thus a very common termination and a very useful criterion for dividing the words. It occurs with *t* in *avashatri* (I 3 C), thrice with *d* in *puḍra* (I 1), *midra* (I 2) and *adra* (I 3 A),¹ and once with *bh* in *bhradaba* (I 2). In all these words, except perhaps the first, this *r* stroke represents a real *r*, and it is only in conjunction with *g* that uncertainty arises.

The letter *g* occurs both with and without this *r* stroke. The downward line of *g* ends straight in *jalayuga* (I 3 B) and *bhaga* (twice in I 3 C), and has the slight leftward flourish in *arōga* (I 3 A), *śaphatiga* (I 3 B), *avashatrigana* and *Mityagasya* (I 3 C), and *samghigana* (I 4). In all other places the rightward stroke appears, and in discussing it we must divide the inscription into two parts, the first part down to *bhniagra* (I 3 A) and the second comprising the remainder. In the first part it has two shapes, first a horizontal stroke more or less straight, as in *gaḍigrēna*, *kaḍalayigra*, *Marigra* and *bhagravada*² (I 1), *Marēgrasya* (II 1, 2), *bhagraē*, *natigra*, *sambhatigrana* and *bhagra* (I 2), *nabagra* and *bhavagra* (I 3 A), and secondly, an upward curve which appears always in *Vagra* (II 1, 2) and *agra* (I 2 twice). In the first part then the curved form represents a genuine *r* in *agra* and apparently also in *Vagra*, and the straight form is used in all the other cases and always incorrectly, for even in *Marēgīa* and *Marigra* the *gra* probably does not contain a real *r*. In the second part, however, the *r* stroke is never added to *g* except where there is a real *r*, as in *agra* (I 3 C) and *parigraha* (I 4), and then it is denoted by the straight horizontal stroke which is the correct form.

It appears therefore that it was discovered while the record was being inscribed on the vase, that the straight *r* stroke was being improperly inserted, and that the fault was corrected after the word *bhavagra*, hence the difference between the first and second parts. The horizontal form, which is the correct sign, is used with *g* in the second part, and with all other consonants throughout the inscription, wherever a real conjunct *r* occurs, but in the first part a distinction was made in the case of *g*, the horizontal stroke being improperly employed to represent an unreal *r*, and the curved form being used to denote a real *r*. This peculiarity was discovered and rectified after the word *bhavagra* as mentioned. That word occurs in the middle of what seems to be a poetical quotation (see p 218). Was it some discussion about the quotation that

¹ See p 208, note 3

² Compare *bhagravata* (A II, line 12, in E I ix, 141) where Dr Thomas styles the *r* stroke otiose (p 142)

raised the question of orthography? Thus it might have been noticed that the addition of the unreal *r* vitiated the metre, as it certainly does in that word. Whatever be the explanation, it is certain that there is a difference in the use of the *r*-stroke with *g* in the two portions.

The persistent and incorrect addition of the horizontal *r* stroke to *g* throughout the first part cannot however be accidental, but must have some significance, and suggests that it denoted a modification of *g*. Such a modification could hardly be anything else than to give *g* the sound of ξ . After I came to this conclusion, I found that Dr. Thomas had put forward a similar suggestion with regard to the peculiar *kr* which is employed on the Mathurā Lion-capital (E I ix, 137). There is however an important difference between this inscription and those on that capital, namely, that there an original *g* is hardened to *k*, as in *bhagravatō* (= *bhagavatō*) and *nal rarasā* (= *nāgarasā*), while here an original *k*, when not initial and not compounded, is (as will be explained, see below) softened to *g*. It seems probable therefore that *gr* in the first part here had the sound of ξ , and that *kr* on that capital had a sound like ζ . It will be convenient to transliterate this diacritical *r* as an italic *r*.

Similar to the *r* stroke is a straight stroke to the right, attached to the lowest point of the character for *m*. It obviously denotes something different from plain *m*, which occurs in *Artamisīyasa* (I 1), *mīdra* (I 2) and *Mityagasya* (I 3 C). All the instances in which it appears are singular locative cases, and as the locative singular in the Prākritis ends in *mhi* or *mmi*, we may justly take this character *mr* as meaning *mhi*. It can hardly denote *mmi*, because this means a doubled *m*, and letters are never written double in this script. It will however be convenient to transliterate this stroke also as an italic *r*.

It seems therefore from this examination that the straight *r* stroke was used as a diacritical sign to denote a modification of the main consonant in certain cases, certainly with *g* and *m* here and with *k* on the Lion-capital, in the way of giving that consonant a rougher, thicker or doubled sound.

The language is a form of Prākṛit and in discussing its character the phonetic changes may be noticed first, and the inflectional forms afterwards. Vowels remain the same as in Sanskrit except that *au* is reduced to *ō*, and *ri* is replaced by *a* or *i*. There is no clear instance of the elision of consonants (except a final *t* once), not even of the semi-vowels *y* and *v* which are so liable to suffer in Prākṛit, except *y* of the genitive termination sometimes. Speaking generally the only changes that occur among consonants are, first, a uniform softening of all single tenues or hard consonants of the five classes to their corresponding mediæ or soft consonants, and secondly, the assimilation of the more difficult compound consonants. The changes may be conveniently set out in the form of rules.

Rule 1—Sanskrit tenues or hard consonants, when not initial and not compounded, are changed to their corresponding mediæ or soft consonants. This holds good for *k*, *t* and *p* throughout,¹ except *t* in verbal terminations. Thus *ā* represents an original *t*—*bhagravada* = *bhagavata* (I 1), *mada-pidara* = *mātā-pitara* and *bhradaba* = *bhrātāba* (I 2). *B* represents an original *p*—*paridhabēti* = *paridhāpēti* (I 1) and *nabagra* = *napagra* (I 3 A). And *g* represents an original *k*, and thus the common suffix *ka* appears here as *ga*² or (with the diacritical *r* stroke discussed above) as *gra*—so *natigra* = *natika* and *sambhatigra* = *sambhatika* (I 2), *nabagra* = *nripaka* (I 3 A), *jalayuga* = *jalāyuka* (I 3 B), and *samhuga* = *samhika* (I 4). Whether this corrective applies to the name *Marēgra* and its variant *Marigra* is doubtful, yet it does probably because the stroke in them is that of the unreal *r*. One exception occurs, *rajatiraja* (I 2), in which the original *t* has been preserved, probably because it is a special royal title.

¹ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 192.

² *Ibid* § 202.

This rule applied also to *t*¹, thus *paḍṭiyamsam*=*vattiyamsam* (ll 2, 3 C) for which see rule 6. Only one case of medial *ch* occurs, namely, *śōcha* (l. 2), and there the rule did not hold good if *śōcha*=Skt *saucha* (but see rule 4). The rule probably applied to aspirated tenues², but no instance occurs.

As mentioned above, an original *t* in verbal terminations remains unchanged; thus we find *paridhabeti* (l. 1) and *bhavatu* (ll 2, 3).

Rule 2—Rule 1 applied also where an original medial *t* was compounded with *r*—thus *puḍra*=*putra* (l. 1), and *mīdra*=*mitra* (l. 2). The akshara in these words is clearly *dr* and not *t* or *tr*, for it has exactly the form of *d* (as in *dachhinaē*, l. 3 A) with the *r* stroke, and there is no instance here where an undoubted *t* approximates to *d* in shape as it appears to do at times on the Lion-capital.³ But *t* combined with any other consonant was not softened, e.g., *am̐tara*=*antara* (l. 3 A), and see note on *arupyata* (p. 217). The *t* in *Artamisiyasa* (l. 1) remains unchanged, but this is a Greek word.

Rule 3—Consequently in reading this inscription it must be noted that, where a media or soft consonant occurs as a non-initial, it may represent an original media or (since consonants are never written double here) a doubled media, or the corresponding tenuis; thus *d* can represent original *d* or *dd* or *t*, and similarly *g* and *b*. So *d*=original *d* in *sada* (l. 3 B), and=original *t* in *mada* (l. 2), and *b*=*bb* in *bhradaba* which=*bhrātābba*.

Rule 4—Where a tenuis or hard consonant appears here singly (or combined with *r* or *r*) and as a non-initial (except *t* in verbal terminations), it represents a doubled letter, for otherwise it would have been modified according to rule 1. Thus as regards *t*, *natigra*=*nattigra*=*nattika* (by rule 1), and *sambhatigra*=*sambhattigra*=*sambhattika* (l. 2), *satta*=*sattta* (l. 3 A), and *arupyata*=*arūpyattā* (l. 3 B). *Śōcha* would follow this rule if we read *śōchcha*=a possible Skt form *sauchya*, but see rule 1. So also in the case of aspirated tenues, thus, *dachhinaē*=*dachchhinaē* (l. 3 A), and *saphatiga*=*sapphattiga* (l. 3 B).

Rule 5—Conjunct *y* appears only where respect required the full form of the word, as in the personal names whether in the nominative or in the genitive case, *Kamagulya* (l. 1), *Marēgrasya* (ll 1, 2), *Hōvēshkasya* (l. 2), and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), and in the special term *arupyata* in a quotation (l. 3 B). Elsewhere it is assimilated, as in *Artamisiyas(s)a* (l. 1), and *bhradaba* (l. 2) which=*bhrātābba* (by rule 3)=Skt *bhrātrivya* (*vy* turning to *bb* as in *labba* and

¹ Fische's Prakrit Grammar, § 198.

² *Ibid* §§ 192, 200.

³ EI ix, plate IV at p. 146. Having regard to the forms used there, Dr. Thomas thinks that this letter *dr* is *t*, but there appear to me to be grave objections thereto. First, as handwritings varied, each writing must primarily be scrutinized by itself as urged in p. 203, note 1, here the writing is minute neat and well formed, so that the presumption is that the differences between characters were made deliberately and have their special significance. Secondly, *t* proper appears in the words *pariyata*, *am̐tara*, and *arupyata* (ll. 3 A and B), as well as in *paridhabeti* (l. 1), *rayatibaya* (l. 2) and *saphatiga* (l. 3 B), and if this character *dr* is really *t* also, then *t* is made in two ways markedly different, and moreover without any reason, as we see especially in the compound words *natigra mīdra sambhatigrana*, where there was no reason to write the *dr* in *mīdra* different from the *t* in the two other words, if they are all alike *t*. Thirdly, if this *dr* is *t*, all distinction between *t*, *tr* and *dr* would be obliterated, a conclusion that seems to me highly improbable, considering how important and significant these three letters *t*, *d* and *r* are in the different kinds of Prakrit. Fourthly, Sanskrit *t* medial and uncompounded is certainly changed to *d* in this Prakrit as shown under Rule 1, and the same change would be natural when *t* is compounded with *r* which is only a liquid, so that we should by analogy expect the *t* in Sanskrit *putra* and *mitra* to appear here as *d*. My readings of the three characters as *t* (as in the words cited above), *tr* (as in *avashatri*, l. 3 C) and *dr* (as in *puḍra*, *mīdra* and *adra*) give each character a consistent value throughout, a value which accords fully with definite phonetic changes, whereas, if we read all these characters as *t*, we should have three different forms for *t* (with none apparently for *tr* or *dr*) and thus Prakrit would become chaotic in its modifications. The confusion would be still further increased, if the letter which I read as *d* (see p. 204) be treated as a fourth form of *t*.

bhabba); or is resolved into *iy* as in *padīyamśam* from Skt *pratyamśa*, but it remains when combined with *r* as in *pariyata* (l 3 A), see rule 6, and also note on *asamāna* (p 218)

Rule 6—Conjunct *r* as the second member of an initial consonant is dropped, thus *pad yamśam* = *pratyamśam* (by rule 1) = Skt *pratyamśa*, where the unappearing *r* has cerebralised the following *t* (ll 2, 3 C) and *śara* = *śāra* (l 3 A), except in *bhāḍaba* (l 2) where it has persisted perhaps in consonance with the old Pers an *bhātar*, “brother” In a medial akshara *r* is retained, whether as the first member as in *śarva* and *pariyata* (l 3 A) and *śarīna* (l 3 B), or as the second member, as in *agra* (ll 2, 3 C) and *parigraha* (l 4), and see Rule 2

The changes in the consonants then, it will be seen, are not random (if one may use the word) as so often seems to happen in Prākṛit, but follow a consistent plan, so that, if any word be re-adjusted according to these rules, it appears at once as actual Sanskrit or but one step removed therefrom

In considering the inflectional forms, it will be convenient to cite the words as they would appear in their more correct Prākṛit form when re-adjusted according to the foregoing rules, that is, to cite them from the reading in italics (p 210 f)

The Prākṛit of this inscription has more affinities with Ardha-Māgadhī than with Śaurasēnī, if we compare the grammatical terminations that occur with those given by Pischel¹ The dative singular ends in *āṛ*, both for the masculine as in *bhāḡāṛ* (l 2) and for the feminine as in *pāyāṛ* (ll 2, 3 C) and *darh-likhīṛ* (l 3 A), and these are Ardha-Māgadhī forms The locative singular ends apparently in *mhi* for the masculine and neuter, if we read *mī* = *mhi* in *kharatamhi* and *vihāramhi* (l 1), and it is only in Ardha-Māgadhī (as I understand) that the locative sing ends in *mī*, from which easily comes the form *mhi*, that is found in Pālī but not in any other Prākṛit, I believe The genitive plural ends in *āna*, as in *sambhattikīna* (l 2), *arashatṛīna* (l 3 C), etc., and this termination is found in Ardha-Māgadhī as well as other dialects, but not apparently in Śaurasēnī

There are other peculiarities which mark this Prākṛit The nomin singular masculine of nouns ending in *a* appears as *a* and not *ō*, as *putra*, *katālaya* (l 1), *bhāḡa* (l 3 C) and *parigraha* (l 4), except in the poetical quotation in l 3 A, B, where the *ō* form appears in *yō* and *andaḡō* The neuter nomin ends in *am* as in *padīyamśam* (ll 2, 3 C) and *vihāram* (l 4) both which words appear to be considered neuter instead of masculine, but *vōcha* (l 2), which should be neuter, does not support this rule and suggests that the nomin also ended in *a* and the accus ends in *a*, as in *śarīra* (l 1) The genitive masculine has its ordinary ending *sa* as in *Arlamisiyasa* (l 1), but when used honourifically has its full form *syu*, as in *Maiḡgasya* (ll. 1, 2), *Hōṛīshhasya* (l 2) and *Mītyagasya* (l 3 C) From other noun bases may be noticed the genitive *bhagavata Śāl jamunē* (l 1), which = Skt *bhagavatah Śālyamunēh* without the visarga which disappears in Prākṛit,² and a form *ra* of the genitive singular of noun-bases ending in *ā*, that is, Skt *ri*, as in *mātā-pīlara* (l 2), which is discussed in the Notes (p 215) Among pronouns we find *ēsha* used as a neuter nomin (l 4)³, and from *īdam*, not only the instrumental singular *imēna*⁴ (ll 1, 2), but also probably a new base *īya*⁵ Among the very few verbs that occur may be noticed *bhūyā* the apocopated form of Skt *bhūyāt* (l 2)⁶

The inscription records that in the year 51 and in Huvishka's reign, Kamagulya (or perhaps Kamakulya, by rule 1), son of Vagra Marḡga (or perhaps Marḡka, by rule 1), interred a relic of

¹ Prākṛit Grammar, §§ 363-76

² I do not find *munē* mentioned as a genitive by Pischel, it is given in Dr E Muller's Pālī Grammar, p 70, citing Oldenberg, KZ xxv, 316

³ Noticed in Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 426

⁴ This is found in other inscriptions

⁵ See note on *īya Khavadamī* (p 212)

⁶ Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, §§ 459, 464

Buddha at the Vagra-Marēga monastery, and enunciates a series of pious aspirations in favour of the Emperor Huvishka, his own father and relatives, a neighbouring Rāja and other persons and all creatures generally. The last line states that the monastery was bestowed on the Mahāsaṅghika sect among the Buddhists.

The dedicator Kamagulya does not say he has founded the monastery, nor does he imply that he dedicates the relic at the time of the foundation, but he simply declares that he places the relic in this vase inside a small vault within the monastery¹. The natural inference therefore is that his father Vagra Marēga founded the monastery before and named it after himself, and that Kamagulya afterwards interred the relic within it. The last line does not conflict with this inference, because it seems, both from its purport and also from the larger letters in which it is written, to be a separate declaration, recorded no doubt as a safeguard for the Mahāsaṅghika sect on this sacred vase which would be sure of reverent preservation, and because it may be read in the past tense just as well as in the present, there being no verb.

The father Vagra Marēga is styled a *mahīsa* or local Rāja. He bears the name or title Marēga and so does his grandson (Kamagulya's nephew) Hashtuna, but Kamagulya does not use this name for himself, and only says that he has fixed his residence at Khavata, the very place where the monastery was. One is tempted to infer that Marēga is an appellation derived from some town or district, that Vagra had his home there or was ruling there, and that Hashtuna was also living there, perhaps as Vagra's heir-apparent (for Hashtuna's father is not mentioned and may have been dead). Kamagulya speaks of his grandchildren (son's sons) but not of his son, hence it would seem that his son was dead.

None of the names mentioned, except Rōhana who was also a *mahīsa* or neighbouring Rāja, appears definitely to be Indian. Vagra might be read as Vakra (by rule 1), and this name and Kamagulya (or Kamakulya) may have Indian affinities, but Hashtuna seems more like an Iranian name². Moreover Marēga (or Marēka) is not Indian, but suggests Marg, the old name of Merv, or other places of similar name which exist southward of Khawat. It seems probable that the dedicator and his family were Persian. The only other name mentioned, Mityaga (or perhaps Mityaka, by rule 1), appears almost certainly to be Greek³.

I will now set out the transliteration of the inscription and interlineate with it in italics the more ordinary Prakrit forms of the words, as they would appear if re-adjusted in the light of the foregoing rules and of the discussion on the diacritical *r* stroke. As I read the inscription, all the different characters are treated as distinct and each has the same value consistently throughout, and the supposition that there are errors in it is reduced to the smallest limits, in fact, only three words appear to have mistakes, namely *rajatibaja* (l. 2), *avīya* (l. 3 A) and *asamśrana* (l. 4)—with perhaps *avashatṛi* also (l. 3 C)⁴.

TEXT.

1	Sam	20	20	10	1	masya	Artamisiyasa	stēhi	10	4	1	Imēṇa	gadigrēna
	<i>Sam</i>	<i>[vatkarē]</i>			51	<i>māsasa</i>	<i>Artamisiyasa</i>	<i>stēhi</i>		15		<i>Imēna</i>	<i>gaddikēna</i>
		Kamagulya			puḍra	Vagra-Marēg'asya				īya-Khavadamṛi			kadalayigra
		<i>Kamagulya</i>			<i>putra</i>	<i>Vagra-Marēgasya</i>				<i>īya-Khavatamhi</i>			<i>katālayika</i>

¹ This is clear, whether we read *paridhābēti* or *patiḥḥabēti* in l. 1. See notes, p. 214.

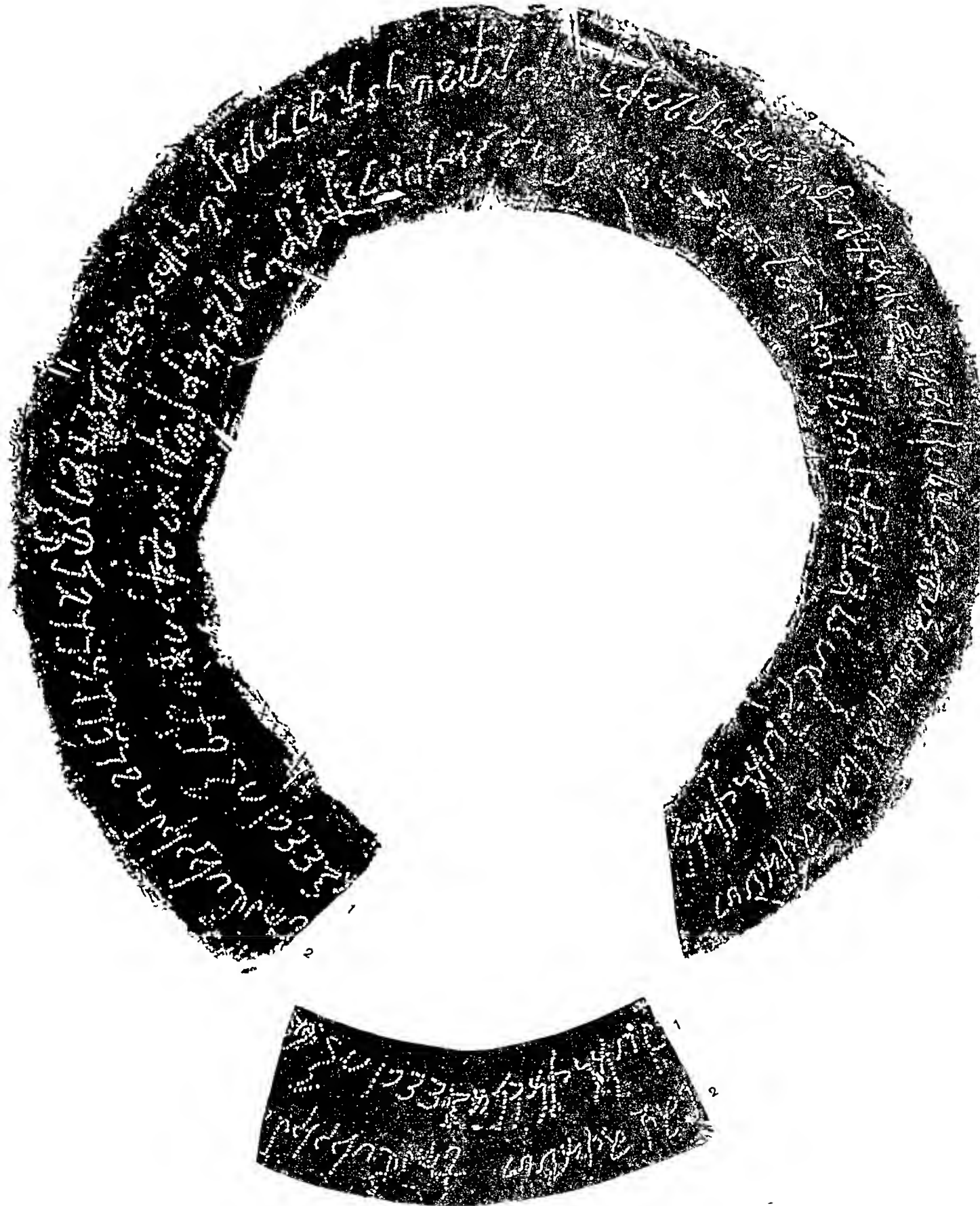
² It seems hardly possible to derive Hashtuna from *hrīshṭa*. Dr. Thomas suggests O P *ḍa-ya* 'god' as the derivation of Baga (or Vagra), and compares Hashtuna with *Histanes* and *Bisthanes*, and Marēga with the termination *bara* in *Sanabares*, etc. (J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 214). The *r* in *Vagra* is real.

³ See Notes, p. 218.

⁴ Dr. Thomas would add to this list the words *bhṛādāba*, *śōcha*, *nabagra*, *paryata*, *śaphatiga* and *arupyata*.

Inscription on the Wardak vase

Lines 1 and 2



Inscription on the Wardak vase

Lines 3 and 4

4



	Vagra-Marigra-viharamri <i>Vagra-Mariga-vihāramhi</i>	tumbimri <i>tumbimhi</i>	bhagravada <i>bhagavata</i>	Śakya-munē <i>Śākya-munē</i>	śarira <i>śarira</i>
	paridhabōti <i>paridhīpēti</i>				
2	Imēna kusala-mulēna <i>Imēna kusala-mūlēna</i>	maharaja-rajatibhaya ¹ -Hōvēshkasya <i>mahārāja rājatirāja-Hōvēshkasya</i>	agra-bhagra <i>agra-bhāgā</i>	bhavatu <i>bhavatu</i>	
	Madr-pidara mē puyāē <i>Mādr'ā-pitara mē pūyāē</i>	bhavatu Bhadrabhi mē <i>bhavatu Bhadrabha mē</i>	Hashtuna-Marēgrasya <i>Hashtuna-Marēgasya</i>	puyāē <i>pūyāē</i>	
	bhavatu Śōcha mē bhnyā <i>bhavatu Śōcha mē bhnyā</i>	Natiga-midira-sambhatigana <i>Natiga-mitra-sambhattikāna</i>	puyāē <i>pūyāē</i>	bhavatu <i>bhavatu</i>	
	Mahisa cha Vagra-Marēgrasya <i>Mahisa cha Vagra-Marēgasya</i>	agra-bhagra-padiyam'am <i>agra-bhāga-patīyamsam</i>			
3	* bhavatu Sarva-satvāna <i>bhavatu Sarva-sattvāna</i>	arōga-dachhinaō <i>arōga-dachchhināō</i>	bhavatu Aviya ² -nabagra <i>bhavatu Aviya-napaka</i>	pariyata-śava <i>pariyatta-sāva-</i>	
	bhāgā yō adia-ṭamtara-anda-jō ³ <i>bhāgā yō ādīra-antara-anda-jō</i>	jalyuga <i>jalayuka</i>	śaphatiga <i>sapphattika</i>	arupyata <i>arūpyattā</i>	sarvina <i>sārvina</i>
	puyāē bhavatu Mahisa cha <i>pūyāē bhavatu Mahisa cha</i>	Rōhana <i>Rōhana</i>	† sada-satvina† <i>sada-sārvina</i>	avashatrigana <i>avashattrikāna</i>	
	sa-parivara cha agra-bhāga-padiya(m)sam <i>sa-parivāra cha agra-bhāga-patīyamsam</i>	bhavatu <i>bhavatu</i>	Mityagasya <i>Mityagasya</i>	cha agra-bhāga <i>cha agra-bhāga</i>	
	bhavatu † <i>bhavatu †</i>				
4	Usha viharam <i>Usha vihāram</i>	asamsrāna <i>asamsraya or āchīryāna³</i>	Mahasamghigana <i>Mahāsanghikāna</i>	parigraha <i>parigraha</i>	

TRANSLATION

In the year 51, on the day 15 [of the first half?] of the month Artemisios. By means of this vase Vagra Marēga's son Kamagulya, who has fixed his residence in this place Khavata, utters a relic of the Lord Śakya-muni inside a vault within the Vagra Mariga monastery

By means of this meritorious foundation—may it (the relic) tend to the pre-eminent lot of the great king, the suzerain of kings, Hōvēshka! May it tend to the veneration of my parents! May it tend to the veneration of my brother's son Hashtuna Marēga! May there be purity for me! May it tend to the veneration of my grandsons, friends and associates! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Vagra Marēga! May it tend to the bestowal of perfect health on all beings! May it tend to the veneration of all these, namely, the saintly king,⁴ him who has obtained the condition of having mastered the doctrine, the creature which is born from moisture, from a womb (?) or from an egg, the creature whose life is in water, the gregarious animal and the incorporeal soul! And

¹ The *ba* is a mistake for *ra*

* to * including the next letter *ga* is line 3 A

† to † excluding the first letter *am* and including the letter *a* of *avashattrikāna* is line 3 B

‡ to ‡ excluding the first letter *sa* is line 3 C

² The *vi* is probably a mistake for *ri*, see p 216

³ This word is very difficult, see note on it *infra*

⁴ Or perhaps "the saint, the king" (see p 216)

combination with *b*, and hardly probable in combination with *v*, for *uv* would be a doubled *v* and letters are not written double here. Only *m* therefore seems possible, and the character is presumably *mbi* (or *mi*). In support of this it may be observed, that *m* could hardly be expressed by the usual curve for *m* (see p 205) added to *tu*, and could therefore be only indicated by some addition to the letter *b* (or *t*) to form the compound *mb* (or *mi*). The word therefore is *tumbimū* (or *tumimū*), the locative case of *tumbi* (or *tumi*). No Indian word seems possible, and the only inference that arises is that *tumbi* (or *tumi*) is a foreign word adopted and Prākritized. Since the cerebral *t* is used to denote the Greek *t*, as in *Arfamisya*, *tumbi* suggests the Greek word *tumbion*, the diminutive of *tumbos*, "a sepulchral chamber or vault." *Tumbion* would become *tumbiya* in Prākrit and might be shortened to *tumbi* in ordinary parlance. Greek influence was strong in this region, and *tumbion* would be an appropriate word to denote the substantially constructed cavity or cupola in the tumulus in which the vase was found (see p 201). This rendering is surprising, yet none other seems to me possible from the scrutiny.

Bhagavāda Śalya-munē has been discussed above (p 209)

Paridhābēti = *paridhāpēti* (by rule 1) = Skt *paridhāpayati*, causal of *pari-dhā*, and means "encloses." The usual term to express the installation of a relic-shrine is *patitthābēti*, and this suggests itself as the word intended here. *Th* and *dh* are similar and the third akshara might be read either way, but *patitthābēti* (as *patitthābēti* might appear here by rule 4) does not appear to be intended for three reasons based upon the writing, the grammar and the sense. First, the second akshara is certainly not *t* but *r*, for it agrees exactly with the two *r*'s which immediately precede in the word *śarīra*, secondly, if it were intended, it would presumably appear as *paditthābēti* or perhaps *paditthābēti* (by rules 1 and 4) and *di* or *ti* could hardly lead to an erroneous *ri*, and thirdly, this word must be taken with *imēna gadigūna*, in which the relic was enclosed, and *paridhābēti* suits the context better than *patitthābēti*.

Line 2

Kusāla-mūlēna — This expression occurs on the Mānikyāla stone,¹ and is also a technical Buddhist term. As a technical term — "The three Kusālamūlas, "roots of goodness or groundwork of merit" are *alobho*, *adoso*, *amoho*, freedom from covetousness, from anger, and from ignorance" ² but this interpretation is unsuitable here, and the expression here presumably means something different, as Prof Luders also apparently holds when dealing with the Mānikyāla stone ³. It may mean "well-conceived foundation," "virtuous endowment," if *kusāla* be taken as an adjective, and "root of well-being," "source of meritorious action," if *kusāla* be taken as a noun ⁴. Here from its general adaptability it may imply all these meanings with reference to the relic.

Agra bhāga — *Agra* means "foremost, pre-eminent," and *bhāga* "portion, lot, destiny." The word might be read *bhagga* (by rule 3), which would = Skt *bhāgya*, "fortune, lot, destiny." The meaning is the same either way. M. Sonart has pointed out that *agrabhāga* here corresponds to *agrēbhāva* in the inscription of Tōamāna Shāha of Kura (E I, 1, 240), which has *agrēbhāva-pratyamsatīyāstu* ⁵. *Agrebhāva* denotes a state or condition, and *agrabhāga* here must presumably imply the same, "a pre-eminent lot," and not "a first share." I do not understand

¹ See J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 645

² See Childers' Pali Dictionary, s. v. *kusālo*, and *Angut Nik.* vol. I, p. 203. Dr. Thomas takes it to mean "a work of merit," "a pious work."

³ Prof. Luders explains it as equivalent to the phrase which is found at Mathurā, *anena* (or *imena*) *deyadharmaparitīyāgena* (J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 660). Is not that a parallel rather than an equivalent phrase?

⁴ See Childers' Pali Dictionary

⁵ *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 10. See note to *padīyāntam* infra

to what *bhāga* as a "share" could refer,¹ whereas a condition is intelligible and natural. He first translated *agrabhāga* as "prosperity," but afterwards agreed with Buhler to seek in it a direct allusion to the acquisition of *bodhi*.² I would rather suggest that, since the expression appears to denote a condition, it refers to Buddhahood. With the word *pratyamsā* added (see note to *padryamsam*, *infra*), "a share of Buddhahood" seems to be as appropriate as "a share of *bodhi*." The expression can hardly refer to any worldly blessing, because in that case is it not rather witless to utter such a wish on behalf of Huvishka, who enjoyed already the highest position on earth?³

Bhavatu is used here with the dative, as *agra bhāgāḥ* and *pūyāḥ*. Since the dative implies 'purpose, intention, aim,' *bhavatu* with the dative means "may it be for the purpose of," "may it be with an aim towards," that is, "may it tend towards," "may it operate towards."

Mada-pīdara = *mātā-pitara* (by rule 1). This must be the genitive of *mātā-pitā* treated as a singular noun,³ and it is so treated in the Taxila plate, where the accus. *mata-pitarām* occurs (E I 17, 55). The genitive must be employed here after *pūyāḥ* as in all the other similar sentences. This appears to be a new form of Prākṛit genitive, and the nearest approach to it is *piaraha* which is a genitive of *pitā*.⁴ Its real formation appears to be this—*pitara* = *pitaraḥ* (the visarga disappearing in Prākṛit) which would be correctly formed as a genitive from *pitari* (which is the essential base of *pitri*),⁵ just like *gūah* from *gir* and *charah* from *char* in Sanskrit.⁶ The declension of *pitri* in Sanskrit shows similar forms from the base *pitari*, as *pitaram*, *pitarau*, *pitarah* and *pitari*.

Pūyāḥ—*Pūjā* means more than "honour" and implies some degree of veneration or reverence, hence *pūyāḥ bhavatu* means "may it tend to the veneration."

Bhradaba as the word clearly is and not *bhradara*. *Hashtuna Marēgrasya* is in apposition to this word and not to *mē*, for the declarant is Kamagulya and *mē* refers to him, and the meaning is that Hashtuna Marēga is the *bhradaba* in relation to *mē*, that is, Kamagulya. *Mē* is inserted parenthetically, like *cha* in *mahiṣa Vagra Marēgrasya* (I 2) and in *mahiṣa Rōhana* (I 3 B). *Bhradaba* cannot well be treated as a mistake for *bhradara* on the analogy of the preceding *mātā-pitara* and so taken as the genitive of *bhrādā*, because (1) it is contrary to the general practice to inflect two words in apposition as would happen if we read *bhradara Hashtuna-Marēgrasya*, and (2) it is unnecessary to suspect any mistake. Indeed one should hesitate to suppose there is an error in spelling, unless the mistake is patent (as in *rajatibaja*, I 2) or the word actually written appears impossible (as in *aviya*, I 3 A, and *asamsrana*, I 4), and one should presume that what has been written is what was intended, if it has an intelligible

¹ Unless we adopt a valuable suggestion by Dr Thomas. Taking *agrabhāga* in its literal meaning "chief share," he thinks that it denotes a chief share in the merit resulting from this donation. To my mind the addition of the word *pratyamsā* makes a difficulty in this rendering.

² Journ. Asiat., sér. 8, vol. XV, p. 123, and sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 10.

³ Dr Thomas is inclined to think it may be a genitive plural in *rām*.

⁴ Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 391.

⁵ This explanation is supported by the exactly analogous use of the genitives *bhagavata(h)* *Śākyamunī(h)*, see p. 209.

⁶ The word *bhratara* appears in the Taxila plate, and Buhler takes *bhratara sarva* there as = *bhrātṛin sarvān*, but finds the construction irregular, as it occurs in the middle of several genitives. It is really the genitive, exactly analogous to *mātā-pitara* here, and as such accords fully with the other genitives there. That passage would then run thus—*sa putra darasa (ayu bala-varāhīe) bhratara sarva (cha)-natiga [dam]dhavasa cha*, the first *cha* being inserted parenthetically (like *cha* in this inscription, see note on *bhradaba*) with reference to *sarva natiga*, and the second *cha* being in its correct place grammatically but referring specially to (*sarva*) [*dam*]dhava. These *cha*'s are used more with regard to the sense than strict grammar. *Bhratara* also occurs on the Mānikyāla stone inscription and is treated as a genitive by Prof. Luders (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 666). *Natiga* there must = *natigra* here, see note on it.

and appropriate meaning¹ Nor can the word be read as *bhrada ba*, treating *ba* as = Skt *iā* or *ēva*, because (1) Skt *v* when single is not changed to *b* here, and (2) neither word would suit the context but only *cha* *Bhradaba* is therefore one word and = *bhrātabba* (by rules 1 and 3), which = Skt *bhrātrivya*, "nephew," and the whole phrase = Skt. *mad-bhrātrivya-Hashtuna-Marēgasya*

Śocha has been discussed above (p 205)²

Bhuya = Skt *bhūyāt*, the final *t* being dropped in Prakṛit³ This word is well chosen here to convey a less positive meaning than *bhaviatu* Where the declarant expresses his desire on behalf of other persons he uses the imperative tense, but here in uttering his desire on his own behalf he modestly uses the precative

Natigra = *nattika* (by rules 1 and 4) = Skt *naptri + ka*

Sambhatigra = *sambhattika* (by rules 1 and 4) = Skt *sambhaktri + ka*, "sharer, favourer" here no doubt "patisan, associate"

Mahisa = *mahisa*, Skt *mahī + īva* It occurs again in I 3 B,⁴ and, as the persons named are inferior to the Emperor Huvishka, it evidently means a local Rāja There were apparently two Rājas in this part of the country, Vagra Marēga and Rōhana

Padiyamsam — This word occurs again in I 3 C It has been fully discussed above (pp 204 f, 209, 215), where the similar expressions found elsewhere have been mentioned, *agrēbhāva pratyamsatāyīstu*,⁵ *agra-pratyasatāyē bhavatu*,⁶ and *bhatara Svarabuddhisa agrapatiasaē*.⁷ It = *patiyamsām*, (by rule 1) = Skt *pratyamsa* "division, share," as M Senart and Prof Lüders have pointed out I would translate *agra-bhāga-padiyamsam* as a "share in a pre-eminent lot" It is to be noticed that this phrase is used only with reference to the two local Rājas, Vagra Marēga here and Rōhana in I 3 B, whereas full *agra-bhāga* is applied to Huvishka and Mityaga

Line 3

Arōga may = Skt *a-rōga*, or stand for *ārōgga* (by rule 3) and = Skt *ārōgya* The meaning is the same, and the latter is probably preferable because *ārōgya dukṣhināyē* is said to occur on an inscription at Mathurā⁸

Arīya-nabagra — *Arīya* is no doubt a mistake for *arīya*,⁹ for the *v* is as large as the usual size of *r* and only the small stroke at the top of *r* is wanting These words then = *arīya-*

¹ Dr Thomas however thinks that there must be a mistake, and that the word intended is *bhradara*, gent sing of *bhrada*, that is *bhrātā*, 'brother', *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*

² Dr Thomas suspects that it is really an error for *sō cha* and = *tat cha* *Tat* appears as *tam* in Prakṛit (Pischel's Prakṛit Grammar, §425)

³ Pischel's Prakṛit Grammar, §§ 459, 464

⁴ This word might also be read as *mahīya*, because *ś* and *y* are often made alike here (see p 203), and Dr Thomas would read it so and take it as = *mahyam* or *mama*, referring to the donor, but if so, the two passages seem tautologous as regards the donor

⁵ Bühler read this as *śatāyās tu*, and translated it "(their) share being a preferential one" (E I, 1, 241), but Prof Lüders takes it as *śatāya astu*, and I agree with him I would translate it thus, "may it tend to the condition of (their obtaining) a share of a pre-eminent existence"

⁶ Which Bühler translated as, "may (the merit of this gift) be by preference for their parents" (E I, 1, 390) but I would suggest that *agra* is short for and = the full phrase *agrēbhāva* or *agrabhāga*, for *agra* is a noun and means the "foremost or topmost point", and that the translation should be, "may it tend to their parents' having the condition of (obtaining) a share in a pre eminent position"

⁷ Which Prof Lüders translates "for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi", but I would suggest it means, "(let it tend) to my brother Svarabuddhi's (having a) share in a pre eminent position"

⁸ Referred to in I A, vol 33 (1904), p 155

⁹ I have to thank Dr Thomas for this suggestion He thinks further that *nabagra* may be a mistake for *naragra* and = *nāraṭa*, "beings in hell," *ḍ* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*

napaka (by rule 1)=Skt *ārya-nripa+ka*, "the saintly king" They might be taken separately as "the saint, the king," if it is probable that the dedicator would have invoked a blessing not only on the saintly king, but also on kings generally If so, the *ārya* must be distinguished from the *śrāvaka* who is mentioned next

Paryata-sava-bhāgrā=*paryatta śva-bhīva* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt *paryāpta-śrāva-bhāva+ka*¹ *Śva* which means "hearing" appears to signify "learning, instruction" here and the whole phrase to be a circumlocution for *śrāvaka*

Yō adra ambara amda-jō—The first letter might be read as *śō*, but that could only represent Skt *śvas*, "tomorrow," and is meaningless here The *jō* at the end clearly answers to *yō* at the beginning, so that the whole is one long phrase, and, as no sandhi blends the intervening words as in the following words *jalāyuga*, *saphatiga* and *arupyata*, the intervening words are obviously distinct and must each be read with *jō*, otherwise they would have had the same termination *ō* instead of ending in *a* The whole phrase therefore becomes *yō adra-jō ambara-jō amda-jō*, and as *amda-jō* clearly means an "egg-horn creature" and the following word *jalāyuga* means "a creature that has its life in water," *adra-jō* and *ambara-jō* must denote other great groups of living creatures *Adra* (as the word appears to be, though the second letter is not clear even in the original)=*āddra* (by rule 3)=Skt *ārdra*, "moist", and this adjective is evidently used substantively here,² so that *adra jō* means "a creature born from moisture," and=*Pāli samsēda-jō* *Ambara*=Skt *antara*, "the interior," and *ambara-jō* may mean "born from the interior," and=*garbha ja*, that is, "mammalian"

Jalayuga=*jalāyuka* (by rule 1)=Skt *jala + āyu + ka*, "a creature which has its life in water" The word might be read as *jalāyukā* or *jala śuka*, which mean "a leech," but such a narrow and unsatisfactory allusion is out of the question

Saphatiga—The word looks like *śasētiga* or *śasvētiga*, or we might read *y* instead of *ś* in either or both places, since these two letters are not well distinguished (see p 203), but no such reading gives any sense, because the latter part whether read as *ētiga* or *ettika* (as it should be by rules 1 and 4) is an impossible ending, however we attempt to restore the word in Sanskrit The first letter certainly seems to be *ś* The second letter however differs markedly from the first and diverges from *ś* or *y*, in that its left limb is prolonged unusually downward as in *p* and *ph* I am led therefore to think that it is not *ś* or *y* but is a badly formed *p* or *ph*, and that the stroke which resembles the vowel mark *ē* is really the top part of *p* or *ph* shifted slightly to the right³ Of these two letters *ph* is preferable, because the right limb has an upward curve which *p* does not possess and which is not the mark of *r* in *pr* As *ph* it is a new form, yet *ph* has two different shapes in Bühler's Table I, so that its character was not rigidly settled Taking the second letter then as *ph*, we obtain a reading which is appropriate *Śaphatiga*=*śapphattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt *śashpāttri + ka* "an animal feeding on grass" This is no doubt a pretentious word,⁴ but it accords with the contiguous words and occurs as will be seen in a poetical quotation

Arupyata=*arūpyatā* (by rule 4), "incorporeal soul"⁵ This may represent Skt *arūpin + ātmā*, but not *arūpya + ātmā*, because *arūpya* does not have the meaning "incorporeal" *Pāli*

¹ Dr Thomas would read *paryata* as = *paryamta*

² *Adra* might = a possible noun *ārdra*, "moisture", but the general character of this Prākṛit seems against it Dr Thomas would read *adra ambara* as *atra ambara* and as = *atrāntare*, but as regards the character *dr*, see p 208, note 3

³ Dr Thomas however would read the word as *śa(r)śētiga*, that is *sāmsvēdika*, equivalent to *Pāli samsēda-ja*, from Skt *sam* and *svēda*, but there is no instance here where an original *ś* is turned to Prākṛit *ś*, or an original *ś* to Prākṛit *ś* (see rules 1 and 3, pp 207, 208)

⁴ *Śashpa bhuj* is in the dictionary

⁵ Dr Thomas would take this word as = *arūpyāmta*

has *arūpī* and *ārūppa* (=Skt *ārūpya*, formed directly from *a-rūpa*), both meaning "incorporeal" *Arūpyata* might represent the latter word, if read as *ārūpyattā*, but *arūpyattā* seems preferable, because the first syllable is probably short since we have here presumably a śloka quoted

All these words from *ariya* to *arūpyata*¹ have a particularly literary style and rhythm, and here alone occurs the nomin termination *ō*. These features suggest that we have a poetical quotation here, in which all the words were in the nomin singular as shown by the *ō* form and the word *arūpyattā*. If then these words be adjusted according to the rules set out above, and the nomin form *ō* be restored, and *jō* be added to the two words from which it has been omitted, the passage falls into the śloka metre —

.. .. ariya-napakō paryatta-sāva-bhāvakō
Yō ādra-jō antara-jō anda-jō [cha] jalīyukō
Śapphattikō arūpyattā²

Sariva=Skt *sārvīnām*, genitive plural of *sārvī*,³ a feminine collective noun formed from *sarva*, precisely like *sāmagrī* from *samagra*, and with the same meaning. It is used in the plural, because it applies to each of the preceding terms.

Sada=Skt *sādas*, "residence, dwelling", *sada-sārvī* means "household". It is used in the plural, probably honorifically, with reference to all the houses that composed the residence of the Rāja Rōhana.

Avashatriga=*avashatrika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt femm form *avasaktrī* + *lā*. But perhaps the *ri* is a mistake for or a reminiscence of the vowel *ri* of the masc form, and the word intended would be *avasaktri*+*ka*. *Avasaktri* is not actually found in Sanskrit, but would be a legitimate formation from the root *ava-sañj* (which does occur) and would mean "an adherent". The preposition *ava* sometimes changes a following *s* to *sh* as in *avashtambh* and *avashvan*, and, though it does not so modify the root *sañj* in Sanskrit, yet it might do so in Prākṛit, especially when there is a closely allied root *siañj*, "to embrace," which would I imagine be modified after *ava*.⁴ Both roots would be alike in Prākṛit.

Padvyamsam is discussed above (p 216). The medial *m* is not so clear here as in that earlier place.

Mityaga (or perhaps *Mityaka* by rule 1) seems to be Greek both from its appearance and also from the use of the cerebral *t*, see *Artamisya* (p 212), but the only Greek words I can suggest after enquiry are *métokhos*, which means "a foreign settler" but is hardly a name, and *mētókhos*, in which the *hh* could hardly be represented by *k*. It is noteworthy that the dedicator expresses the same wish for full *agra-bhāga* for *Mityaga* as for *Huvishka*.

Line 4

Esha viharam—*Vihāra* appears to be treated as a neuter noun, because *vihāram* is clearly the nomin case. *Esha* is used as a neuter in Prākṛit.⁵

Asamsrana is a difficult word. The second akshara is like *sam* at the beginning of the inscription, and the third appears to be *ś* or *y* compounded with *r*,⁶ and if the former is *sam*,

¹ Dr Thomas would put a different meaning on the text, thus—"I propose (tentatively) to understand all creatures to be referred to, 'From āryas to the beings in hell, and all the andāyas, etc in between (ātrāntare) including the invisible (a-rūpa)'"

² Can any Pali scholar identify these verses?

³ *Sārcīyār* occurs in a Skt quotation in Pischel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 16

⁴ See Pāṇini VIII, 3, 68 9

⁵ Pis hel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 426

⁶ It differs from the usual forms of *ś* and *y*, in that the left limb is extended unusually downward.

the only tenable reading for the latter is *śra*, and the whole word would be *asamśrana*, but this seems impossible, if taken as one word, and if it is divided into *asam śrana*, we only obtain two difficult words, and initial *śr* is inadmissible since it drops its *r* as shewn in *śra* (see p 217). There seems to be a clerical error in the word. Two emendations may be offered. First, it may be a mistake for *a-samsraya*, "having no asylum or habitation," the gift of a vihāra to Mahāsanghikas who had no sanctuary would have been a natural act of piety. Or secondly, as Dr Thomas suggests, the *sam* may be a mistake for the somewhat similar letter *cha*, and then the next letter may be read as *rya*,¹ so that the word would be *āchāryāna*, genitive plural of *āchārya*, "teacher." On the whole this seems preferable,² and I have adopted it in the translation.

No. 21 — SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA, THE YEAR 241.

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D., HALLE (SAALE)

In my article on the Pārdī plates of the Traikūtaka king Dahrasēna³ it was stated that the late lamented Mr A M T Jackson, I.C.S, had in his hands an unpublished copper-plate grant of Dahrasēna's son and successor Vyāghrasēna⁴. At my request Rai Bahadur Venkayya obtained the original plates on loan through the Government of Bombay, who were good enough to permit them to be sent to me for inspection.

As stated by Mr Jackson, the copper-plates come from Surat. They are two in number, each measuring between $9\frac{1}{4}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised lines, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārdī plates, there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. The Jihvāmīliya occurs once (l 1) and the Upadhmaniya five times (ll 4, 5, 6 (twice), and 14). In three instances (*mā*, l 9, and *lā*, ll 13 and 18) the secondary form of *ā* is expressed by a hook at the bottom of the preceding consonant. The date at the end of the inscription contains the abbreviation *sam* (for *samvat*) and the numerical symbols 1, 5, 10, 40, and 200.

The language is Sanskrit prose, but two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end. The rules of grammar and of *sandhi* are carefully observed, only ll 10-14 contain a few blunders, and l 8 two clerical mistakes. *Anusvāra* is replaced by *n* in *vansā* (l 5) and *vansya* (l 12).

The inscription records a grant of land to a Brāhmana by the Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (l 7 f) of the Traikūtaka family (l 1), who issued his order from "the victorious Aniruddhapurā" (l 1). This city, which appears to have been the capital of the Traikūtaka kings, is mentioned also in the slightly different form "the victorious Aniruddhapurī" as the place of residence of the donee in the Bagumrā plates of [Kalachuri-]Samvat 406⁵ Vyāghrasēna.

¹ This *ry* is different from the *ry* in *paryata* (l 3 A) in that the left limb extends downwards here much further than in *paryata*. Whether this difference is accidental or implies a distinction is doubtful.

² Though, on this interpretation, one would have expected *Mahāsanghika āchāryāna*.

³ Above, Vol X p 52 f.

⁴ *Journ. Bombay Br E As Soc.* Vol. XXIII. p 6 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p 270.

claims to have ruled the Aparānta country¹ (l. 2). This statement furnishes an interesting confirmation of two verses of Kālidāsa's *Raghurām a* (iv. 58 f.), where the mountain Trūkūta, from which the designation of the Traikūtaka family must be derived, is placed in the territory of the king of Aparānta.² According to the *Vijayantī* (cd Oppert, p. 37, verse 35), which is quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, iv. 53, the chief place of Aparānta seems to have been Sūrpāraka, the modern Sōpārā, with which I feel tempted to identify Anuruddhapura, the capital of the Traikūtakas. The object of Vyāghrasēna's grant was the hamlet Purōhitapallikā in the Iksharaki district (*nāhāra*, l. 8), which I am unable to identify. From the name given to the hamlet we may perhaps infer that the donee, Nāgaśarman (l. 10), was the king's family priest (*purōhita*).

The date of the grant was the 15th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 241 of an unspecified era (l. 18). As we know from coins that Vyāghrasēna was the son of Dahrasēna,³ whose Pārdi plates are dated in [Kalachuri-]Samvat 207, the date of the new inscription must be also referred to the Kalachuri era of A. D. 240, and the specified month places the record in A. D. 490 or 491.

The following short pedigree comprises all that we know from coins and inscriptions regarding the Traikūtaka kings of Aparānta, residing at Anuruddhapura.—

Mahārāja Indradatta
|
Mahārāja Dahrasēna
(A. D. 456 or 457)
|
Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna
(A. D. 490 or 491)

TEXT.⁴

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयानिरुद्धपुरात्त्रैकूटकान[?] मातापितृपादागुह्यातो भगवत्पादकर्मकरक्कर-
गतक्रमागत-
- 2 स्त्रीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकमलस्वभुजपरिपालनप्रता-
- 3 पाधिगतप्रचुद्धविष्णुत्रिआणनावाप्तसर्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्लयशाशारदरजनिकररुचिरवपु-
- 4 ग्गन्धदास्त्रीलपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारर्चारतस्मृचरितनिदर्शनार्थसिख निर्मितप्रति-
- 5 हतसामन्तारातिरन्ध्रनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्ववृत्तलङ्कारभूतप्रभूतप्रवीरसाधना-⁵
- 6 विष्टितदुर्गनगरसागरस्नागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिप्रकृतिजनमनोहरप्रान्त-

¹ See *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p. 173, and Prof Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. xxxi.

² *Op cit* p. clix and note 3.

⁴ From the original copper plates.

³ See above, Vol X p. 52 and note 6.

⁵ Read °वशा°.

- 7 सञ्चितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृश्यन्त्रणोपगृहीतस्त्रुहृणीयन्त्रीश्रीसहा-
 8 राजव्याघ्रसेनः ¹सर्वानवेचरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपत्निकाप्रतिवासिनो-²
 9 स्रमाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वी यथास्माभिर्मातापितृदोदात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभि-
 हृद्ये

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 भारद्वाजसगोत्रनाम्नागशर्मणे³ इयं पत्निका चौरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज⁴ अचाटभट-
 11 प्रावेश्या सर्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणोग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या⁵ आचन्द्रार्कार्णव-
 12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनोत्सृष्टा⁶ [1*] तदस्मद्दृश्यराजभिरन्वैश्च⁷ विभवानभावानुब-
 ज्ञानायुर्वि-
 13 योगानुगतद्रुणाश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान-
 14 मिति प्रमाणोक्त्य शशिकरश्च रुचिरश्चिराय यश्चिचोपुभिरिय⁸ पत्निकादा-
 योनुमन्तव्य⁹ पा-
 15 लयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्मादुक्तभगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पूर्वदत्तान्विजा-
 तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रुच युधि-
 16 ष्ठिर [1*] महोम्नाहिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन [॥ १ ॥'] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गे सोदति
 17 भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता घानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [॥ २ ॥']
 प्रतिपृच्छ लिखितं मया महासान्धिविय-
 18 द्विकर्केण हालाहलद्रुतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्तिके शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lane 1) Hail! From the victorious Aniruddhapura, the glorious Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna,— (who belongs to the family) of the Traukūtakas, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is the lord of Aparānta and other rich countries, annexed or inherited (by him), to whose lotus-feet innumerable kings are bowing, who has obtained bright fame, pervading all directions, by distributing the vast treasures acquired with his own arm by ruling (his kingdom) and by conquest, whose body is as brilliant as the autumnal moon, whose conduct is as noble as that of excellent men of former times, who has been created, as it were, as an example of good conduct, who has repelled neighbouring enemies, who is more distinguished than other kings, who has become the ornament of his family, who has occupied forts, cities, and oceans by armies of many great heroes, whose nature is as deep as the ocean and as firm as the chief of mountains (Himālaya), who ravishes the hearts of men by nature, whose wealth is shared

¹ Read सर्वानवे°

⁴ Read °वर्जस.

Read °कालीनाति°

² Read °वासिन°

⁵ Read °परिहीणाग्रहार° and °भोज्यावर्जा°

⁷ Read °दृश्य°.

³ Read °शर्मण

⁸ Read °भिरिय,

by scholars, refugees, elders, relatives, and devotees, (and) who has acquired desirable glory by practising self-restraint in a manner worthy of (his) descent,— commands all residents of Purōhitapallikā included in the Iksharakī district (*āhāra*) —

(L 9) “Be it known to you, that, in order to increase the merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, we have granted to the Brāhmana Nāgaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* this hamlet (*pallikā*), not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, unless (in order to arrest) robbers or persons guilty of high-treason, exempt from all taxes and from forced labour, to be enjoyed, under the rules of an *agrahāra*, by (the donee's) descendants, (and) to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist

(L 12) “Therefore kings belonging to Our lineage and others, considering that sovereignty is liable to cessation, that life is followed by separation, and that (only) virtues are lasting a long time, admitting the principle that gifts to virtuous men are noble achievements, and desirous of accumulating for a long time brilliant fame, as bright as the rays of the moon, must approve and protect this grant of a hamlet

(L 15) “For the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken —

[Here follow two of the customary verses]

(L 17) Having enquired (regarding the necessary details of the grant?), (this edict) was written by me, the great minister for peace and war (*mahāsāndhuvigrahika*) Karka, Hālāhala being the messenger (*dūtaka*), in the year 241, on the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Kārttika

No 22 — FIVE BANA INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUDIMALLAM¹

By V VENKATYA, M A, RAI BAHADUR

Gudimallam is a village in the Kālahasti Zamīndārī of the modern Chittoor District, about 8 miles from Rēnigunta Junction, and 13 miles south-west of Kālahasti town. On a hurried visit to the village which I paid in August 1903, I found important inscriptions, and subsequently a member of the Madras epigraphical establishment was deputed to examine the place more leisurely. In all 26 inscriptions were copied in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at the village.² They belong to the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar (No 229 of 1903), the Ganga-Pallava kings Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (No 226 of 1903) and Nripatunga (No 228 of 1903), the Bāna prince Vijayāditya (Nos 223 and 224 of 1903), the Chōla kings Parāntaka I. (No 225 of 1903), Rājakēśarivarman (No 222 of 1903), Vikrama-Chōla (Nos 212 and 213 of 1903) and Rājārāja III (Nos 201-11, 214, 216-21 and 227 of 1903). The village is called Tiruvip̄perumbēdu in Śilai-nādu, a sub-division of Vēngada-kōttam in Perumbānappādi, a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandalam. In the earlier records (Nos 226, 223, 225, 229 of 1903) the forms Tiruvip̄pirambēdu and Tiruvip̄pirambēdu (Nos 228 and 224 of 1903) and Tiruvip̄perumbēdu (No. 222 of 1903) occur. In three of them, the village is mentioned without the district to which it belonged (Nos 223, 226 and 229 of 1903). In four others Śilai-nādu and Vēngada-kōttam are added. If we accept the form which occurs in the earliest inscription, *viz* Tiruvip̄pirambēdu, the name may be analysed into Tiruvip̄piran and pēdu. Vip̄piran is apparently a *taḍḍala* of the Sanskrit *vipra*, ‘a brāhmana’. Consequently, the name would signify ‘the sacred village of the brāhmana’. The temple receives the names— Paraśurāmīśvarattu-Mahādēva (A. below) Paraśurāmīśvaragarattu-Perumānādigal (D below), Paraśurāmīśvaragarattu-Pirāpār (E

¹ My thanks are due to Dr Fleet who very kindly read two proofs of this article at my request and made a number of valuable suggestions, almost all of which I have adopted.

² Nos. 204 to 229 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

below), Paraśurāmiśvarattu-Perumānadiḡal (No 222 of 1903) and Paraśurāmiśvaramudaiyāi (No 221 of 1903) Thus the temple is invariably called Paraśurāmiśvara from the time of the earliest inscriptions down to the present day None of the epigraphs, however, furnishes any clue as to the circumstances which led to the choice of this name

The subjoined inscriptions A to E¹ are the earliest records of the temple and are selected for publication as they throw some light on the history of a feudatory family, that of the Bānas, the members of which appear to have played an important part in Southern India in ancient times a general note on the history of this family is given on pp 229 to 240, below Most of the stones on which these inscriptions are engraved were found lying in the court-yard of the temple The fact that three of them register gifts to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple may be taken to show that the stones belonged originally to it perhaps they became detached from the temple when it was built (or rebuilt) during the reign of the Chōla king Vikrama-Chōla.²

The palaeography of these records does not call for any special remarks Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that two dots placed one above the other are used as a sign of punctuation in line 10 of A³ The initial vowel *i* is written in line 31 of B and line 25 of D. exactly as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākudi plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the more common form of the letter occurs in line 52 of the former record. Less important peculiarities are noticed in the footnotes to the text of each of the records As regards the language, which is Tamil, the only point that deserves to be noted is the use of the phrase *chandrādityagatam* (ll 32 to 35 of B, and l 10 of E) instead of the more common *chandrādityavat*⁴

A records a gift of land for a lamp to burn in the Paraśurāmiśvara temple by a certain Mulliḡkūlār who was one of the members of the committee administering the village of Tiruvipparambēdu The land granted was purchased by the donor from another member of the same committee In B a third member of the same committee granted land for removing silt from the tank called Vellēri at Tiruvipparambēdu Out of the produce of this land were to be met the charges for digging pits in the tank and depositing the silt on the tank-bund In C the stone is mutilated on the right side, so that the writing has suffered on three sides of it The missing letters on the first side can be restored with some certainty, while on the third side restoration is not possible The object of the grant is consequently not clear, but it probably registers the gift of a lamp In D the Bāna queen Mādēvi-adiḡal granted 30 *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold from the interest of which was to be met the expenditure on account of twilight offerings and lamps to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple at Tiruvipparambēdu The assembly of Tiruvipparambēdu accepted the endowment and undertook to provide twilight offerings and lamps. E registers a gift of gold by a native of Viramangalam for a perpetual lamp The amount consisted of twenty *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold, and the interest on it was calculated at the rate of four *maṅḡadi* per year for each *kaḷaṅḡu* Out of the interest amounting to 4 *kaḷaṅḡu*, 180 *nāḷi* of ghee was to be purchased at the rate of 45 *nāḷi* for each *kaḷaṅḡu* At one *uri* of ghee per day, 180 *nāḷi* would be enough for the whole year The assembly of Tiruvipparambēdu took charge of the endowment and agreed to provide the ghee required every day

¹ These five inscriptions have also been published by Mr T A Gopinatha Rao, M A, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XL pp 104-114 It will be seen that there are some differences both in the readings and in the translations Further, ll 46 to 58 of B are altogether omitted by him and ll 18 to 43 of C are left out as they are fragmentary

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903-04, p 24, No 212 of 1903

³ Compare *South Ind Inscrip*, Vol II p 111, note 1

⁴ The expression *chandrādityagatam* occurs in an inscription of the Chōla king Parakāśarivarmaḡ at Kudumiyāmalai (No 350 of 1904)

The relationship which the members of the committee or commissioners (*ganattār*) bore to the village assembly is not clear. In other words, their respective jurisdiction is not known. The commissioners are said to be ruling the village. Two other villages besides Tiruvipirambēdu are at present known to have possessed this constitution, viz. Uṭṭarāṇmērūr, the modern Uṭṭaramallūr in the Chingleput district¹ and Aimbūṇḍi, the modern Ammurdi near Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District². These seem to have been pretty large villages. Perhaps the commissioners were expected to represent the interests of the king.

A —Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya Māvāli-Vānarāya : dated in the 23rd year of Nandippōttaraiyar³

TEXT

1 Svasti	[*]	Śri-Nanti(ndi)-	13 r Vēppamboḷa-
2 ppō[t*]taraiyark-			14 ppāl ivv-ūr-ālu-
3 ku yāndu iru-			15 n-ganattāruḷ Ku-
4 battu-mūṇṇā- ⁴			16 laippa[]ūr-Kka-
5 vadu Vikkiramā-			17 niyar [Δ]gōiśa[r]mma-
6 ditte(tta)-Māvāli-			18 ṇ vilaiśāva[ṇ]ai-
7 Vānarāyar Vadu-			19 yāl viṇṇa kon-
8 gavaḷi-mērku			20 du ivv-ūr Paraśu-
9 prithivirājyañ=			21 ra(rā)miśvarattu Mahādē ⁵ -
10 jeya : ⁵ Tiruvi[p*]pīra-			22 varkku tiruvilak-
11 mbēd-ālan-gana-			23 ku-ney-ppuṇam=[ā]-
12 ttāral Mulliṇ-ki[]ā-			24 ga kudnttār [i*]
25 ivv-ūr sabhaiyōmmam i-nnilattō ivv-ūr=ch[che]kk-nl[]a]na cllām			
26 nattu=ttiruvilakkukkey vāya ennai kolvaḍāga=ppaunttōm ⁷ [*]			

TRANSLATION

Had¹ In the twenty-third year (of the reign) of the glorious Nandippōttaraiyar,—while Vikramāditya-Māvāli-Vānarāya was ruling over the Vadugavaḷi-mērku (province), Mulliṇ-kiḷār, (one) of the members of the committee (*gana*) administering (the village of) Tiruvi[p]-pirambēdu, purchased by a deed of sale⁵ (the field called) Vēppamboḷappāl (from) Kaniyar Agniśarman of Kuḷaippalūr, (one) of the members of the committee administering this village, and gave (it) to (the god) Mahādēva (Śiva) of (the temple of) Paraśurāmiśvara at this village, as an endowment for (supplying) ghee to the sacred lamp.⁹ The assembly of this village

¹ *South-Ind Insers* Vol III p 3

² *Ibid* p 113 [Vēlaehcheri in the North Arcot district was another such village, see Nos 302, 308, 312 and 315 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911 —H K S]

³ No 229 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photolithographic plate, ll 1 to 24 are engraved on one of the broad sides of the stone and ll 25-26 on one of the narrow sides.

⁴ The secondary ā of ṇā is a separate symbol.

⁵ The *visarga* is used here as a sign of punctuation, compare *South Ind Insers* Vol II p 111, note 1.

⁶ The *akṣaras hādē* are much smaller than the rest of the inscription.

⁷ The *pulli* which is conspicuous by its absence in the whole inscription is marked on the last letter *m*.

⁸ The term *etāi srāvaṇai* occurs twice in a similar context in *South-Ind Insers* Vol III p 105, text-line 5.

⁹ With *tiruvilakku-ney-ppuṇam* compare *ambala-ppuṇam* (above, Vol III p 285, text-line 7), *nandarāṇa-puṇam* (*South-Ind Insers* Vol III p 5, text-line 5), *puḍukku-ppuṇam* (*ibid* p 7, text-line 8) and *ṇṇāḷiga-ppuṇam* (*ibid* p 19, text-line 6).

ordered that all the oil mills (*śekku*) of this village shall be set up on this land¹ and the oil required exclusively for the sacred lamps shall be procured (*from them*)

B —Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya dated in the 49th year of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman

TEXT²

On one of the broad faces of the stone

1 [Sva]stī [*] Śrī-kō-Vī-	9 jyañ=jeyya Tī-	17 ullai Nandiku-
2 ś[ai]ya-Dantivikki-	10 ruvippiramb[ē]-	18 ndil=[ē]na śer[n]
3 [ra]maparumaṅku y[ā]-	11 d=ālan=gana-	19 ivv-ūr Ve[ī]-
4 ndu nārpatto-	12 tāruḷ Kaḷiyama-	20 lēriyḱku ē-
5 nbadāvadu Vī-	13 ngilan=giḷār	21 riḱcheṅuv-āga
6 jaiyāditta-Ma-	14 Ayyappō[r]-	22 vaittēn [*] 1-
7 hāvali-Vā[na]-	15 riycn enga-	23 dir=bhōga[n]=
8 rāyar prithivirā-	16 l Tūmbanēri	24 gondū 1-v-

On one side of the same

25 [ve]l[ī]ē-	32 rmmañ=cha-	39 luttī-
26 riya[ī]ē	33 ndiādi-	40 nān 1000 ⁴
27 kulī kut-	34 tyagata-	41 aśvamē-
28 tī attu-	35 ñ=jel-	42 dhañ=jey-
29 vadāga	36 vadāy-	43 da palan
30 vaittē-	37 ttu [*] 1-	44 peruvā
31 n [*] 1 ³ -ddha-	38 ddharmañ=jō-	45 r [*]

On another side of the same⁵

46 id=aḷ-	51 tu=ppadu-	56 n mudī-
47 ttān	52 vār [*] 1-ddha-	57 mēli-
48 Vāranāśī ⁶	53 rmmam rakshī-	58 ṅa [*]
49 aḷittā-	54 ttān	
50 n pāvat-	55 adi e ⁷ -	

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the forty-ninth year of the glorious king Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman,—while Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya was ruling over the earth,—I, Ayyappōrri, the headman (*kaḷār*) of Kaḷyamangalam, (one) of the members of the committee administering (the village of) Tiruvippirambēdu, gave the field called Nandikundū 1u (the tank) Tūmbanēri of our

¹ It is also possible that the reading is *śekk uḷḷana* (instead of *śekk uḷḷana*), in which case the translation would be "all (the crops) for which the fields of this village are (fit) shall be raised on this field, and the oil required for the sacred lamps shall be purchased (out of the produce)."

² No 226 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

³ This initial vowel *e* is written as *ru* in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākuḱi plates. The more usual form occurs in ll 37, 46 and 52 below.

⁴ This symbol for one thousand occurs in one of the Nānāghāt inscriptions. This lue has been read by Mr Gopriatha Rao as *°nāra*, which is probably a printer's mistake for *°nāra*. The reading *°nāra* is unlikely as the symbol for *a*, in other cases where it occurs in the inscription (ll 6, 22 and 30), is not separated from the consonant to which it belongs. Besides the accusative *°nāra* would be wrong and would have to be corrected into *°nān* or *°nār*.

⁵ This side of the stone is damaged, but no letters have suffered on that account.

⁶ The length of *nā* is added to the right of *n* and goes up, compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I, p. 114 and Vol II p. 200, note 1.

⁷ The vowel *e* is almost a semicircle with a loop at the left end.

(village) to (the tank called) Vellēri of this village, as the tank-field (*ēricchēruvu*). I gave (it) so that (they) may dig pits in this Vellēri (tank) and deposit (the silt on the bund)— (paying the charges) from the produce (*bhōga*) of this (field)

This charity has to last (as long) as the moon and the sun endure. One who maintains this charity shall obtain the merit of having performed one thousand horse sacrifices. One who destroys it shall incur the sin of slaying Vānast. The feet of one who protects this charity shall be on my head.

C—Inscription of the time of Vānavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vānarāya dated in the 24th year of Nīputiṅga¹

TEXT

On the first side of the stone

1	Sva[-t]ṛi ['] [śrī']-	9	īṅ-pratihārikṛita
2	Nrī[pa][tun*]-	10	sri-Mahābali-
3	gar[ku ṽ][ān*]-	11	kul-ōtbhava(ōdbhava)-
4	du iruba[ttu-nā*]-	12	sri-Vānavi-
5	l[ā]vadu [śrī][kālī*]-	13	dyādharma-Mah[ā]-
6	jagat-ti [v][y]-bhū*]-	14	bali-Vāna-
7	vandita-[sn]ṛi [śrī]-ā*]-	15	rāyar Vaduga-
8	dhiśa-Param[ā]śrī]-		

On the second side of the stone

16	vāṅyīn mēṅku pi [i](pi)thiruvāṅyāñ=ṅeyya=Ttiruvēṅgada-k-
17	kōttattu=[Ch]chilai-nāttu=Ttiruvirppirambēttu sabhai-

On the third side of the stone

18	. rkkā ³	30	ga i-pparu-
19	. m vī[n]	31	hisada=muttamā-
20	. d[a]va[nā]r	32	r[pa]du yēttuv[ō]-
21	. nariyu]ā	33	[m]ānōm sabh[ai]-
22	[la] tēya	34	yōm [*] ippa[ru]-
23	pon	35	āditi[t]anu=
24	. ti oru-vi	36	ñ=ṅandirānu-
25	. . na[n]-	37	mam=ullala[vu]-
26	[yu]m[m]o	38	m uduvōmā-
27	[n]aiyyu[m]	39	nōm i-ppa-
28	. mōṅum o-	40	ru[ō]u mattinai[n]-
29	. yum yu		

On the fourth side of the stone⁴

41	. irān uttaman dha[ī]mmamāva-
42	. mbōttu sabheyēm' [i*] i-dha-
43	. ttin pādām en talai mēlā [*]

¹ No 228 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photographic plate, H 1 to 15 and 18 to 40 are engraved on the two broad sides of the stone and the rest of the inscriptions on the two narrow sides.

² The secondary ā is added to the y at the bottom.

³ One or more lines of the inscription are completely broken at the top of this side of the stone.

⁴ A few *akṣaras* are lost at the beginning of each line on this side of the stone.

⁵ Read *sabhāyōm*.

•

6. 2. 1

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the glorious Nripatungan,—while the illustrious Vānavidyādharma-Mahābali-Vānarāya, born in the prosperous race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the west of Vadugavali, (the members of) the assembly of Tiruvirpīrāmbēdu in Śilai-nādu (a subdivision) of Tiruvēngada-kōttam

[The rest of the inscription is too fragmentary to be translated]

D —Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Māhābali-Vānarāya dated Śaka 820¹

TEXT.

On the first side of the stone

1 [Sva]sti śrī [*] Saka-	11 [r Vī*]jayāditta-Mahā-
2 [la*]-jagat-tray-ā-	12 [ba*][h]-Vānarāyar pri[thi]-
3 [bhiva*]ndita sur-āsu-	13 [virā*]jyañ=jeyya Śa-
4 [r-idhi*]śa-Paramēśva-	14 [kar*] [y]āndu en-
5 [ra-pra*]tibhārikūta-Ma-	15 [aū]rr-irubadāvadu
6 [hā*][ba]h-kul-ōtbha-	16 [Ti*]ruvippīrāmbēt-
7 [va*](ōdbhava)-[śrī]-Vānavi-	17 [tu*] Paraśurāmīśva[ra]ga-
8 [dyā*][dha]rar Mahādēvi-	18 [rat*]tu=pperumānadi-
9 [adiga*]l=iyina Māraka-	19 [ga*]lukkū sandhyā ² -kālattu
10 [m]madigal maganā-	

On the second side of the stone

20 [tru]va[mu]dakkum nandīvilakku onrukkum-āga=kkudutta śembon
21 mappadin kalañju [*] i-ppon Mādēvi-adigal pakkal ivv-ūr sa-
22 bb[ai]yōn=gondu i-pponnukku=ppoli-ūttaga tiruvamudukku nīśadam i

On the third side of the stone

[One or more lines are mutilated here]

23 [da]ñ=jeluttu-	29 [tōm*] [sa]bhayōm [*]
24 [vō*]mānōm sa[bh]ai-	30 [id=a*]nr=enjōm ³ Ga-
25 [yō*]m [*] sī-ddha	31 [n*]gai-idaī=Kkuma-
26 ⁴	32 [ri-i*]daī=chcheydā
27 [ko*]ndu [se]ln[tta]-	33 [śe*]yda pāpattu=[p]-
28 [vadā*]ga otṭi-kkudut-	34 [padu*]vārānār [*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas, eight hundred and twenty, when [Vī]jayāditya-Mahā[ba]h-Vānarāya, son of Mahādēvi-Adigal *alias* Māraka madigal,

¹ No 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

² The secondary ā is added to the right of y

³ If my reading be correct, the old form of r is used here as in the Grantha portion of the Kūśakūḍi grant, *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol II plate facing p 351, text line 103

⁴ This line is doubtful. Perhaps the reading is

25 ddharmam patmā

26 hēśvararēy=kkatik

⁵ The ā of rō is a separate symbol instead of being added to the r as in modern Tamil, compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol III p 90

(queen)¹ of the glorious Vānavi[dyā]dhara, born from the race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramāśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the earth,— thirty *kaḷaṅḷu* of pure gold were given for a perpetual lamp and offerings at twilight to the god (*perumāṇaḍigal*) of (the temple called) Paraśurāmiśvaragaram at Tiruvippirambēdu We, (the members of) the assembly of this village received this gold from (the queen) Mādēvi-Adiḡal . . . every day for offerings as interest for this gold

[A portion of the inscription is here lost]

We, (the members of) the assembly shall pay We, (the members of) the assembly agreed and gave [that we] shall pay . . . Those who deny this shall be guilty of the sins committed by all sinners between the Ganges and Kumari

E—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Vānarāya dated Śaka 827²

TEXT

- 1 Svasti Śri [||*] Śa[kar] yān-
- 2 du 8[2]7 [āva]du Vi-
- 3 jayāditta-Vā[na]rāya-
- 4 [r] pri[th]uvirājyaū=[j]eyya=
- 5 Tiruvēngada-kkōt[ta]ttu=Chchilai-
- 6 nāttu=Ttiruvirpirambēttu
- 7 [sabhayō]m [a]ḍiḡ[āri] Vīramanga-
- 8 lan=[gī]i[n]=Rāli-pakkal [e]ḡḡal(lūr)=P-
- 9 paraśi[rāmi]śvaragaratt[u]=ppir[ā]nārkkku=
- 10 ch[cha]nduādittagata[m] na[nd]āvīlak-
- 11 [ku e]riḡ[padar]ku ko[a]da pon
- 12 [i-p*]pon mndal [i]rubadin kaḷa-
- 13 [n*]jinnāll-ānduvarai [nā]lu maṅḡ[ā]-
- 14 [di]=ppaliśayār=pon [u]ār=kaḷaṅḡj³
- 15 nār=kaḷaṅḡjakkku nārpaṭṭ[ai]y-nnāli-
- 16 ppadi nūreṅḡbadi=nāli n[e]yyāl
- 17 mēadi uriy ney ko[n]du nandā-
- 18 vilakku muttāmai⁴ erip[pō]mānōm [!*]
- 19 muttār=Kangaiy=idaī=Kkuma[rī]y=idaī-chcho-
- 20 ydār śeyda pa(pā)vam pa[du]vōmānō-
- 21 m sa[bhayō]m |||—

TRANSLATION

Hal! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas 8[2]7, while Vijayāditya-Vānarāya was ruling the earth,— we, (the members of) the assembly of Tiruvirpirambēdu in Śilai-nādu, (a subdivision) of Tiruvēngada-kōttam, received gold from the magistrate (*adīḡāri*) Tāli, the headman of Vīramangalam, for burning (one) perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, to the god (*pirānār*) of (the temple called) Paraśurāmiśvaragaram in our village The interest on this gold—the capital of twenty *kaḷaṅḡu*— is four *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold annually, at the rate

¹ Another translation of the passage is "Son of Māraka māḍiḡal, who was the great queen *mahādēvi-Adiḡal* of the glorious Vānaviḍyādhara."

² No 224 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

³ The *akshara* *ti* (*ḡ*) is corrected from *tu*

⁴ Above the *akshara* *tīā* is a secondary *i* which seems to have been erased by the engraver himself



of four *mañjādi* (for each *kaḷaṅṅu*) One hundred and eighty *nāḷi* (may be purchased annually) for (this amount) at the rate of forty-five *nāḷi* of ghee for (each) *kaḷaṅṅu* We shall without obstruction burn a perpetual lamp with one *uri* of ghee daily If there be any obstruction, we (the members of) the assembly shall incur the sin committed by sinners between the Ganges and Kumari

Note on the history of the Bāna princes

Of the foregoing records, the inscription A is dated during the reign of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar¹ whose feudatory was the Bāna chief Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vānarāyar. B belongs to the time of the Ganga-Pallava king Dantivikramavarman, who had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya for his feudatory, and C to that of Nripatunga, who probably belonged to the same family, though the characteristic portions of the names of the kings of that line are here missing The grant recorded in the latter was made while Vānavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vānarāya was governing the Vadugavali-merku (province) D and E are dated in the Śaka era² and belong to the time of the Bāna chief Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya The tract of country in which Kālahasti and Gudimallam are situated belonged to the Pallavas,³ and it is therefore no matter for surprise that an inscription of that dynasty and two of the Ganga-Pallavas have been found there

The identity of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Gudimallam inscription A with Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāsākudi plates remains doubtful, though not unlikely As regards Dantivikramavarman, another inscription of his reign dated two years later than his Gudimallam record has been found at Tiruchchānūr near Tirupati,⁴ and we may, for the present, identify him with the first Ganga-Pallava king Dantivarman of the Bāhūr plates, and Nripatunga with his grandson Nripatunga-Vikramavarman Earlier inscriptions of the former, ranging from the 10th to the 21st year, have been so far found in the vicinity of Conjeeveram⁵ and may be taken to show that his territory was limited Why the two later inscriptions are found in a different part of the country is a point on which no information is at present forthcoming His son Nandivikramavarman, too, seems to have been ruling a limited country, to judge from his inscriptions found

¹ Mr Gopinatha Rao identifies Nandippōttaraiyar with Kō-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman and accordingly concludes that B is older than A It will be seen that the photo-lithographs of these two records issued with this paper do not bear out this conclusion Apart from his wholesale identification of all kings in whose names the word *nandi* is found as well as of those with *danti* as part of their names, both of which I consider untenable, even Mr Gopinatha Rao cannot deny that there were at least two kings with the name Nandivarman, viz Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Kō Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman or Nandivarman Surely it cannot be contended that Nandivarman Pallavamalla has left no stone inscriptions And as he is called Nandipōttarāja in the Kāsākudi plates, Nandippōttaraiyar of A may for the present be identified with him This initial mistake of Mr Gopinatha Rao has led him to other errors in the chronology of the Bānas

² The fact that the Śaka era is used in them is probably due to the fact that the Ganga-Pallavas had completely collapsed and the overlordship of the Chōlas had not yet been recognised in that part of the country The Bānas who had been feudatories of the Ganga-Pallavas had probably not yet made up their minds to transfer their allegiance to the Chōlas Similarly, in a Tiruvallam inscription, we find the Śaka date 810 given and no overlord of the Bāna chief is mentioned (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 95) Other Tamil epigraphs which are dated in the Śaka era are Nos 338 and 356 of 1902 (*Ep Ind* Vol VII pp 136 and 137) and No 426 of 1903 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903 04, paragraph 20) One of the inscriptions of the Chōla king Virarājendra I is dated in the Śaka year coupled with the cycle year (No 273 of 1904) A record of Parāntaka I found at Grāmam in the South Arcot District is dated in the Kalhyuga era and gives the number of days that had actually elapsed on a certain day during the reign of the Chōla king (*Ep Ind* Vol VIII p 261) Another of Parakēsarivarman Uttama Chōla found at Tiruvadammarūdūr in the Tanjore District is also dated in the Kalhyuga era (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1907 08, paragraph 53)

³ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906 07, Part II, paragraph 38

⁴ No 262 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904

⁵ See the Director General's *Annual* for 1906 07, Part II, p, 238, note 7

so far Nandivamaru's son Nripatunga was evidently the most powerful king of the family, as his inscriptions are found both in the ancient Pallava territory and in the Chōla country.¹ In fact, it may be presumed that the Ganga-Pallavas occupied a comparatively insignificant position during the reign of the first two kings. This partly accounts for the fact that the descendants of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram continued until a very late period side by side with the Ganga-Pallavas.²

Apart from the Pallavas and the Ganga-Pallavas, the five subjoined records throw considerable light on the history of a feudatory family which played an important part in the ancient history of Southern India. These are the Bānas, who traced their descent to the demon Mahābali. They claim to be lords of Nandagnū, i. e. Nandūdoog in the Chik-Ballāpur taluka, Kōlār District, Mysore State, and their traditional capital, the place of origin claimed by them, was Parivipura, regarding which place see p. 231 below. The inscriptions of this family have been found in the northern portion of the North Arcot District and in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State.³ They seem to have been the guardians of the Palava and Ganga-Pallava territories in the north and often figure in cattle-raids and similar frontier wars.

The earliest mention of the Bānas is in the Tālgund pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kīkusthavarmān. Here it is said that Mayūrasarman, the first Kadamba king, who may be assigned roughly to the 5th century A. D., levied tribute from 'the great Bāna'⁴ who was perhaps a Pallava feudatory. We are not told definitely where the great Bāna's' dominion lay.⁵

The country ruled over by the Bānas is called *Āndhrāt pathah paschimāt śhatih*, 'the land to the west of the Āndhra road (or of the country called Āndhrapatha),' in Sanskrit in the Udayāndu grant of Vikramāditya II,⁶ Vadugavali-mērku in A above, Vadugavaliyū mērku in C above, the Vadugavali twelve-thousand in a Thuvallam inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman,⁷ Vadugavali 12,000 and Manne 200 in a record from the vicinity of Pungunū in the North Arcot District⁸ and "the twelve-thousand villages in the Āndhra-Mandala" in the Mudimur plates, professing to be dated in A. D. 338.⁹ The last mentioned record is spurious but there seems to be no objection to admit its evidence on the geographical point.

Perumbānappīdi, which occurs in later Tamil inscriptions, was apparently another name for the Bāna territory. This province seems to have extended from Pungunū in the west to Kālāhasti in the east. The river Pēru probably formed the southern boundary of the province in ancient times.¹⁰ None of the foregoing terms make it clear if the Bāna dominions formed part of the Āndhra country, or were situated to the west of it, or should be looked for to the west of a road running from the Tamil to the Vaduga, Āndhra or Telugu, country. The question is further complicated by the absence of any definite boundaries of the Āndhra country that could be

¹ See above Vol. VIII p. 293.

² See the Director General's *Annual* for 1906-07, Part II, p. 239 f.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, paragraph 15.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII p. 35. The *Bṛihad Bāna* of verse 15 corresponds to the term *Perum Bāna* of the territorial term Perumbānappīdi which appears to denote the Bāna dominions.

⁵ From the way in which he is here mentioned it looks as if his dominions were not very far from Śrīparvatam, i. e. Srirangam in the Kurnool District.

⁶ Above, Vol. III p. 76, text line 21.

⁷ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III p. 90.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 45.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV p. 175. Dr. Fleet has told me that the real reading is not *Āndhramandalā dvādasa*^c but *Āndhramandalā dvādasaśahasagrāma sampādita*, etc., "lord of the seven and a half lakh country supplied by the Āndhramandala twelve thousand villages."

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II paragraph 45.

easily recognised and identified. On the analogy of the terms *Dai hīrapatha* and *Uttarāpatha*, *Āndhrapatha*, which actually occurs in the Mysidavōlu plates with Dharmākhada or Amalavati as its capital (or one of its towns),¹ may be taken to be a synonym of *Vadugavali* occurring in Tamil inscriptions. In this case, it is not clear why the Bānas ruled in some of the records to be ruling the western portion of it, and not the whole of it as the others make us believe. Besides, Perumbānappādi, which seems to have been another name of the Bīna territory, and which has been tentatively located in the northern portion of the modern North Arcot District, could not have formed part of the Āndhra country. On the other hand, we have reason to suppose that it was included in Tondai-nādu or -mandalam, also called Drāvida.² The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-Tsiang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. locates Āndhra in the modern Gōdāvari and Kistna districts.³ Varāhamihira's location of Āndhra in the 6th century A.D. also takes us to the same locality.⁴ The tract of country in which the inscriptions of the family have been found, i.e. the northern portion of the North Arcot District and a part of the Kōlār District of the Mysore State, would correspond to the Perumbānappādi of Tamil inscriptions, but cannot be in the west of the Āndhra country, nor form any part of it, as implied in the term *Vadugavali-mērku*, *Vadugavaliyin mērku* and *Āndhrāt puthak paschimatch*. Consequently we have to suppose, at least provisionally, either that there was a road leading to the Āndhra country (perhaps from Drāvida) or that the country which lay between Āndhra and Drāvida was called Vadugavali, as the road to the Āndhra country lay through it, and it was the country to the west of this road or the western portion of it that was ruled by the Bānas. There is still a third possibility. It may be supposed that the name Vadugavali-mērku or its equivalent was the name correctly applied to the Bāna dominions in very early times. Then they were probably ruling, as Pallava feudatories, a portion of the modern Ceded districts which would be situated to the west of the Āndhra country. That this is not altogether a wild conjecture is shown by the fact that the Pallava dominions originally extended into the Ceded districts and that the Bānas were also ruling some frontier province in that part of the country during the time of the Kadamba king Mayūasarman. With the rise of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the 7th century, the Pallavas appear to have been driven out of the Telugu country and it may be supposed that the Bānas were forced into the northern portion of the North Arcot District. This province they continued to call Vadugavali or Vadugavali-mērku, though it was no longer to the west of the Āndhra country.⁵

Their traditional capital seems to have been Parivipuri (corrupted into Prapuri), Parival, Parigipura or Parvipura. This place has not yet been identified. The form Parigipura may be taken to show that it may be identified with Parigi in the Hindupuri taluk of the Anantapur District.⁶ This capital is mentioned for the first time in the Sholinghur rock-inscription of Parāntaka I.⁷ It may, therefore, be assumed that Parivipura became the chief town of the Bānas

¹ Above, Vol VI p 88

² See the Director General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II p 238, note 2

³ Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol II p 217 f

⁴ *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 173

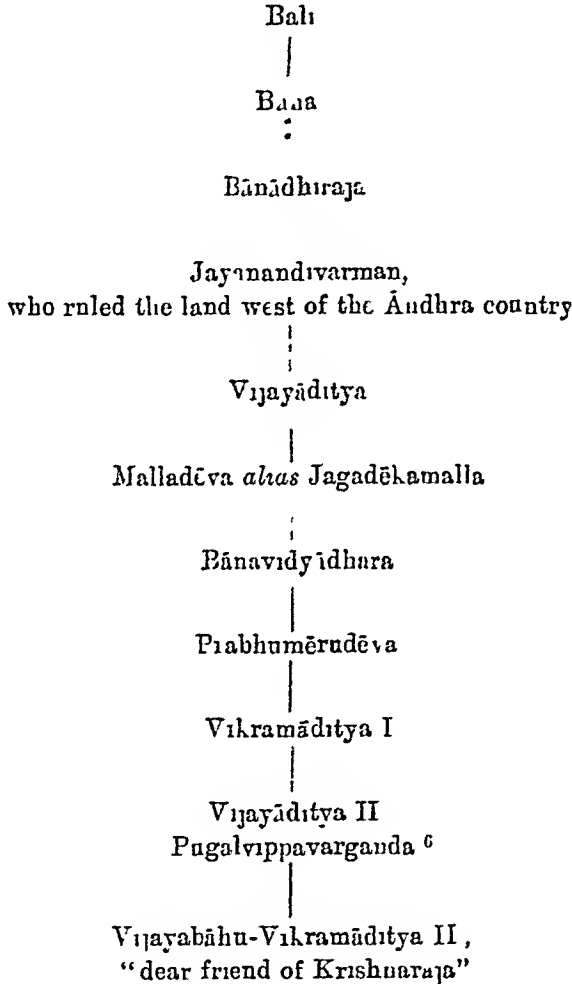
⁵ The Western Gangas called themselves lords of Kuvālapura though their capital was Talakid. The Telugu Chōdas claimed to be lords of Urayūr, though their dominions lay in the Telugu country. Similarly, local families claiming descent in the Pallava race called themselves lords of Kāñēnūra and devotees of the goddess Kāmakōtyambalā (i.e. the Kāmakshi temple at Conjeeveram). In the same way, the Bānas might have applied the original name of their territory to any district occupied by them in later times. See also pp 238 and 239 below.

⁶ Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 122

⁷ Above, Vol IV p 231. Here the forms *Parival* and *Prapuri* occur. *Parivipuri* occurs in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivipati II (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 388) and *Parigipura* in an inscription of the Bāna chief Aggaparāja (*Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, p 1201) and *Parivipura* in No 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903 (*Annual Report* for 1906-7, Part II paragraph 46). The form *Parvi* is furnished by No 194 of the same collection for 1899 (*Annual Report* for 1899-1900, paragraph 85).

after they were reduced to the position of Chōla feudatories Tīruvāllam in the North Arcot District seems to have borne the other name Vāṇapuram, and it is not unlikely that it was one of the important towns, if not the capital, of the Bāna territory¹ Long after the Bānas ceased to be rulers, members of the family claimed to be lords of Paṇṇivura and Nandagiri² The Bāna crest was a bull, and their banner bore the emblem of a black-buck, while their drum was called *Puṇācha*³ Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bānas, is said to have been made door-keeper by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva) worshipped in all the three worlds⁴

The Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya II,⁵ furnishes the following genealogy of the Bānas for eight generations



¹ *South Ind Inscr* Vol III, p 89

² See e.g. *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899 1900, paragraph 85

³ These are mentioned for the first time in the Udayēndiram plates of the Ganga-Bāna king Prithivipati II (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 388, verse 2A.)

⁴ The expression *sakala jagat tray-ābhivandita sur-āsura-ādihisa-Paramēśvara pratihāri-kṛta-Mahābali-kūṇḍohava* is translated by Mr Rice, on the strength of some Kanarese tradition, “born of the family of Mahābali, who had made Paramēśvara, lord of gods and demons worshipped in all the three worlds, (his) door-keeper,” *Ep Carn* Vol X, p 11, note 5

⁵ Above, Vol III p 74 f

⁶ The title Pugalvippavarganda was also borne by a brother-in-law of the Chōla prince Rājāditya, son of Parantaka I (above, Vol VII p 134) This Pugalvippavarganda is called Ilādarāja (i.e. chief of Virāja or Berar) (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906 7, Part II, paragraph 65) His son Vira Chōla was a contemporary of the Chōla king Rājārāja I and made a gift to the Jama shrine at Pañebapāndavamalai in the North Arcot District (above Vol IV p 139)

As the last of them, Vikramāditya II, is said to have been the "dear friend of Krishnarāja," who is no doubt identical with the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna II (A D 883 to 911-12),¹ we may assign him roughly to the beginning of the 10th century A D This would carry Jayanandivarman, the earliest known member of the family, to about the end of the 7th century A D But the Udayēndiram plates tell us that Jayanandivarman came to the throne after "many" Bāna princes had passed away The antiquity of the family is carried farther by the Tālgunda inscription of Kākusthavarma,² which, as I have already noted, reports that Mayū isarmān, the first Kadamba king, levied tribute from "the great Bana" Thus the history of the family is carried back to the 5th century A D

According to the Tamil poem *Manimōgalai*, the queen of the Chōla king Nedumudikkilli³ was Śirtti, daughter of a descendant of Māvali This is apparently a reference to the Bāna family Śirtti was also called Rājamādēvi and she had a son named Udayakumara The time when the Bāna father-in-law of the Chōla king flourished, cannot be made out satisfactorily at present But it may be presumed that the former is earlier than Jayanandivarman, the first Bāna king mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates

No authentic records of the earlier kings of the family have come down to us Of Konganivarman, the progenitor of the Gangas of Kōlār, it is said that he was anointed to conquer the Bāna-mandala⁴ It may be presumed that this statement gives pointed expression to the hostility which generally existed between the Gangas and Bānas in their later history, particularly during the period of supremacy of the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhēd who were the suzerain lords of the Western Gangas

A stone inscription of the Ganga king śrī-Mādhava-Muttarasa at Tallapalli⁵ which Mr Rice assigns approximately to A D 725,⁶ refers to his expedition against Mahāvāli-Bānarasa and to a battle at Kōyāttūr, i.e. the modern Laddigam in the Pungauūr Zamindāri At Kendattī-Madivāla in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nitimārga-Kongonivarman (Kl 79) which Mr Rice assigns to about A D 890 The Ganga king's feudatory Nolambadhīrāja of the Pallava family is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāna

¹ *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 92

² Above, Vol VIII pp 21 ff

³ He also bore the other names Killi Valavan, Mīvankilli, Vadivēṇṇilli and Venvēṇṇilli and is said to have wedded a Nāgī princess named Piliyalai It is believed that he fought a battle on the bank of the river Kūrī against the Chēras and Pāndyās The Chōla king also overcame the former by besieging Karuvūr It was apparently during his reign that Kīruippūpattinam, the Chōla capital, was destroyed by a tidal wave The king is said to have died at a place called Kulamurram and he was known in later times as "Kilivalavar, who died at Kulamurram" In the Tamil anthology known as *Puranānūru*, there are 18 pieces in his honour composed by ten poets In the note appended to each of these poems is mentioned the name of the king which does not figure in the body of the poem Consequently, the assumption that these ten poets were contemporaries of the king is based on tradition current at the time when the notes were added In the absence of definite information as to the authenticity of the tradition on which the notes are based, it is safer to abstain from drawing any historical conclusions from them The anthology in which these 18 poems are included is believed to have been compiled by a poet named Perundēvanan, who probably flourished in the 8th or 9th century A D (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraph 16) The date A D 105-120 for Kīlivalavan assigned by the late Mr Kanakasabhai Pillai is based on the Singhalese chronicles, whose chronology is far from satisfactory Without being dogmatic on the point, I would leave the chronology of early Tamil literature an open question until indisputable evidence is available on the point For a tentative date of the Chōla king Karikāla, who was the grandfather of Kīlivalavan according to Mr Kanakasabhai, see the Director General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II, p 224, note 1, and p 225, note 10

⁴ *South Ind Inscr*, Vol II p 387, verse 13

⁵ *Ep Carn* Vol X Kōlār, Ep 13

⁶ *Ep Carn* Vol X Introduction, p 11 The date given for the same record on p 137 of the Translation is "about 890 A D"

king (Bānarasa) At Bangavādi in the same district is a Bāna epigraph which refers to the capture by the Permanadigaḷ (*i.e.* the Western Ganga king), of Mahābājara-nād which belonged to the Bāna chief (Mb 228)¹ That the Gangas and the Bānas were also occasionally on friendly terms is shown by the marriage of the Ganga princess Kundavvaiyār, daughter of Prithivīpati I, with the Bāna king Bānavidyādhara²

The kings mentioned in the stone inscriptions bear several names, and, consequently, it is often very difficult to identify them with those in the foregoing genealogical table. Though we have reason to suppose that the Bānas were feudatories of the Pallavas, the references to them in Pallava inscriptions are very few. In A above, Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya, governing the Vadugavali-mēṅku, figures as a feudatory of the Pallava king Nandiḥpōttaraiyar, who may be identical with Nandiḥvarman Pallavamalla, the last powerful king of the Pallavas. If this be the case, the Bāna king Vikramāditya under reference, cannot be identified with Vikramāditya I of the foregoing table. One of the earlier kings must have borne the surname Vikramāditya, perhaps Bānavidyādhara, or his predecessor.

After the downfall of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, their empire seems to have been split up, and we find the Bānas playing a very important part in all the frontier wars. The Ganga-Pallava king Narasiṃha-Vikramavarman, whose initial date has been placed by Dr Fleet between A D 760-70, had a feudatory named Skanda-Bānādhirāja³. At Bangavādi in the Mulbagal tānka of the Kōlār District is an inscription recording the death of a servant of this king on the occasion of a cattle-raid⁴. Vijaya-Skandasishya-Vikramavarman of the Rāyakōta plates, who may have been a successor of Narasiṃha-Vikramavarman, also had a Bāna feudatory⁵. Danti-Vikramavarman (B above) had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya for his feudatory. Thus Vijayāditya must be earlier than Vijayāditya II, in the foregoing table. Danti-Vikramavarman's son and successor Nandiḥvikramavarman had Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vānarāya for his feudatory in the 17th year of his reign⁶ and an unnamed Māvali-Vānarāya in the 62nd year of his reign⁷. The former has perhaps to be identified with Vikramāditya I, as we have some reason to suppose that Nandiḥvikrama married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha I (814-15 to 877-78)⁸. This Vikramāditya is probably identical with Bānavidyādhara who married a daughter of the Western Ganga Prithivīpati I, another contemporary of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha I⁹. The Bāna contemporary of Nandiḥvikrama's son Nripatunga was Vānavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vānarāya according to C above. As Professor Hultzsch has tentatively identified the Pirudi-Gangaraiyar, mentioned in the Āmbūr inscriptions as a feudatory of Nripatunga, with the Ganga Prithivīpati I,¹⁰ it may be supposed, at least for the present, that this Vānavidyādhara is identical with the son-in-law of the Ganga king Prithivīpati I.

The accompanying table shows at a glance the synchronisms of the Bānas, the Pallavas and the Ganga-Pallavas —

Bānas	Pallava
1 Vikramāditya Māvali-Vānarāya,	feudatory of Nandiḥpōttaraiyar (23rd year)

¹ Kl 235, Bp 48 and Bp 86 of the Kōlār volume mention a Mahāvali Bānarasa ruling the Ganga 6,000 province. The first two are assigned by Mr Rice to about A D 890 and the third to about A D 770. These inscriptions may imply a temporary occupation of the Ganga country by the Bānas, see *Ep Carn* Vol X. Introduction, p vi.

² *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 99

³ Above, Vol V p 160. The first member of the name Skanda-Bānādhirāja might denote his overlord.

⁴ Above, Vol VII p 23. see also *Ep Carn* Vol X Kōlār, Mb 228.

⁵ *Ibid* Vol V, p 52.

⁶ *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 94.

⁷ *Ibid* p 91.

⁸ Above, Vol IV, p 181.

⁹ *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 99.

¹⁰ Above, Vol IV p 182.

Bānas				Ganga-Pallavas	
2	Skanda-Banādhirāja	feudatory	of	Vijaya-Narasimhavarman	
3	Mahāli-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman	
4	Kāṭṭhī-Bānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Īśvaravarman ¹	
5	Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (49th year)	
6	Vikramāditya (I) Māvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (17th year)	
7	Māvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (62nd year)	
8	Vanavidyādharma-Mahāvali-Vānarāja	do	do	Nripatunga (24th year)	
9	Mahāvali-Vānarāja Śaka-Samvat 810. ²				
10	Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vānarāja, son of 8, Śaka-Samvat 820, 827, 831 ³				
11	Vikramāditya (II), contemporary and "dear friend" of Krishnarāja, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna II (A D 888 and 911-12)				

The inscriptions discovered in the Punganūr Zamindāri of the North Arcot District mention Mahāvali-Bānarasa-Vikramāditya-Banakandarpa-Jayamānu, Mahāvali-Vānarasa-Bānavidyādharma and Mahāvali-Vānarasa-Vijayāditya-Virachulimānu-Prabhumānu. One of the records of the first of these kings refers to a battle fought at Soremati, where the Bāna opposed, on behalf of the Permanadi (i.e. the Western Ganga king?), the Nolamba (king?) and Rāchamalla and Mayindadi⁴. A *vīragal* at Madanapalle in the Cuddapah District refers to a battle at the same place, which probably took place during the reign of the Vaidumba king Ganda-Trinētra⁵. A stone at Bangavādi in the Kōlār District refers to an encounter between the same parties⁶. If the Rāchamalla in these *vīragals* was a Ganga, he may be identified with the Satyavākya Kongunivarman-Permanadi Rājamalla, whose final date is about A D 870-71⁷. If this identification be correct, the date of the Mahāvali-Bānarasa of the Punganūr inscriptions may be taken roughly as the middle of the 9th century A. D.

According to the Gūlgānpode epigraphs,⁸ Vikramāditya, who has been identified by Dr Fleet and Professor Hultzsch with Vikramāditya I (No 6 in the foregoing genealogical table) was also called Jayamānu⁹. It may, therefore, be concluded that the above mentioned Mahāvali-Bānarasa-Vikramāditya-Banakandarpa-Jayamānu is identical with Vikramāditya (No 6 in the preceding table of synehionous kings). Perhaps the Mahāvali-Vānarasa-Bānavidyādharma mentioned in another Punganūr inscription is also identical with Vikramāditya I. In the two Gūlgānpode inscriptions, reference is made to a commander named Prabhumōru, who might have been a general called after the father of Vikramāditya I. It is, however, not unlikely that Vijayāditya-Virachulimānu-Prabhumōru mentioned above is identical with Vijayāditya II, in which case the Prabhumōru of the Gūlgānpode records might be the son of Vikramāditya I. This identification receives some support from the fact that, in one of the Gūlgānpode tablets, it is said that, by order of Prabhumōru, a hero fought against the Kāduvatti forec, while in the Punganūr record of Vijayāditya reference is made to a raid on Kōyatūr, i.e. Laddigam in the Punganūr Zamindāri, by Kāduvatti-Muttarasa¹⁰.

As Vikramāditya II was a friend of Krishnarāja, who has been identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna II (A D 888 and 911-12), it may be concluded that the Vijayāditya

¹ Above, Vol VII p 25

² *South Ind Insers*, Vol III p 95

³ No 99 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1899

⁴ No 543 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906

⁵ No 295 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905

⁶ Above, Vol VII p 23

⁷ Above, Vol V p 153

⁸ *Ind Ant* Vol X p 39 and *Ep Carn* Vol X Kōlār, Sp 5, 6

⁹ *South-Ind Insers* Vol III p. 99

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906 7, Part II, paragraph 45

son of Bānavidyādhara, mentioned in D and E above, must be identical with Vijayāditya II. This identification, if confirmed by future researches, would show that Vikramāditya I. also bore the surname Bānavidyādhara—a fact already surmised by Dr. Fleet from the Gulgānpode records.

The fact that the two Gudimallam inscriptions of Vijayāditya are dated in the Śaka era and that they mention no overlord is significant: the dates are Śaka-Samvat 820 and 827 corresponding to A D 897-98 and 904-5. We have another date for the same king in an inscription at Manigatta-Gollarahalli¹ here the Bāna prince Bejeyitta-Bānarasa is said to be ruling in Śaka-Samvat 831, corresponding to A D 909-10. If this be the case, the Bāna king Vikramāditya II must have assumed the leadership of the Banas towards the close of the reign of the Rāshtrakuta king Krishna II. The reasons which must have led to Vikramāditya's courting the friendship of the Rāshtrakūtas may now be examined.

We have already seen that the Gangas and Bānas were often fighting with one another. At Kendatti-Madivāla in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nitimārga Kongunivarman which Mr. Rice assigns to about A D 890.² The Ganga king's feudatory, Nolambādhirāja of the Pallava family, is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāna king (Bānarasa). Another unnamed Bāna king is said in a *vīragal* at Bangavādi in the same district to have opposed a confederacy of the Nolamba king, Rāchamalla, Mayindadi and Dadiga.³ At Dharmapuri in the Salem District is a pillar (now removed to the Madras Museum) which records a gift by the Pallava king Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba. The latter claimed to have "destroyed the Mahābali (i.e. Bāna) family." The inscription is dated in A D 892-93. Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba was the son of Nolambādhirāja by Jāyabbe, the daughter of the Ganga king Rājamalla.⁴ As the latter was the grandfather of the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja, whose date is A D 892, we may identify the Ganga king Rājamalla with the Satya vākya-Kongunivarman-Permanadi Rājamalla for whom Dr. Fleet gives the date A D 840 to 870-71.⁵ The Nitimārga-Kongunivarman of the Madivāla inscription, whose contemporary and feudatory was the Nolamba king Nolambādhirāja, has to be identified with Rājamalla's father Raṇavikrama, for whom Dr. Fleet gives the approximate dates A D 810 to 840. It is just possible that Nolambādhirāja was contemporaneous with both Rājamalla and his father Raṇavikrama and fought against the Bānas. We have already seen that the northern portion of the North Arcot District was included in the Bāna dominions. At Vallimalai, which would be almost in the centre of the Bāna territory, we have an inscription of the Ganga king Rājamalla. Of him it is said that, having seen the Vallimalai hill, he took possession of it and caused a Jain *basti* to be made on it.⁶ Though it is not stated from whom the Ganga king took possession of the hill, we may suppose that it was wrested from the Banas. An image of a pupil of the Bāna prince's spiritual preceptor is cut in relief on the hill not far from the Ganga inscription. This unfortunately is the only vestige of Bāna rule which is now traceable on the hill. But Mēlpādi, which is only a mile from the hill, is said to have belonged to Perumbānapādi in the Chōla inscriptions found in two Śiva temples at the village.⁷ It may, therefore, be supposed that the Gangas and Nolambas had joined together⁸ to fight against the Bānas.⁹ The capture of Vallimalai by the Ganga king Rājamalla was effected apparently in the campaign

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X, Kōlār, Mb 229.

² *Ibid.*, Kl 79. In the introduction to the Kōlār volume, p. vii, Mr. Rice assigns the Bāna prince mentioned in the inscription to about A D 850.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 23.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 56.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 66.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 141.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inser.*, Vol. III, p. 22.

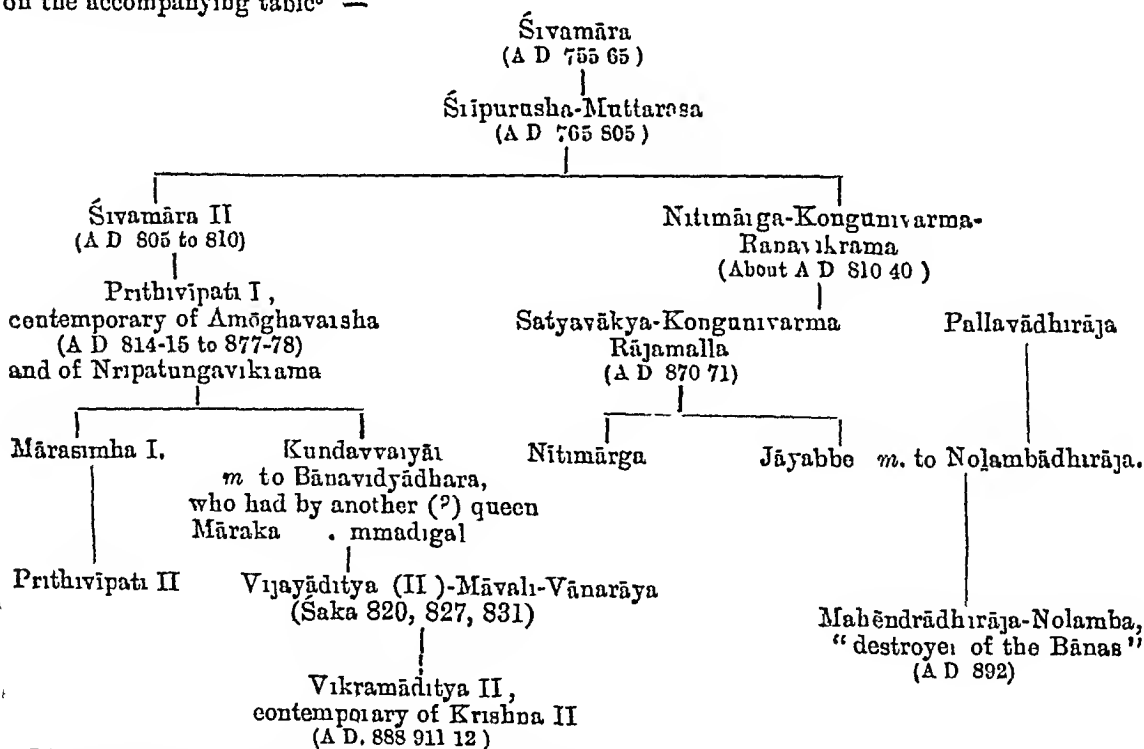
⁸ In the 10th century the relationship between the Gangas and Nolambas seems to have been completely altered and the Ganga prince Māraśimha II boasted of having destroyed the Nolambas, above, Vol. V, p. 179.

⁹ The amity between the Bānas and Nolambas is also indirectly shown by the fact that the Ganga 6,000 district was sometimes governed by the Banas and at other times by the Nolambas, see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X, Kōlār, Introduction, pp. vi and vii.

against the Bānas¹ The claim of the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja, grandson of the Ganga king Rājamalla, to have destroyed the Mahābali family was evidently not an empty boast. Consequently, the Bānas must have been driven to a corner about the time of which we are now speaking.

Again, in the Tamil country, the Ganga-Pallavas who had been overlords of the Bānas were evidently tottering at the time. Prior to A D 897-98, the date of the earlier Gudimallam inscription (D), the decisive battle of Tiruppurambiyam must have been fought between the Ganga-Pallava Aparājita and the Pāndya king Varaguna. The Chōlas must also have taken the place of the Ganga-Pallavas in the tract of country of which we are at present speaking. It was evidently a time when the Ganga-Pallavas had disappeared from the scene and their place had not been actually taken by the Chōlas. Perhaps this was why the two last of the subjoined inscriptions do not mention any overlord, but are dated in the Śaka era. This state of things probably continued for some time. For, in Śaka Samvat 831, corresponding to A D 908-9,² the same Bana prince Vijayāditya II was ruling, but there is no mention of any overlord in the inscription. Perhaps his son Vikramāditya II of the Udayēndiram plates represents himself as an independent king for this reason. The political condition of Southern India at the time rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya II to make friends with some powerful king. As the Bana prince Vijayāditya seems to have ruled until at least A D 909, his successor Vikramāditya II must have assumed the leadership of the Bānas subsequent to that date. In this case, he must have become the friend of Krishna II towards the close of the latter's reign.

Though the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja claims to have "destroyed" the Bānas, they continued much longer. They appear to have lost their power and influence with the decline of the Ganga-Pallavas. The synchronisms of the Ganga, Bāna and Nolamba dynasties are shown on the accompanying table³ —



¹ Reference is made in a Bāna inscription to an invasion of Kāñchi by the Gaḷga king Rāchamalla. The Bāna prince was apparently ruling the Ganga G.O.O.O. district at the time, see *Ep. Carn.* Vol X Kōlār, Bp 86.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol X Kōlār, Introduction, p 11.

³ For the Gangas, compare the table given by Dr. Fleet, Vol. VI above, p 59.

The subsequent history of this feudatory family is not altogether devoid of interest. How long Vikramāditya II continued to rule we have at present no means of ascertaining. Either he or his successor must have been conquered by the Chōla king Parāntaka I in or before A.D. 921-22. The latter claims to have uprooted by force two lords of the Bāna kings.¹ We are not, however, told whether he uprooted two Bāna kings in succession or simultaneously. Anyhow, he made over the Bāna kingdom to his Ganga feudatory Prithivipati II Hastimalla in or before A.D. 915-16² and called him Śembiyan Māvahvānarāyan, i.e. "the Mahāvahvānarāja (who was a feudatory) of the Chōla king."³ At Yedarūr in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State is a stone inscription dated in Śaka-Samvat 883 corresponding to A.D. 961 which mentions a Bāna chief named Sambayya as a feudatory of Iriva-Nolamba.⁴ Again at Sannemūru in the Podilī division of the Nellore District is another stone inscription of the Bāna family. I have read the date tentatively as Śaka-Samvat 890 (corresponding to A.D. 968) and the name of the Bāna chief as Aggaparāju.⁵ The latter does not mention any overlord and this may be taken to show that he was semi-independent. The date falls into the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II⁶ and is a few years prior to the interregnum in the Vēngī country.⁷ What part if any this Bāna king played in the interregnum we have at present no means of ascertaining. We shall not be far wrong if we suppose that the Chūrāballirāju, who figures in a stone inscription at Konidena (near Narsaropet in the Guntur District)⁸ was a descendant of Aggaparāju. The inscription of Chūrāballirāju is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1073, corresponding to A.D. 1150-51 which falls into the reign of the Chālukya king Rājarāja II.⁹

In the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency, the history of the Bānas does not come to an end with their conquest by Parāntaka and the transfer of their dominions to their rivals, the Gangas. It has been surmised that the Bānas were originally settled in the Telugu country and that at a later stage in their history they moved into the northern part of the modern North Arcot District but retained the original designation of their territory. After Perumbūnappādi was transferred to the Gangas or perhaps at an earlier period in their history,¹⁰ the Bānas seem to have moved further south, crossed the river Pīlār which seems to have been originally the southern boundary of their territory, and settled on the banks of the river Southern Pennar, calling the new province Vānakōppādi or Vānagappādi.¹¹ In A.D. 948-9 the Rāshtrakūta king

¹ *Southern Indian Inscriptions* Vol. II p. 387, verse 9.

² The Siolinghar rock inscription which refers to this event (above, Vol. IV p. 225, verse 5) is dated in the 9th year of Parāntaka I corresponding to A.D. 915-6.

³ *Southern Indian Inscriptions* Vol. II p. 389.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. X Introduction, p. viii.

⁵ *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty, p. 1201 ff.

⁶ He reigned from A.D. 945 to 970.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI p. 349.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899-1900, paragraph 85. The description of Chūrāballirāju is as follows—*Sālabā sūrasārādīśācāra Peraiśvara pratihāritrīta (prīritā)-Vāśicā gōtra kṛitāna (kṛitāna) dīrcya Pāśāchika ratu vataśā qhōśāna trishabhā (trishabhā) lārcācāna (lāncāhāra) Nardagīrāt hā - P e r e i - p r e r e r ā r ā śācāra kār m ā hā n ā - m i l a - Rāra - r o r a g e m a r l o l a - c h i t a - D h a r a r i j a y a p e t i k i t ā b h ā r a n a s e b a i a l e a t ā r a s e r n ā g a t e r a r a r ā l ā r a s a m a r c i l a m ā r i t a [i a *] t u b h a y r ā g a k a t a l a n u r e j r a c h e l r ā n e p a l e g a j a d ā n n a l l a k i r t i g e n a l l a V i r a p e r b l ā n ā - s r i v e n n a h ā m e r d e l e ś c a r a C h ū r ā b a l l i r ā j u*

⁹ A later reference to the Bānas occurs in the Sanskrit work *Pratāparudrayaśōbhāshana* of Viśayānīśa. But this does not throw any light on the history of the family.

¹⁰ The name Vānakōppādi occurs already in two inscriptions of the 17th year of the Ganga Pallava king Vijaya-Nandīkṛāṇavarman (above, Vol. VII p. 139 and No. 302 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902). Perhaps a small colony of the Bānas moved out of Perumbūnappādi soon after the decline of the Pallavas of Coimbatore.

¹¹ In the time of Rāshtrakūta Chōla I, Vānagappādi or Vānagappādi was called Maunūntakāval arēḍu and Pājēḍa valaṅḍu during the reign of Kulcittunga I. *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7 Part II paragraph 16.

Krishna III had a Ganga feudatory named Prithivīganganaraiyar, whose wife was the daughter of Vānakōvaraiyar¹. This may be taken to show that the province of Vānagappādi had come into existence prior to A D 918-9. Krishna III appears to have made over the province to a Vaidumba feudatory of his, as it figures among the territories administered by the latter². We have, however, no reason to suppose that the Bānas were completely driven out of Vānagappādi at the time. The Vānarāja Alaga arayan who is mentioned in a Tirumālpuram inscription of Pārthivēndravarmān was apparently a member of the family who had settled in the vicinity of Conjeevaram³. We have a certain Maravan Narasimhavarman *alias* Rājarāja-Vānakōvaraiyar, with the usual Bāna titles, as a feudatory of the Chōla king Rājarāja I in an inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot District⁴. The same Bāna chief built the tank at Nerūman *alias* Viyamūga-chēttuvēdiāngalam⁵. In an inscription of a Chōla king named Karikāla, whose time is at present unknown, reference is made to a certain Vānakōvaraiyar Viraparumar (*i.e.* Vīnavarman)⁶.

In later times⁷ there was a chief named Ponparappina Vānakōvaraiyar, a feudatory or officer of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Peruñjūgādēva⁸. He is apparently identical with Magadēsan Vānakulōttaman and Viramāgadān Rājarājadēvan Ponparappinān⁹, Magadaip̄perumāl,¹⁰ mentioned in certain inscriptions from Tiruvannāmūlai in the South Arcot District and Kuduṁyimala in the Pudukkōttai State. A number of Tamil verses in his praise have been found engraved on stone in the South Arcot District and in the Pudukkōttai State¹¹. His title Magadēsa or Magadaip̄perumāl is interesting. From Hoysala inscriptions we know that the Hoysala king Narasimha II uprooted the Makara or Magara kingdom¹². The Tiruvēndip̄puram inscription of the Chōla king Rājarāja III informs us that Narasimha II "uprooted the Mahara kingdom, seized him (*i.e.* the Mahara chief), his women and treasures and halted at Pichchūr". In editing the inscription Dr Hultzsch had remarked that the Magara kingdom has to be looked for in the Coimbatore or Salem District¹³.

At Tittagudi on the border between the districts of Trichupoly and South Arcot has been found an epigraph of Magadēsan Ponparappina Vānakōvaraiyar recording the gift of a

¹ Above, Vol VII p 195. This Prithivīganganaraiyar, who also bore the surname Hastimalla, was different from and later than his namesake who was a contemporary of the Chōla king Parāntala I. In a Tirukkōvalūr inscription of the Chōla king Parakāśavarman, the queen of Vānakōvaraiyar figures as the donor (*ibid* p 141).

² *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1901-5, Part II, paragraph 28*

³ *Ibid* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 46

⁴ No 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906. This is how he is described in the inscription: *Sakala sur āsura samadhikata (gata?) vijaya sri manōhāri vallabha mahārāja Uka(hā)batī kula tilakāyamāna [Pa]ṇṇaśarirudovyananda Nandagrī(giri)nātha Paruāip̄ra paramēstara iēṣṣi chinnāl a m g h r i t a* (*chinn ālamkṛita*) *vīśhabhalāñjanah* (**lāñchhanah*)

⁵ No 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906

⁶ No 109 of the same collection

⁷ In the time of Kulōttunga I, his throne at Mūdigondaśūlpuram was called Vīnādūrājān (Nos 93, 94, 95 and 96 of 1910). One of his officers was Virarajan or Vānarāja (No 128 of 1895 and No 312 of 1901). Vikrama-Chōla had also an officer named Mahābal Vānarāja (No 545 of 1904 from Tiruvārūr) and another called Virudarājabhavankara Vīnakōvaraiyar (No 112 of 1895).

⁸ No 159 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906

⁹ It is doubtful if this chief is identical with Rājarājadēvan Ponparappinān *alias* Vānakōvaraiyan of Ārkalūr who was a feudatory of Kulōttunga III (Nos 532, 533 and 557 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902).

¹⁰ Nos 507, 513 and 514 of 1902 and Nos 381, 382, 383 and 385 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906

¹¹ The chief's claim to have covered with gold (*ponparappina*) is obscure. He might have gilt the Tiruvannāmalai temple. It may also be that he rebuilt the Śiva temple at Chudambaram.

¹² *Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I Part II, p 507*

¹³ Above, Vol VII p 161. Toḷudagavūr, where Śōlājōn, an adherent of the rebel Peruñjūga, was staying is probably identical with Toḷudūr on the Madras Trichupoly road, 8 miles from Vālikanḍapuram and 28 miles west south west of Vridhichalam.

village in Magadai-mandalam¹ Three other records from the same village² show that the district of Magadai should have been close to the village, if it was not actually included in it It would not be an altogether wild conjecture to suppose that Mahara, Makara and Magara of the Hoysala inscriptions is identical with the Magadai-mandalam ruled over by the Vānakōvarāyar Ponparappinān mentioned in the foregoing paragraph³ If this identification be true, it would indicate the movement of the Bānas further south as far as the Pudukkōttai State The chief of this province who was evidently a feudatory of the rebel Peruñjunga had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysala generals commissioned to liberate the Chōla king Rājarāja III from captivity⁴

We have traced the movement of the Bānas as far south as the Pudukkōttai State In still later times they figure as feudatories and officers of the Pāndyas in the 13th century A D⁵ Mr Sewell mentions two chiefs, one named Sundara Tōl Mahāvīlvānādirāyar and the other Muttarasa Tirumalai Mahāvīlvānādirāyar as rulers of Madura in the period A D 1451—1499⁶ We have a few inscriptions of the 16th century which show that the Bānas continued to wield some power and influence These have been found at Kālayānkōyil, Tiruppullam and Dēvipattanam in the Madura district The earliest of the chiefs mentioned in them is Mahābali-Vānādarāya-Nāyaka⁷ Then came Sundarattōl-Udayār Māvali-Vānādarāya⁸ or Sundarattoludaiya Mahābali-Vānādarāyar⁹ He was apparently also known as Māvali-Vānādarāyar without any additional designation¹⁰ In two of them he bears the epithet *randakālam edvitta* 'who revived the past,' (i.e. re-established the Pāndya kingdom) This may be taken to show that he took some part in the attempt made by the contemporaneous Pāndya princes Śīvallabha and Kulasekhara to set up a show of Pāndya sovereignty¹¹

Thus the history of the Bānas furnishes another instance of the movement of a tribe from one part of Southern India to another This aspect of Indian history has already been explained in my article on the Pallavas published in the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7

¹ No 10 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903 The donee in the Madras Museum plates of the Pāndya king Jatavarman was a native of Śabdāli in the province of Magadha In editing the plates, I assumed (*Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 74, footnote 91) that this was the well-known province of that name in Northern India. It is, however, not impossible that the former is identical with Magadai-mandalam

² Nos 12, 14 and 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

³ It is worthy of note that there is a village named Ponparappi in the Kallakureli tāluka of the South Arcot District which may be supposed to have been included in the dominions of the Bāna chief Magadān It is just possible that the name Ponparappi has to be traced to the Bāna chief of whom we are now speaking

⁴ Above, Vol VII p 169

⁵ In the Sir Walter Elliot collection is an impression of Tribhuvanaachakravartin Kōncrimakondān, whose feudatory was Ajagūndar alias Mahābali Vānarāyar The king's surname was apparently Avaničandarāma which may be that of a Pāndya king, *Arch Surv of Southern India*, Vol IV p 185 In the reign of Mūvarman Sundara Pāndya I (A D 1216-35) the throne of the Pāndya king at Madura was called Vānādarāyan, while Vikrama Pāndya Vānādarāyan was one of the officers of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I (A D 1251-61) Prince Kulasekhara-Mahābali Vānarāyar figures in a record of Jatavarman Vira Pāndya I from Śinnamanūr in the Madura District

⁶ *Texts of Antiquities*, Vol II p 223

⁷ No 113 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903

⁸ No 585 of the same collection for 1902 and No 109 of 1903

⁹ No 121 of the same collection for 1903

¹⁰ No 537 of the same collection for 1902

¹¹ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903 9, Part II paragraph 32, and the same report for 1909 10, Part II paragraph 38

No 23 — DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By R SEWELL, I C S (RETD), M R A S

RAJARAJA I.

223 — In the Umāmahēsvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.¹

1 [Sva]sta sr[i] [||*] Tirumaga[l pō]la
 4 sri-Kōv=Iṅjarāja-Rājakēsarīparma[rk]k=iy[ā]n[du] 2]6
 āvadu
 5 i[y]-ā[t]tai [Kar]ka[da]ga-nā[ya*]rīru apara-pakshattu
 paḍi[nā] . m Bu[da]n-kiḷamai²
 6 peṟra P[un]ar[pūṣat]ti-[n]ānru

“ In the [2]6th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarāja-Rājakēsarīvarman,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [four]teenth³ [*tithi*] of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka of this year ”

The date in this case is, like most others of this early period, worded in a manner a little different from the stereotyped form of later years in South India, so much so that while Mr Krishna Sastri has stated it as referring to the 14th, or possibly 16th, solar day in Karkataka, I find that it tallies with the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Āshādha but with the 19th solar day of Karkataka, and, since the word for “ 14th ”, *paḍi[nā] m*, occurs in the original between *apara-pakshattu* and *Bu[da]n kiḷamai*, I presume that it is possible that the number “ 14 ” refers rather to the *tithi* than to the solar day⁴

In the 26th year of Rājarāja I Rājakēsarīvarman, the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Āshādha was current at mean sunrise on Thursday, July 13th A D 1010, which was the 19th solar day of Karka. Now the 14th *tithi* of Āshādha is devoted to one of the Śivarātri festivals, and accordingly this *tithi* is liable to be joined with the Wednesday rather than with the Thursday, the midnight between the two having been included in it (Kielhorn, *Ind Ant* 1897, pp 177, 181) This 14th Krishna *tithi* began 13h 15m before mean sunrise on the Thursday and included the midnight in question, while the *nakshatra* Punarvasu began, according to the equal-space system, 18h 6m before that mean sunrise, and considerably earlier than that by the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta, being current both at midnight on Wednesday and at mean sunrise on Thursday. I think therefore that the day corresponding to the given day was Wednesday, July 12th A D 1010. If this is correct the accession of this sovereign must have taken place between June 25th and July 12th A D 985

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I

224 — In the Umāmahēsvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram⁵

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puḡa]-mādu vilanga . .
 7 [śrī-Rājakē-
 8 śariva]nmar=ūna⁶ Ohiribhvanachchakkaravatt[i]ga[i] śrī-

¹ No 624 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909² The letter *m* is engraved at the beginning of line 6³ The *tithi* may also be the sixteenth⁴ Mr Krishna Sastri's reason for thinking of the solar day and not of the *tithi* is that the numbers of lunar *tithis* are in South India commonly given in Sanskrit and not in Tamil. But neither the 14th nor the 16th solar day of Karka was Wednesday in this year, but Saturday and Monday respectively, and the use of the Tamil numeral is probably a consequence of the high age of the record⁵ No 647 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909⁶ Read *Trībhūva-*

- 9 [Kulō]ttu[n]ga-Śōladēvaiḥku yān-
 10 du [nārpitton]hadāvadu Mēśhu-nūyarru pūrvva-
 11 [pak]sha[ttu Utti]ranum Budan-kaḥmayum [p]e-
 12 [pra] tra[y]ōdasi-nārru¹

“In the forty-ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious Rājakēsarivarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day (which was) the thirteenth *tithi* and which corresponded to a Wednesday and to (the day of) [Uttara-Phalguni] of the first fortnight of the month of Mēśha ”

The given date corresponds to Wednesday, March 28th A D 1110, on which day the 13th *śukla tithi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra was current at mean sunrise, as also the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalguni This day was the 3rd solar day of Mēśha

Thus the 49th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I began on, or later than, 27th March A D. 1110 and the reign must have begun on, or later than that date in A D 1070, so that for this king's accession we now have the period March 27th to October 8th A D 1070

225 —In the Umāmahēśvara templo at Kōnērīrājapuram²

- 1 Svasti śiḥ [||*] [Puga]l śūḥada] . . .
 13 Kō[ṣ=I]nāyikēśaka(11)[ṣṣ]immar-āna Tr[1]-
 bhuvā[nach]chakkarav[1]ttigal śi-Kulōttunga-Śōladēva[ḥku] yāndu
 47āvadu Dhan[u]-nūyarru pūrvva-pakshattu pradamāyum Tūgal-
 14 kalamāyum perra Mūlatti-nīl

“In the 47th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus ”

To paraphrase the opening passage of Professor Kielhorn's remarks on his Chōla date No. 40 (Vol. VI p 279),—“a date in the month of Dhanus of the 47th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A D 1110 ” Now, as detailed, the given date is incorrect for the 47th regnal year But it is perfectly correct for the 48th year, i.e., towards the end of A D 1117 Now Mr Kṛṣṇa Sastri informs me that the figures 47 are perfectly clear in the original and cannot be read 48 We must therefore assume that the composer of the record made a mistake

The given date, except for that mistake, corresponds with Monday, November 28th A D. 1117, which was the 2nd solar day of Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha was current By the equal-space system the *nakṣatra* current at that mean sunrise was Mūla, but by the system of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the current *nakṣatra* was Pūrvva-Āśāḍha I conclude that the date is genuine, but that the composer erroneously stated the 47th instead of the 48th regnal year

226 —In the Sāra-Paramēśvara templo at Tiruchchirai³

- 1 4Tr[1]bhvanachakravā[t]ttigal [-11-Kulōttu.]ga-Śōladēvaiḥku yāndu
 47 āva[du] Ishaba-[u]yarru apāna-pakshattu dasam[1]um Budan-
 k[1]lamāyum
 2 porra Śādaiya[t]ti nīl

¹ Read *nārru*

² No 653 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ No 620 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁴ Read *1117*

“In the 47th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulöttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

This date is unreliable In the 47th year of Kulöttunga-Chōla I the 10th *krishna tithi* of Vṛishabha was current on Tuesday, May 9th A D 1116 (not on Wednesday), and on that Tuesday at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Uttara Bhadrapadā, so that it was not possible for any moment of the Wednesday to be connected either with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj or with the 10th *krishna tithi* Śatabhishaj had expired before mean sunrise on the previous Monday Working for the 48th year of this king I find that in that year the 10th *krishna tithi* fell on Saturday, the 5th day of Vṛishabha, the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise being Pūrva-Bhadrapadā The corresponding day in European reckoning was April 28th A D 1117

It is incorrect for a possible 47th year of Kulöttunga-Chōla II, or of Kulöttunga Chōla III

VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

227 —In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchirai.¹

- 1 T[ri]bhuvana[cha]kravattigal śri-Vi[ki]ra[ma-Śō]ladēva[r]ku yāndu Śāvadu
Mīduna-[n]āya[fru] apa[ra-pa]kshat[tu] tra-
2 [yōde]śiyum Vīyāla-kk[ī]la[mayum] peṛra Urōśani-nāl

“In the 5th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna”

This date is unsatisfactory Given that the accession day of this sovereign was, as settled by Professor Kielhorn (*Ep Ind*, Vol VII, p 5), the 29th of Juno A D 1118, the date should correspond to a day in A D 1122 or 1123 In A D 1122 the 10th day of Mithuna was Sunday, June 4th, and on that day the 13th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Jyēshtha and the *nakshatra* Rōhini were current at mean sunrise The week-day stated in the inscription is, however, Thursday Consequently I hesitate to accept it Moreover, that June 4th would be in the king's 4th not 5th year.

For A D. 1123 both week-day and *nakshatra* would differ from those stated in the original, the week-day of June 23rd, which was the day on which the 13th *śukla tithi* in Mithuna was current at mean sunrise, being Saturday, and the then current *nakshatra* being Mrigasiras

Nor does the result agree with the given details for the 5th year of the king, on the supposition that his reign began, as originally set forward by Kielhorn, on 18th July A D. 1108 Hence I can find no exact agreement in any case

228 —In the Māgalēśvara temple at Tirumālam ²

- 1 ||@ S[va]stī [śi]i [i]Pā-mādu punara .
3 Kō-³Pparakṣa[r]ipānmar-āna Tri[buva]nachakravattigal śri-Vikrama-
Śōladēva[r]ku yā[ndu]⁴][3]āvadu⁵ Āni-māsattu Tingut-kkīlaman peṛra
Tiruvōṇamum tr[ī]tigaiyum-āna nāl

¹ No 621 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 97 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

³ The syllable *ppa* is written as a group

⁴ The syllable *ndu* is perhaps written as a group.

⁵ *āvadu* is denoted also by an incomplete flourish added immediately after the figure 13.

“In the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day which was the third *tithi* and (*the day*) of (the *nakshatra*) Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Āṇi”

This date is correct in all respects for the 13th year of the reign of Vikrama-Chōla as fixed by Professor Kielhorn, who established the day of the king's accession as June 29th A D 1118. It corresponds to Monday, June 15th A D 1131, the fourteenth year of the reign beginning June 29th of that year and June 15th being still in the thirteenth year. The date proves that the reign could not have begun before June 16th A D 1118.

On that Monday, June 15th A D 1131, the 3rd *tithi* of the second fortnight of solar Āṇi (or Mithuna), was current at mean sunrise, as was also the *nakshatra* Śravana.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA II

229 —In the Māgālēśvara temple at Tirumālam ¹

1 || || ॐ Svasti śrī [||*]Pūmannu padmmam . . .
 4 Kōv=Ir[ājakēsarivarman=āna Tribhuvana-
 chakravartigaḷ śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarku yānda
 11 pa[di]n-onrāvaḍu Danu-nāyarṇu nandān-diyadiyum Śam-kkīlamaiyum perṇa
 [Pū]satti-[nāl]

“In the 11th—eleventh—year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second solar day of the month of Dhanus”

The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, November 27th A D 1143, which was the second day of the solar month Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya by all systems. This day fell in the eleventh year of Kulōttunga Chōla II, which began, as at present found by me (Vol X, p 138, No 190), between 26th March and 14th July A D 1143, his accession having taken place on some day between those dates in A D 1133.

The stated date would be incorrect for the eleventh year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, in which year the 2nd Dhanus fell on a Thursday (November 26 A D 1080), with Bharani as the *nakshatra* current at sunrise. And the record cannot belong to the reign of the third king of that name whose title was Parakēsarivarman.

PARAKESARIVARMAN VIRARAJENDRA-CHOLA (KULOTTUNGA III)

230 —In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam ²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pūyal vāyṭṭu vaḷam peruga . . .
 11 Kō=Pparakēsa-
 12 ri[panma]r=āna Tiribnvanachakkaiavattigaḷ³
 13 śrī-[Vi]rarājēndira-[Śōlad]ē[va]rku yā-
 14 ndu añjiva[du Mē]sha-nāyarṇu pūrvva-
 15 [pṛ]kshattu ⁴pra[dha]m[īyu] [Śa]ni-kkīlamaiyum pe-
 16 rṇa Asvati-nāl

¹ No 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

² No 733 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ There is, in the original, a letter erased between the syllables *ra* and *va*

⁴ Read *prathamaiyum*

“In the fifth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājēndra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

Virarājēndra (Kulōttunga III) having come to the throne between the 6th and 8th July A D 1178 (Vol IV, p 266, VIII, p 261, No 108) the month of Mēsha in his fifth year must fall in A D 1183, and the details of the date are perfectly correct for Saturday, March 26th A D 1183, which day was the 2nd solar day of Mēsha. On that day the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight of *adhika-Vaisākha* was current at mean sunrise, the moon being then in the *nakshatra* Aśvini

231 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam.¹

1 Svasti śri [||*] Puyal vāyttu

4 Kō=Pparakēśarivarman=āna T[1]ib[hu]vānachchakkara-
vattigal śri-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarkku yāndu vādu² Vūuchchigā n[āy]arru
nubat-

5 t[u]-nilin diyadiyum pūrva-pakshattu saptamiyum Viyū-akkilamayum perra
Śadiyattu nil

“In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Vrischika ”

The date regularly corresponds to Thursday, November 20th A D 1186, a day in the 9th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, which was the 24th day of Vrischika, and at whose mean sunrise the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, the moon being, by the equal-space system, in Śatabhishaj. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Pūrva Bhādiapadī, but they do not seem to have been used. By the equal-space system Śatabhishaj ended 7h 52m after mean sunrise, whereas by Garga that *nakshatra* had ended 4h 16m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3h 17m before that moment.

232 —In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam³

1 Svasti śri [||*]

2 Puyal vāyttu

21 Kō=[Ppa]rakē[sari]pa[nma]r=ā-

22 na Tūibuvā[nachcha]kkarava[tt]gal Madu-

23 rai[ya]m Īla[mu]n=Garuuvū[rum] Pjāndi-

24 yanru mudu-t[ta]laiy[u]m kond-arū-

25 [hya] śr[i]-Kulōttunga-Śōladē[va]rku [y]āndu 26

26 [vadu] Ku[m]ba n[ā]ya[r]ru pūrva-pa[kshattu]

m T1-

27 ngat-[kila]mayum per[ra] Kūrti[g[ai]-nā[li]

“In the 26th year (*of the reign*) of king [Pa]rakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura), Īlam (Ceylon), Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Kṛttikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the [*tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of [Kumbha] ”

¹ No 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 9

³ No 732 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

The 26th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III began between the 6th and 8th July A D 1203, and in that 26th year this date corresponds to Monday, February 9th A D 1204. At sunrise on that day, which was the 17th day of Kumbha, the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the moon was then in Kṛitikā

233.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram ¹

- 1 Svast[1] śi[ī]h—Ti[1]bhuvanachchakravatt[1]gal [Ma]durai[y]um [P]āndi[y]an [mudi]-tta[layun=go]nd-arul[1]-
- 2 na si-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarku y[ā]ndu padm-ūāvadu Mina-nā[yar]ru apara-pa[kashat]tu pra[tv]maiyum Budan-
- 3 kīlamaiyum peṇṇa Atta[t*]tu nāl

“In the sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura) and the crowned head of the Pāndya,—on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

This date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, March 9th A D 1194, which was the 15th of Mina and was in the sixteenth year of Kulōttunga Chōla III. At mean sunrise on that day the 1st *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta

234 —In the Unnatapurīśvara temple at Melatūr ²

- 1 [Ḷ] Tūbuva[na]chchakkāa[va]rttigal ś[ī]nī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēva[r*]kku yāndu [3]vadu Ishaba-nāyarru [pū]rva-pashshattu* t[ī]t[ī]t[ī]y[ai]yum Budan-k[ī]m- [aiyum peṇṇa Pa]nnapūśa[ttu] n[āl].

“In the [3]rd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Punarvasu which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rāshabha ”

Since this date is so worded as to afford no clue as to which of the three known Kulōttungas' reign it belongs, I have tested it for each of those sovereigns, with an unsatisfactory result in the end

In the third year of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I the 3rd śukla *tithi* of Vaisākha in the solar month Vṛishabha was current at mean sunrise on Tuesday, April 24th, A D 1072, and also at mean sunrise on Sunday, May 12th, A D 1073, either of which days, according to our present knowledge as to the date of that king's accession, might have fallen in his third year. In the first case the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was either Mrigāsiras or Āidrā according to the authority used, and in the second case was Ārdhā by all systems

For the reign of Kulōttunga II we also have the choice of two years, and the day mentioned in the record, so far as the *tithi* is a guide, may have been Friday, May 17th, A D 1135 when the *nakshatra* was Āidrā by the equal-space system for 7h 1m after mean sunrise, but Punarvasu by Gaṅga and the Brahma-siddhānta, or it may have been Wednesday, May 6th A D 1136, when the corresponding *nakshatra* was similar to that in the last case, Āidrā lasting by the equal-space system for 7h 36m after mean sunrise

This latter date, therefore, would exactly tally with the given details if we could assume that the *pañchāngas* of that day were calculated, in the matter of the *nakshatra*, either by the

¹ No 662 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 30 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

³ Read *-paśshattu*

system of Garga or that of the Brahma-siddhānta, but at present I think that the weight of evidence shows that the equal-space system was then in use. Though the week day is correct therefore the *nakshatra* is not so. And for that reason I hesitate to accept the date.

For the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III the 3rd śukla *tithi* of Jyēsthā corresponded to Monday, May 18th, A D 1181, which was the 25th solar day of Viśvabhā, on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Punarvasu by all systems. This therefore would coincide with the given date if we presumed that the week-day had been wrongly stated as Monday instead of Wednesday. The 3rd śukla *tithi* in question ended at 1h 41m after mean sunrise on the Monday, so that it could not be connected with the Tuesday, still less with Wednesday. I am therefore, as before, unable to accept that date as correct.

From the above transliteration it appears that the number of the regnal year "3" is somewhat doubtful. If the number is capable of being certainly ascertained, no doubt the date could be conclusively verified.¹

RAJADHIRAJA II (?).

235 —In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam²

1 Svasti sī [||*] Tirubuvanaachchakkara[ra]ttiga[1 sī]i-Rājādh[ir]ājadēvarkku yāndu pannaandā[ra]du³[Si]maha-nāyarru apara-pakshattu dasa[m]iyum Tīnga[1-k]-ilamayum perra Mūlattu nāi

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Si]mha "

This date is intrinsically wrong. During the month of Simha a tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight can never be connected with the *nakshatra* Mūla, but a tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight can be so, and I have therefore tested the date for both these days in the reigns of Rājādhirāja I and II respectively.

Taking the latter first, the date must, for his 12th year, fall in A D 1174. In that year, in the month of Simha, the 10th kṛishna *tithi* fell on a Friday, and the 10th śukla *tithi* also on a Friday, the *nakshatra* in the second case being Mūla by all systems. As the week-day is thus altogether wrong I reject this date, although in the second case the *nakshatra* stood as stated.

For the reign of Rājādhirāja I we have it, as established by Kielhorn, that his twelfth year began between March 15th and December 3rd, A D 1029. Hence the month of Simha in that regnal year may have been either in A D 1029 or 1030. In the first of these two cases the 10th kṛishna *tithi* of Simha fell on a Thursday, the *nakshatra* being Mrugaśiras. This is plainly wrong. The 10th śukla *tithi* of Simha in A D. 1029 was current at sunrise on a Thursday, the *nakshatra* Mūla having expired 3h. 36m. before that sunrise. This also does not fit the description.

Now for the second case, *viz*, the Simha of the year A D 1030 (Śaka 952). The 10th kṛishna *tithi* was current at sunrise of Monday, July 27th, A D 1030, which was the 1st day of Simha, but the *nakshatra* then current was Rōhinī. This is altogether wrong. In the same year, A D 1030, the 10th śukla *tithi* was current at sunrise of Tuesday, August 11th, which

¹ After examination of the original Mr Krishna Sastri informs me that it is possible, though not probable, that the regnal year was "2," and not "3." I have consequently calculated the date for the 2nd year of each of these kings, finding it irregular in each case, both week day and *nakshatra* being different to the given ones.

² No 728 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The letter *S* appears to be a correction, read *Simha*.

was the 16th Samba, the then current *nakshatra* being, by the equinox system, Mūla. This 10th sukla *tithi* had begun 13h 54m before mean sunrise on the Tuesday, and had been current during that time on the latter part of Monday, August 10th. During the whole of that period of 13h 54m on Monday Mūla had been current. If, therefore, it is assumed that the *tithi* quoted in the record was the *tithi* current at the time the inscription was engraved, and not the *tithi* current at sunrise, the date may be accepted as genuine and stated as corresponding to Monday, August 10th, A D 1030, the record fortnight having been wrongly stated instead of the first. In that case—and it is possibly correct—we shall have the period within which this king's accession must have taken place referred to the interval between March 15th and August 11th, A D 1018.

But I am rather doubtful about this date because the *tithi* in question was the 10th sukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada, and according to Aihūm the 10th sukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada was considered an unlucky day.¹

RAJARAJA III

236 —In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 Svasti s i [|| *] Tibhuvana[ci]chaklārayatt gal s[ri]-Rājārā[ḍ]v[ā]ck[ā] y[ā]du 11-
vadu Dharm[ā]n[ya]-
2 ru-ppūrvā-akshattu prathamayum Uttarādamu peṭṭa nīl

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day which corresponded to the (day of the month) Uttarāshūchā and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dharmas”

No week-day being given here we can only be guided by the *nakshatra*. The date corresponds to Tuesday, December 18th A D 1220, which was the 23rd Dharmas, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha, and, by all systems, the *nakshatra* Uttara-Āshādhā, were current.

237 —In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.³

- 1 Svasti [i] s[ri] [|| *] T[ri]buvanachchaklāra[va]rtigal s[ri]-Rājārā[ḍ]v[ā]ck[ā] y[ā]du 11-
3[ri]vadu⁴ Māgara-niyar-
2 ru-pp[ū]rvā-akshattu saturdayum Mūlam[ā]m peṭṭa [N]āyaka[ra]-k[ā]k[ā]m[ā]n[ya]-
nīl

“In the 3rd (year) (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day (which was a) Sunday, (and) which corresponded to (the day of) Mūla and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara

This date is irregular in itself, besides being wrong in other respects. On a 4th *tithi* of the first fortnight in Makara the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Mūla. Makara in the 3rd year of Rājārāja III occurred late in A D 1218 and early in 1219. The 4th sukla *tithi* corresponded to Monday, January 21st, A D 1219, which was the 27th day of Makara, on which day

Mr Krishna Sastri informs me that it is just possible to read the solar month in the original as “Rishabha,” and that the characters show that it could not belong to the reign of Rājādhirāja I. I have freshly computed the date finding that it is irregular for the solar month Vṛishabha in the reign of either of the known Rājādhirājas. In no case can either a 10th sukla or 10th kṛishna *tithi* in solar Vṛishabha be connected with the *nakshatra* Mūla. The week days also do not correspond.

¹ No 264 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 270 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ The usual flourish for expressing *ārādu* is also written in continuation of the figure ‘3’

⁴ Read *chaturthi*—

at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* was Uttara Bhadrapadā The day corresponding to Mūla in that solar month was Tuesday, January 15, A D 1219, which was the 21st day of Makara, and on that day the 12th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise

238 —In the Chōliśvara temple at Turaiyūr ¹

1 Svast[ī] śri [[*] Tribhuvanachchakkara[vat]tīgal śri-Rājarājādēvarku yāndu
3vadu Mīna-nīyarra अपरा-पक्षattu [ē]kadāsī[yu]m Śam-kkīlāmayum perra
Śādayattu nī[ī]

“In the 3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

This date is also irregular In the third year of Rājarāja III the month of Mīna fell early in A D 1219 The eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight in that month corresponded to Thursday, March 14th 1219, which was the twentieth day of Mīna On that day at mean sunrise the 11th *krishna tithi* and the *nakshatra* Dhanishthā were current On Friday, March 15th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 12th *krishna* and the current *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj On Saturday, March 16th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 14th *krishna*, the 13th being expunged, and the current *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrapadā So that it is not possible in that year to form at any time a combination, even at any time of a day, of a Saturday, the 11th *krishna tithi*, and the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj, nor can we arrive at any solution without altering two out of three of the elements given in the date as stated This would be dangerous

The date is irregular for the reigns of Rājarāja I or II

239 —In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram ²

1 Svast[ī] śr[ī]h [[*] T[ī]ribu[va]nachechakkaraivatt[ī]gal śri-R[ā]jarājādēvarkku yāndu
irubattunīlavadin ed[ī]rām=āndu Mēsha-nāyarra a[pa]ra-[pakshattu a]shtamiyum
Veil[ī]-kkīlāmayum perra T[u]u[ṽ]nattu nāl

“In the year opposite the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

The given date corresponds to Friday, April 5th A D 1241, which was the 12th day of Mēsha On that day at mean sunrise the 8th *krishna tithi* was current, and the moon was in Śravana

240 —In the Muktiśvara temple at Samayavaram ⁴

1 [Svas]tī śri [[] Tuubuvana[ch]chakkaraivattīgal śri-Rāsarājādēvarku yāndu
[6]-
2 ā[va]du [Mē]sha-[nā]yarra अपरा पक्षattu pañchamiyum Budan-gīlmai perra
Mūla-
3 [ttu] nīl

“In the [6]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

¹ No 701 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 661 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ The syllable ṽ seems to be a correction from *ra*

⁴ No 746 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

The date is unsatisfactory. From the details given it would seem that the number of the regnal year is not clear. On the supposition that the number of the year is shown by a single *akshara* I have tested the date for every year of Rājārāja III's reign from the first to the ninth inclusive, and in no case have obtained the desired combination.¹

The nearest approach was found in the 1st regnal year, Mēsha of A D 1217, the 4th regnal year, Mēsha of A D 1220, and the 8th regnal year, Mēsha of A D 1224.

In A D 1217 the week-day corresponding to the 5th *krishna tithi* was Wednesday, and the day was the 5th day of Mēsha, or March 29th, but the *nakshatra* Mūla only began, by the equal space system, at 1h 23m after mean sunrise on that day, though at that moment (mean sunrise) the moon was in Mūla by the systems of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta. This was in the king's first regnal year.

In A D 1220 the 5th *krishna tithi* was current at mean sunrise of Thursday, March 26th which was the 2nd day of Mēsha, having been current for the last 20h 3m on the previous Wednesday. According to the equal-space system Jyēsthā was the *nakshatra* current during all those hours of Wednesday, Mūla only beginning 1h 38m after mean sunrise on Thursday, though by the system of Garga Mūla was current for the last 11h 12m and by the Brahma-siddhānta for the last 16h 12m on the Wednesday. So that by these latter authorities Mūla and the 5th *krishna tithi* ran together for a considerable period on Wednesday, March 25th. But I can ascertain no reason why the Wednesday and not the Thursday, at whose sunrise the 5th *krishna tithi* was current, should have been coupled with that *tithi*. There was nothing special, so far as I can gather, in that *tithi* which would warrant a departure from the usual procedure of naming the day from the *tithi* current at sunrise. These days in A D 1220 were in the king's fourth regnal year.

In A D 1224 the 5th *krishna tithi* fell on Wednesday, April 10th, which was the 17th day of Mēsha, but the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise of that day was Pūrva-Āshādhā by all systems, Mūla having ended on the Tuesday. This was in the eighth regnal year of Rājārāja III.

The date is irregular for his other regnal years from the first to the ninth inclusive.

It is also irregular for the 6th year of either Rājārāja I or II.

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBURAYA

241 —In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr²

- 1 S[va]stī srī[ī*] Irājanārāyanan³ Śambū(bu)rāyarku yānu⁴
- 2 13 āvadū⁵ Tulā-ravi apara pakshattu⁶ dntiyai[*yu*]m Na-
- 3 yarru-kiḷamayum per[ra] Kātt[ga]ḷ nāl

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of Rājanārāyanan Śamburāya,—on the day of Krittikā which corresponded to a Sunday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā"

¹ Since the above was in print I have been informed that a clause in the body of the inscription makes it clear that the 6th regnal year was intended. This being so the date must be held to be irregular.

² No 268 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ Śa is engraved below the line.

⁴ The syllable *ndu* is represented by a flourish added to *yā*.

⁵ The word *āvadū* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 13.

⁶ Read *dntiyai*.

Two inscriptions, one at the Ulagalanda-Perumāl temple at Kāñchi, and the other at the Kalāsanātha temple at Śevvallimēdu, are dated in the year Vyaya, and expressly state the year as Ś 1268 (A D 1346-47) and as being in the 9th year of this king's reign. A third record of the 7th year also exists at Śevvallimēdu. If these are found on examination to contain fuller details of the date it may be possible to gather from them sufficient evidence as to the date of his accession. But so far this can only be fixed as being in Ś 1259 or 1260, *ie*, on some day between March 26th A D 1337, the first solar day of Mēsha Śaka 1259, and March 25th A D 1339, the last solar day of Mīna Śaka 1260. Consequently the thirteenth year must be between March A D 1349 and March 1351, and the month of Tulā stated in the present inscription at Tirukaechehū must correspond either to (about) October A D 1349 or the same month in A D. 1350.

The details of the date are irregular for A D 1349, the second *tithi* of the second fortnight in Tulā in that year falling on Tuesday, September 29th, on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī. I doubt even if the date can be accepted as regular for A D 1350. In that year the second *krishna tithi* of Kārttika was current at mean sunrise of Monday, October 18th, that day being the 20th day of Tulā, and the moon at its sunrise being in Rōhini. The *tithi* had been current for the last 21h. 11m of Sunday, October 17th, and up to 3h 5m before sunrise on the Monday the moon had been in Krittikā, according to the equal-space system. By the system of Garga the moon had been in Krittikā up to 15h. 13m, and by the brahma-siddhānta up to 15h. 56m before the Monday sunrise. If therefore the week-day had been stated as Sunday, the date given would have proved regular as regards the *nakshatra* but wrong as regards the *tithi*, which should have been stated as the 1st *krishna*. The 2nd *krishna tithi* and the *nakshatra* Krittikā had been together current for some hours on the Sunday, but not on the Monday, and I can ascertain no ceremonial reason why a 2nd *krishna* in Kārttika should be coupled with the day prior to that on whose sunrise it was current.

I have tested the date for several other years about this period but quite without success. It is not correct for A D 1351, in which year the given *tithi* corresponded to Friday, October 6th, which was the 9th Tulā and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī.

[Incidentally I may mention that I find the date quoted by Professor Hultzsch for the 17th year of this king's predecessor, Venṅumankonda Śambuvarāya (*South-Indian Inscriptions* I, p 78, No 52) to be perfectly regular. The date corresponds to May 10th A D 1339, and the king's accession is fixed as having taken place between May 11 A D 1322 and May 10 1323.]

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBUVARAYA

242 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalngamadam ¹

- 1 Svast[ī] [~i] [||*] Sakalalōkaccha[kra]²vatt[ī] Irāsanūā[yī]nan Śambuvarāyarku yiyindu³ 20 ā vlu⁴
 2 Magana-nīyāru pūrvva-pakshattu ⁵tīgāyum ⁶Buda[nu]m perṅa Tīuvōna[t]tūnīl

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of Rājanārāyanan Śambuvarāya the emperor of all the worlds,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ No 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² Between the syllables *ka* and *ca* is a letter which is indistinct

³ Cancel the syllable *it*

⁴ The word *āvlu* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 20

⁵ Read *tīgāy*

⁶ The word *Budaaym* is written below the line

It is almost certain that the *nakshatra* or the *tithi* quoted in this inscription must be wrong, for by the equal-space system and that of Garga the 3rd sukla *tithi* in the solar month Makara can never correspond to Śravana, while by the Brahma-siddhānta it could only do so for about 12 minutes at the beginning of the *tithi*. The moon could, however, be in Śravana on the 1st or 2nd sukla *tithi* of that month. In the present case I think that the quoted *tithi* is correct, since it fell on a Wednesday as stated, but that the *nakshatra* has been wrongly quoted as Śravana when it should have been Dhanshthā.

If I am correct in this supposition the given date corresponds to Wednesday, January 2nd A. D. 1359, on which day at mean sunrise the 3rd sukla *tithi* was current, the day being the 7th civil day of Makara. The current *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was, however, Dhanshthā and not Śravana. This day being in the 20th regnal year of Rījanārāyana Śambuvarīya we have it that his accession occurred on some day between January 3rd A. D. 1339 and January 2nd 1340. As stated above p. 251, the Kāñchī and Sevvallimēdu inscriptions show that the accession could not have taken place later than the last day of Śaka 1260, which was March 25th A. D. 1339. And consequently, if the present date is accepted, the reign of this king began between January 3rd and March 25th A. D. 1339.

But if so, the last date examined, No. 241, is not regular, for it should have corresponded with a day in September-October A. D. 1351, being in the 13th year. And for that year it is incorrect.

PERUNJINGADEVA.

243 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam¹

- 1 Srasti śrī [||*] Sakalabuvānachakkaravattigal śrī-Kō=P[p]eruñjunga-[d]ē-
2 vaikku yādu 19 vad[u] Rishabha-nīyar[ru] apara pakshattu t[r]i-
3 iyayum Tingil-kōlamayum perā Mūlattu nāl

"In the 19th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of all the worlds, the glorious king Peruñjuga-dēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The reign of this king has been previously determined by the late Prof. Kuelhorn to have begun between 11th February and 30th July A. D. 1243.

The present date is quite regular for the 19th regnal year. It corresponds to Monday, May 8th A. D. 1261, which was the 14th Vri-habha, Śaka 1184 expired. On that day at mean sunrise, and thereafter for 13h 3-m, the 3rd kṛishna *tithi* of Vaiśākha was current, the moon being by the equal-space system in Mūla at sunrise and for 3h 40m after it. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was Pūrva-Āshādhī.

We now therefore know that the accession of Peruñjuga-dēva took place between May 6th and July 30th A. D. 1243.

¹ No. 417 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906

No 24—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS

By R SEWELL, ICS (RETD), M R A S

MARANJADAIYAN

96 —In the Jambunāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvellarai¹

- 1 Svasti sri [||*] Kō Marañjadaiyarku yāndu nīl[ā]-
- 2 vadark=edir onbadāvadu Vīschika-ñāṅṅu Ti-
- 3 ngat-kī[lama]i perṛa Aśvatī [muda]l-aga.

“In the ninth (year) opposite to the fourth year (of the reign) of king Mārañjadaiyan —from (the day of) Aśvinī which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Vriśchika”

The names of two sovereigns bearing the title Mārañjadaiyan have been brought to light in the territories at one time subject to the Pandyan kings. The earlier was alive in A D 770 as is gathered from the Ānaimalai inscription, the later is believed to have succeeded to the throne some time in A D 862-63 (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 88). No sufficient details exist for verification of the date given for the former. I have examined the date of the present record on the supposition that it might refer to that Mārañjadaiyan whose reign is said to have begun in A D 862-63.

It appears to belong to his thirteenth year, which would perhaps be the year A D 874-75. The date given is so far regular that on Monday, the 29th day of the solar month Vriśchika, the *nakshatra* Aśvinī was current for 3h 24m at the end of the day by all the three *nakshatra* systems. This civil day corresponded to Monday, November 22nd A D 874. On that day Rēvatī expired and Aśvinī began at 20h 36m after mean sunrise. Therefore according to the ordinary practice of Southern India the Monday in question would have been coupled with Rēvatī and not with Aśvinī. The lunar day current at the Monday sunrise was the 10th sukla of Mārgaśirsha. The 11th sukla *tithi* began at 18h 34m on that Monday, or 34m after midnight.

Now I understand that the 10th sukla of Mārgaśirsha is considered an unlucky *tithi* (at least Albōūni says that it is so), but that the 11th is peculiarly auspicious since it is the occasion of the great *Vaṣuṅṅa*, or *Mukhōṭi-ēkādāṣi*, festival in Southern India, and of the *mōḷshada ēkādāṣi* in other parts². And as this *tithi* ran for about 5½ hours before the end of the civil day, Monday, while the *nakshatra* Aśvinī was similarly current for about 3½ hours before the end of the day, it seems quite possible that this constituted an occasion justifying a departure from the usual practice and the coupling of the Monday in question with Aśvinī instead of with Rēvatī.

If I am right in this surmise the date may be accepted as genuine, and if so this king's reign began some time between November 23rd, A D 861, and November 22nd, 862, always supposing that “in the ninth year opposite the fourth year” means “in the thirteenth year”. Coupling with this the date given in the Ānaimalai record (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 88), which makes Śaka 792 synchronous with the king's eighth year, we have for his accession the period March 22nd to November 22nd A D 862. This presupposes that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year.

¹ No 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

² That the *Mukhōṭi ēkādāṣi* festival takes place on 11th sukla of *Mārgaśirsha* I gather from the late S M Natesa Sastri's *Hindu Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies*, p 60. Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai (*Indian Chronology*, p 50), places it on the 11th sukla of *Pauṣa*, but I believe that this is not the case.

MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

97 —In the Mundisvaramudaiyār temple at Manappadaividu ¹

- 1 ॐ Svasti śri [||*] Kō Mārapanmar-āna Tribhuvanaachchakravattiga[|] emmandalamun=gond-anuli[ya*] śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāndu 10vadu Vriśchikanāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ashtamiyum peṛra Rēvatī-nā[|]

“In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to the 8th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika ”

I have tested this date for the 10th year of the three known Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, the first of whom began to reign between March 29 and September 4, A D 1216, the second between June 15, A D 1238, and January 18, 1239, and the third between June 2, A D. 1531, and June 1, 1532, that is to say I have calculated the *tithi* and *nakshatra* mentioned, during the course of the solar month Vriśchika, in each of the years A D 1225, 1226, 1247, 1248, 1540, 1541. In no case was Rēvatī current at any time during the civil day which might have been connected with the 8th śukla *tithi* of a lunar month. I must therefore hold this date to be unsatisfactory.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA

98 —In the Nedungalanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunedungalam ²

- 1 Svasti śri [||]³Kō=Chchadapinmar-āna T[|]₁[|]₁buvanachchakkara[vat]tugal śr[|]-Sundara-P[ā]ṇḍiyadēvarkku yāndu
2 mūnṛavadu Rishabha-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ikādaśiyum Tingat-kāla[ni]ai-[yu]m peṛra Pūsattu nāl

“In the third year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha ”

This date is also irregular when examined for the third year of any known king of the name declared in the record. Tested for the reigns of the first or second Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya the stated day must fall in either A D 1253, 1278, or 1279. In the first case the given *tithi* fell on a Saturday, in the second on a Wednesday, in the third on a Tuesday, in the first two cases the *nakshatra* was Hasta and in the third Chitrā. On an 11th śukla *tithi* in Vriśabha the moon cannot be in Pushya.

99 —In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr ⁴

- 1 Svast[|] śri[||*] . . . [Kōṛ-Śada] . . .
2 buvanachcha[k]karavatti[ga]l sri-Śundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]dēvarkku y[ān]-
3 du 7vadu⁵ Mīna-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu deśamiyum Nāyarru-[kā]la-
4 mayum [p]eṛra 'Atta[t*]tu nāl

“In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Jatā[varman *alias*] the emperor of the [three] worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Sunday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

¹ No 446 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 680 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ There is some space between *Sri* and *Kō* which might have been intended for a punctuation.

⁴ No 303 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁵ *adu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 7

This date is altogether unsatisfactory. In the 7th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the 10th śukla *tithi* in Mīna corresponded to Saturday, March 16th A D 1258, the Pushya *nakshatra* being current at mean sunrise.

For the 7th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II I have tried all the possible years. In no case is the *nakshatra* quoted correct for the day corresponding to the 10th śukla *tithi* in Mīna, these being always either Punarvasu, Pushya, or Āślēshā, and never Hasta. Only in one year, A D 1284, does the 10th śukla *tithi* correspond to a Sunday, and that was on 27th February of that year, but the *nakshatra* for that day was Punarvasu.

The record cannot belong to the reign of any possible king of the name coming between Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I, whose last known date is June 9th A D 1309, and the second king of that name, whose reign began in March A D 1314, since in all the possible years that I have tried, the *nakshatra*, on the given day, is either Punarvasu or Pushya. Indeed during the month of Mīna the moon cannot be in Hasta on a 10th śukla *tithi*.

100 —In the Viḅṅnēsvara temple at Tirukkachchūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]* Kōr=Chadapanmar=āna Tribhu[va]na²chchakkaravattgal
e[m*]mandala]mun=gond-aruhya śrī-Sundara Pāndiyadēvaṅku yāndu Svadu³
Risha-
2 bha-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu tradiyayum[m*]⁴ Viyāla-kki[la*]mayum peṅga
Pūśattu nā[1]

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rīshabha "

This date is irregular. To correspond with the 8th year of the named king, either the first or the second of the dynasty, the day must fall in either A D 1258, 1283, or 1284. In 1258 the 3rd śukla *tithi* in Vriśabha was current at sunrise of a Tuesday, and the *nakshatra* was Mrigaśūras or Ārdrā at sunrise. In 1283 the week-day was Saturday, and the *nakshatra* was Mrigaśūras by all systems. In 1284 the week-day was Friday, and the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Punarvasu by all systems. Part of the 3rd śukla *tithi*, in this last case, coincided with Thursday, it did so in fact for the last 10½ hours of that day, but during that period the *nakshatra* was Ārdrā or Punarvasu.

101 —In the Nedungalanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunedungaḷam⁵

- 1 [Sva]s[t]i [!]*samasta-jagad-ādhāra
5 [Sun]da[ra]-Pā[ndiya]dē[va]ṅku⁶, yāndu pa[1]to[n]rāvadu⁷ Makara-nāyaṅgu pū[rvva]-
pakshattu [sha]sh[th]iy[u]m Budhan-ki[la]m]mayum
6 peṅga Urōśan[1] nīl

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of [Sun]dara-Pāndyadēva,
—on the day of Rōhinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first
fortnight of the month of Makara "

¹ No 319 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² Read *Tribhuvana* ³ *vadu* is represented by a flourish

⁴ Read *trīṅiyayum*

⁵ No 677 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁶ The portion of this line, from *ndiya* to *vadu*, is written over an erasure

⁷ Read *padinogrūvadu*

The date is irregular whether for the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I, or for the second king of that name. The given *tithi* in Makara corresponded with a Wednesday in A D 1261, the 11th year of Jatāvarman Sundara I, and in January of A D 1286 which might possibly have been in the 11th year of Jatāvarman Sundara II, but the corresponding *nakshatra* on those Wednesdays was either Pūrva or Uttara-Bhadrapadā. In January 1287 the 6th śukla *tithi* in Makara fell on a Tuesday, with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī current at mean sunrise, and in January 1288 it fell on a Sunday, with the *nakshatra* Rēvatī current at mean sunrise.

102.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr¹

- 1 Svasta śrī[||*] 6. Kō=Ch[cha]da[pa]nmar=āna
Tribnvaachchakkaravattigal śrī-Ś[Sn]ndara Pāndyaḍvarku yā[n]du 13vaḍu²
pad[1]nmān[r]āvaḍu Kum[bha]-nāyaḍru pārvva-[pa]kshattu pañchamiyūm Bu-
2 dan-ki[la]may[u]m peḍra Aśvati-nāl

“In the 13th—thirteenth—year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha”

This date is irregular. For the 13th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the 5th śukla *tithi* in Kumbha has Aśvinī for *nakshatra*, but the week-day was Monday. It corresponded to 4 February, A D 1264. For the 13th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II we may test the date in two ways, according as we accept one or the other of the accession periods fixed by the two groups of inscriptions. If we accept the earlier period, the 5th śukla *tithi* of Kumbha in the 13th year corresponded to 8 February, A D 1288, and at sunrise on that day the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī, but the week-day was Sunday. If we accept the later, the quoted day corresponded to 27 January, A D 1289, but on that day at sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Rēvatī, and the week-day was Thursday. The fifth śukla *tithi* was current for 3h 24m at the end of Wednesday, but the *nakshatra* Aśvinī did not begin till 13h 46m after mean sunrise on the Thursday, so that it could not possibly be connected with the Wednesday previous.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I

103.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr³

- 1 Svast[1] śr[1] [||*] [Kōr=Chada]panmar=āna
T[1]ribnva[na]chcha[k]karavatt[1]gal śr[1]-Śundara-P[ā]nd[1]yadēva[k].
2 ku yāḍu Sva lu⁴ Miduna-nāyaḍru apara-pakshatt[u] Tīngal-ki[la]mayūm peḍra
Uttirat[t]ādi-nāl

“In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna”

The month of Mithuna in the 8th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I fell in A D. 1258, in which year the 1st day of that month corresponded to Monday, May 27th, and the 8th śukla *tithi*. The *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise by the systems of Gaiga and Brahmagupta was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, but by the equal-space system Pūrva-Bhadrapadā was

¹ No 315 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² *vaḍu* is represented by a flourish

³ No 305 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

⁴ *vaḍu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8

then current Examining Kielhorn's dates Nos 11 to 18 (*Ep Ind*, Vol VI, pp 306 ff) I find that in six cases it is impossible to say which system was generally in use in the Chingleput tract during that reign, but No 12 proves that in A D 1253, near Trichinopoly, neither the system of Garga nor that of the Brahma-siddhanta was in use, and No 16 from near Tanjore shows that the latter was not used there in A D 1260

On the morning in question, according to the equal-space system, Uttara-Bhadrapada began 55 m *after* mean sunrise, and though this throws a slight doubt on the date I think it may be accepted

For the reign of the second king of that name the date must fall in A D 1283 or 1284 and for those years the quoted *nakshatra* would be incorrect, though it is correct in all respects for Monday, June 1st, A D 1282, which was the 6th day of Mithuna. And if the quoted regnal year had been the 6th instead of the 8th, I should have had no hesitation in accepting it¹. As the case stands, however, I think that the date is genuine and that it belongs to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I

104 —In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil²

- 1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] Kō=Ch[cha]da[panma]r=ā[na Tribhūva]na[chchakkarava]-
- 2 tti[gal sī]-Śundara-[Pāndiya]dēvaṅku [yā]ndu llvadu
- 3 Kann[ī]-nā[ya]rṛu [apara-pa]ksha[ttu] [yūm Buda]n-kīḷa[m]ai-
- 4 [yu]m peṅṅ Śōdi-nāl

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Svāti which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the . . . *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The given elements of the date do not correspond to any possible 11th or—supposing a wrong regnal year to have been stated,—10th or 12th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya II, nor to any śukla *tithi* on a Wednesday in Kanyā in any of those years, supposing that the fortnight was wrongly recorded

The day apparently corresponds to Wednesday, August 31st A D. 1261, which was in the 11th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I, and on which day at mean sunrise, which was the 3rd day of Kanyā, the 4th śukla *tithi* was current, the current *nakshatra* being, by the equal-space system, Svāti. By the other two systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhanta the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā.

I think that the record is one of the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya I, and that the fortnight was wrongly stated. The date does not correspond to any day in the dark fortnight during the given solar month

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II

105 —In the Nedungalanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirunedungalam³

- 1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] svast[ī] samasta-jagad-ādhāra
- 5 śr[ī] K[ō]=Ch[cha]da[panmar]=āna T[ī]ribuvaṅga-
chchakkaravattigal śrī Śundara-Pān-

¹ Since the text was in print I am informed that the figure "8" is quite clear in the original

² No 741 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ No 667 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

6 [dīya]dēvar[k]ku yāndu Svadu¹ | Ma[ka]ra-[n]āyarru [p]ūvva-pakshattu
daśamiyum Budan [k]īlamaiyum perra Rō-

7 [‘ani]-nāl

“In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rōhinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

For the 8th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I, the 10th *śukla tithi* in solar Makara fell on a Sunday, at whose sunrise the *nakshatra* was Kṛitikā Neither Rōhinī nor the 10th *śukla tithi* could be connected with a Wednesday

For the 8th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II the year may correspond either with A D 1282-83, or 1283-84, according to the initial date accepted for the reign The given date is irregular for both these years It is, however, perfectly regular for the 9th regnal year of this king, if his accession dated from some day in the year 1276-77, for the given lunar day falling on the 23rd day of Makara, corresponds regularly to Wednesday, January 17th A D. 1285, on which day at mean sunrise the 10th *śukla tithi* and the *nakshatra* Rōhinī were current Since this date is regular in all its details, I think it should be accepted But in that case either it clashes with most of the other records of this king as to the initial date of his reign, or the regnal year is wrongly given as the 8th, when it should have been stated as the 9th A mistake of this kind is frequently made, and I believe it to have been made in this instance,

106 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam²

1 Svasti śri: Kō[r]=Śaḍaipanmar=āna Tuubu[va]na[ch]chak[ka]ra[va]ttigal śri-
2 Śundara-Pāndiyadēvarkku [y]āndu 13[vadu] Mina-[nāya]rru pū[rva]-paksha-
3 ttu Śani=kkīlamaiyum³ shash[th]iyu[m]⁴ perra Rō[sa]ni-nā[l]⁵

“In the 13th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rōhinī which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and to a Saturday of the first fortnight of the month of Mina ”

For the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date is irregular, as the given *tithi* in his 13th year fell on a Wednesday, though the *nakshatra* was Rōhinī

Working by the group of inscriptions which fixes the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II as beginning in 1276 and, therefore, his 13th year as beginning in 1288, I find the date so far satisfactory that for 4h 31m at the end of Saturday, February 26, A D 1289, which was the 4th day of Mina, the 6th *śukla tithi* of Phālguna and the *nakshatra* Rōhinī were together current At sunrise on Sunday, both this *tithi* and *nakshatra* were current, and by ordinary practice they would have been coupled with Sunday, February 27, and not with Saturday, February 26th Phālguna *śukla* 6th began 7h 8m *after* mean sunrise on that Saturday

Working by the earlier accession-date fixed by the other inscription-group the date is irregular

With the reservation above stated the date corresponds to Saturday, February 26th, A D. 1289, and this fixes the beginning of the reign as subsequent to February 26th, A D 1276

¹ *cadu* is represented by a flourish

² No 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ The syllables *yum* are engraved below the line

⁴ The *akshara m* is engraved below the line

⁵ The *akshara l* is engraved below the line

107 —In the Kachchhapēsvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] - Kō=Chchadapaṇṇa[r]=āna
Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rkkū yāṇḍu 1[3]vadukku
edirām=ā-
- 2 ndu Karkadaga-nāyaṛṛu apara-pakshattu deśamiyūm Tīngal kkaḷamaiyūm peṛṛa
Kātṭigai-nāl

“In the year opposite to the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Kṛttikā which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

The date given is incorrect for the 14th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, but correct for that of the second of that name. It corresponds to Monday, July 3rd, A. D. 1290, which was the 6th day of solar Karkataka, or Karka, and on which day the 10th kṛṣṇa *tithi* of Jyēshtha was current at sunrise. At sunrise, also, on that day the *nakshatra* Kṛttikā was current according to all the three systems of calculation. According to this the accession-day of Jatāvarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya II must have been subsequent to July 3rd A. D. 1276.

108 —In the Kachchhapēsvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 Kō Śadapaṇṇmar=āna Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu 17vadu Sinna-nāyaṛṛu pūrvva-pakshattu
- 2 miyūm Tīngal-kkaḷamaiyūm peṛṛa Uṭṭirādattu nāl

“In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uṭṭarāshādhā which corresponded to a Monday and to the *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Sīma.”

This date is incorrect for the 17th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is, however, correct for the reign of the second king of that name. It corresponds to Monday, August 25th A. D. 1292, which was the 28th Sīma, and on which day at sunrise the 11th śukla *tithi* was current, the *nakshatra* being Uṭṭara-Āshādhā by all systems. This was in the 17th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, if his accession took place on or before August 25th, A. D. 1276.

I have given great attention to the question of the date of accession of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, because the evidence regarding it has hitherto been in a very unsatisfactory condition, and after concluding my examination of the eleven inscription dates sent to me this year, which, with those previously examined by the late Professor Kielhorn and myself, make a total of twenty-six records, I have come to the conclusion that this king ascended the throne on a day between the 6th and 25th August A. D. 1276.

As I differ from the opinion expressed by the late Professor Kielhorn and have modified the conclusions I had previously formed (above, Vol. X, pp. 144 f.) it is necessary to state the case at some length. The difference of opinion alluded to has reference to records Nos. 23 to 27. Kielhorn considered that the regnal years stated in Nos. 23 and 24 were wrong, and adhered to those given in Nos. 25 and 27. He considered that a wrong *tithi* had been stated in No. 26, and corrected, rightly as I think, the “13th” *tithi* to the 3rd. After this correction the date

¹ No. 302 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No. 308 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

agrees with Nos 23 and 24 as regards the day of the King's accession. Acceptance of the alternative I think that in view of all the other royal years put in Nos 23 and 24, it is more probable in Nos 25 and 27 that require discussion. It is only for the first time that the agreement between Kullhorn had, at the time that he wrote, very few receipts were of this kind (p. 107).

With these preliminary remarks I proceed to examine the inscriptions which have been examined, from which it will be seen that there is a certain amount of discrepancy in the accession-dates put forward by me. In the list "K" given in the Appendix, the inscription dates are published above, in Vols VI, pp 216-22, VIII, pp 27-72, and X, pp 127-28 as well as in the present article.

No	Date of inscription A D	Length of year	Year calculated A D	Notes
K 23	Mon 1 Aug. 1261	13	1 Aug 1276	
" 24	Fri 5 Aug 1262	13	5 Aug 1276	
" 25	Mon 21 July 1261	6	21 July 1275	Year 6 should be year 7
" 26	Fri. 12 Sept 1267	12	12 Sept 1275	"Kish" should be "ind"
" 27	Mon. 15 May 1260	15	15 May 1275	Year 15 should be year 14
" 52	Mon 23 July 1265	10	23 July 1275	Year 10 should be year 7
" 53	Wed 29 Oct 1267	11	29 Oct. 1276	Year 11 should be year 12
" 54	Wed 27 Aug. 1267	12	27 Aug 1275	
" 55	Mon. 28 Aug 1260	15	28 Aug 1275	"Karye" should be "Saha"
" 56	(Doubtful)			
S 74	Mon 30 Sept 1266	10	30 Sept. 1276	Year 10 should be year 11.
" 75	Mon 20 Feb 1260	15(?)	20 Feb 1275	Year 15 should be year 14
" 76	Wed 18 Mar. 1263	17	18 Mar. 1276	
" 77	Sat 14 Mar 1263	17	14 Mar 1276	
" 78	(Irregular)			
" 98	(Irregular).			
" 99	(Irregular)			
" 100	(Irregular)			
" 101	(Irregular)			
" 102	(Irregular)			
" 103	(Reign of J Sun P I)			

No	Date of inscription A D	Regnal year	Accession later than A D	Notes
S 104	(Reign of J S P I)			
„ 105	Wed 17 Jan 1285	8	17 Jan 1277	Year 8 should be year 9
„ 106	Sat 26 Feb 1289	13	26 Feb 1276	
„ 107	Mon 3 July 1290	14	3 July 1276.	
„ 108	Mon 25 Aug 1292	17	25 Aug 1275	

From this statement it will be seen that we have six dates, viz, Nos 23, 24, 76, 77, 106 and 107 which as they stand, without any alteration, show that the king's accession took place in 1276 A D after August the 5th, one, No 108, which shows that it may have taken place on or before August 25, 1276, and two, which, as they stand show that it took place before August 27th in that year These are Nos 54 and 55 Also one, No 26, which, without alteration of the regnal year, supports that conclusion though a wrong *tithi* was quoted Seven others, Nos 25, 27, 52, 53, 74, 75 and 105, are not inconsistent with it if one year is either added to or deducted from the given regnal year Nine others are either irregular or belong to the reign of a different king¹

Referring to my remarks on the accession-date of this king at p 129 of Vol X, it will be seen that I now accept K 26, with Kielhorn's proposed alteration It was "intrinsically wrong" for the stated *tithi*, but, with the alteration made, it supports the accession-date which I now believe to be the correct one With regard to two other dates, Nos 55 and 75, I was doubtful on account of apparent errors in them, but in view of the light since thrown on the matter they may be accepted with those errors corrected

JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA

109.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tonkarai²

- 1 || Svasti śr[i]: śrī³ Kō=Chcha-
- 2 daiyavaimmar=āna Tribh[uv*]a-
- 3 nach[cha]kravattigal śrī³
- 4 Kulasekharadēva-
- 5 rkku jāndu 2vadu
- 6 Mīdhana nāyaru iru-
- 7 badān-diyadiyum pū-
- 8 rvva-pakshattu trayō-
- 9 daśiyum Budhan-kīla-
- 10 mayum per[ra A]-
- 11 niḷattu nāl

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jātavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā which corre-

¹ Since this paper was in print I have seen Professor Jacobi's article above (pp 132, ff) His No 86 (p 136) confirms my opinion, since it shows that the king could not have begun to reign earlier than 10th August A D 1276, 9th August of that year being still in his 14th year This still further reduces the doubtful days of his accession, and, being accepted, proves that he ascended the throne on a day between 10th and 25th August A.D. 1276.

² No 135 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

³ A letter *ku* has been engraved and erased after *śrī*, *kul* is written over an erasure.

sponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twentieth solar day of the month of Mithuna ”

This date is irregular for any year in the reign of Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara I, as well as for any in the reign of Māravarman Kulaśekhara II, nor is it correct for any date between A D 1190 and 1350 except in the case of two years. One is in A D 1239 and the other is in A D 1334. In each case the 13th śukla *tithi* coincided with the 20th day of solar Mithuna, and in each case the week-day was Wednesday and the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was Anurādhā, the only exception being that in A D 1239, if the calculation were made by the Brahmasiddhānta, Anurādhā had expired 20m before mean sunrise on that day. But this objection need not be taken into account, since that *nakshatra* was probably current at true sunrise.

For the year A D 1334 the coincidence is absolute. In the first case the given date corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A D 1237, in the second case it corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A D 1334. In the first case the king's reign began after June 15, 1237, and before June 15, 1238, in the second case the reign began after June 15, 1332, and before June 15, 1333. Careful study of the characters and form of the original inscription will doubtless lead to certain determination as to which of these two years is the correct one¹. If this king's reign should be found to begin between 1332 and 1333 A D, we shall have the name of a hitherto unknown Pāndyan king, coming probably between Māravarman Kulaśekhara II and Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya, and bearing the title “Jatāvarman” according to custom. And if his reign began between 1237 and 1238 A D we shall similarly have a new “Jatāvarman” between Māravarman Sundara Pāndya I and Māravarman Sundara Pāndya II, but with a certain overlapping of reigns. In the other case there is no overlapping, and if this should prove correct the king's title will have to be, at least provisionally, stated as “Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara II”

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA

110 —In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkara²

- 1 Svast[ī] sīḥ sriḥ Kō Mā[ra]panmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti-
- 2 gal e[m*][ma]ṇḍalamun-goṇḍ-arul[īya śrī]-Kulasēgaradēvaḥ[k]u yāndu 23va[du Ma]gara-
- 3 nāyaḥṣṭu pūrvva-pakshattu [sapta]m[ī]y[um] T[m]gal-kkīlamaiyum peṇṇa Attattināi

“In the 23rd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekhara-dēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

This date is irregular. In the first place the moon can never be in Hasta on a 7th śukla *tithi* during the solar month Makara. For the 23rd year of either of the known kings of the name stated, which correspond, for the 7th śukla *tithi* of Makara, to a day in January A D 1291 or January A D 1337, the week-day is Monday in the first case, and Friday in the second, and the corresponding *nakshatras* are Rēvatī in the first case, and Aśvinī in the second. Working for a possible 7th kṛishna *tithi*, on the supposition that a mistake had been made by the engraver, I find the week days to have been respectively Tuesday and Friday, with *nakshatras* Chitrā and Viśākhā.

¹ I have since been informed that, while it is difficult to decide the point from characters alone, the earlier date is the more probable.

² No 128 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

111 —In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil ¹

- 1 Svasti² śrī [||*] Kō Mārupanmar=ina Tu [i]buvanachchakkaravatt[iga]l śr[i]-Kulaśēgaradēvarku yāndu
 2 28vadu Kann[i]-nāyaṟṟu [ama]ra-pakkashattu³ deśamiyum Velli-kkīlamaiyum peṟṟa Attattu
 3 na!

“In the 28th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, — on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Friday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā ”

This date is intrinsically wrong, for on a tenth *krishna tithi* in solar Kanyā the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Hasta. In such a month the day of Hasta must be either the 14th or 15th *krishna*, or the 1st or 2nd *śukla tithi*. Moreover the week-day given is incorrect for the tenth *krishna tithi* in Kanyā, both in the 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I (A D 1295) and in a possible 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II, which would fall in A D 1341

MĀRAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I

112 —In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkara ⁴

- 1 || Svasti śrī: . . . śrī-Kō Mārapanmar=āna Tiribuva-
 [na]chchekkiravattigal [em]mandalamun=
 2 [gond-a]ru[ī]ya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēva[r]ku yā[n]du 14vadu Kanṇi-nāya[r]ru
 pū[r]vva-pakshattu [sa]pta[m]iyum [N]āyaṟṟu-kkī[ā]maiyum peṟṟa
 3 [M]ūlattu nāl

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā ”

This date is regular for the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I, and incorrect for that of M Kulaśēkhara II. For the former it corresponds to Sunday, September 21st, A D 1281, which was the 24th day of solar Kanyā. At mean sunrise on that day the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the current *nakshatra* was Mūla, by all systems.

For the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II the given day would correspond to September 23rd, A D 1327, but that day was Wednesday.

113.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkara ⁵

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i]: . . . śrī Kō [Mārapanmar=āna 'Tri]bhuva[nachcha]-
 kravatt[ī]ga[l em]mandalamu[n]=go[nd-aru]l[ī]ya [śrī]-Kula[ś]ēgaradēvar-
 [kku yāp]ḍu [2]8vadu⁶ Vriśchika-[nāya]ṟṟu
 2 apara-pakshattu chatu[r]tthiyum Nā[ya]ṟṟu-kkīlamaiyum peṟṟa Pūśai[tu] nāl

“In the [2]8th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—

¹ No 734 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² The *ca* of *Sva* is not added in the right place

³ Read *apara pakshattu dasamiyum*

⁴ No 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

⁵ No 126 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

⁶ The year might also be read as 20. What is taken for 8 would in that case be the first letter *ā* of *āvadu*

on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika ”

For the 28th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulasekhara I, which began in June A D 1295, this date is perfectly regular. It corresponds to Sunday, November 27th, A D 1295, on which day, the 30th day of solar Vriśchika, the 4th *tithi* of the second lunar fortnight was current at mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* then being Pushya by all systems.

It would be incorrect for the 20th year of that king, or for a possible 20th or 28th year of the second king of that name

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

114.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyl.¹

- 1 Sva[s]t[i] śi[i] [||*] Kō Māra[pan]ma[r-ā]na T[1]rubu[va]pachcha[ka]ravattigal
[sri]-Kulaś[ga]radēvarkku y[ā]n[du] Gvadu
- 2 Magara-nāya[r]ru pūrva-pakṣhat[tu] pratha]mayum Śaṅi-kka]a[m]ai[yum] p]era
Avittattu nāl

“In the [6th] year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekhara-dēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [first] *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

This date regularly corresponds, for the 6th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulasekhara II, to Saturday January 12th, A.D. 1320, which was the 17th day of Makara, on which day at mean sunrise the 1st śukla *tithi* was current, the *nakshatra* being Dhanishthā by all systems.

It is incorrect for the 6th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulasekhara I.

JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

115.—In the Vikrama-Pāndyēśvara temple at Śōlapuram.²

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śakādam āyirattu-iru-[n]ūrru-[nār]pattu-nālin mēl śrī-Kō=
Chchadaipa[nmar-āṇa] T[1]bhuva[na]chchakravatt[igal] sri]-Parākrama-
P[ā]ndiyadēva[rku] yāndu 8] M[ina] nāya[r]ru 28³[tēd]i]yu[m]
pau[r]n[y]ai[yu]m Budan-k]ama[y]um perra Śittirai-u[ā]l

“After the Śaka year (one) thousand two hundred and forty-four (had passed)—in the year 8 (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the full-moon *tithi*, and to the 28th solar day of the month of Mīna ”

This date is regular when calculated by the Ārya siddhānta. It corresponds to Wednesday, 23rd March, A D 1323, on which day at mean sunrise—the day being the 28th of Mīna,—the full moon, or 15th śukla *tithi*, was current, it having begun 15h 35m in mean time before, and ending 7h 52m after mean sunrise.

The *nakshatra*, however, is found to have begun, by the equal-space and Garga systems, 1h 30m after mean sunrise, though by the Brahma-siddhānta it was current at mean sunrise, having begun 2h 14m earlier. I have calculated the date by the Brahma-siddhānta, and find that that authority was *not* used by the framers of the *pañchāṅga* in current use at the

¹ No 742 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² No 487 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

³ The syllables *tēd* are expressed by a symbol

time, for by it the day of the week, of the solar month and the number of the *tithi* all work out differently, as also does the *nakshatra* for mean sunrise of the day so established. It follows that the date was calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta, but that (1) either there was a slight error in the calculation of the *nakshatra*, or (2) the *nakshatra* for which calculation was made was the one current at the time of the action recorded in the inscription,— which action probably took place between 1h. 30m and 7h 52m after mean sunrise on the same 23rd March. The inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Jatavarman Parākrama-Pāndya whose reign began between 24th March A D 1315 and 23rd March 1316.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA-PANDYA

116 —In the Vyāghrapādēsvara temple at Siddhalingamadam ¹

- 1 [S]vasti sri [i*] Kō [M]ārapatmar-āna² Tribhuvanach[eh]akkaravattigal śri-
³Vikrama-Pānd[ya]jadēvar̥ku yāndu
- 2 [6]vadu [Kanni]-nāyar̥ru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyumu Nāyar̥ru-k[k̄]lamaiyumu
 per̥ra At[ta][t*]tu nāl

“In the [6]th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā”

According to the information supplied to me, doubtless from palaeographic deduction, the inscription belongs to a period later than the fifteenth century A D, and consequently to a king whose date has not yet been established, and with whose name we are not yet familiar. This may well be so, but I find it impossible, the details being given as they are here, to find a date which would correspond with those details, without examining them separately for every year, and this would entail a vast and perhaps unnecessary amount of labour ⁴

Meanwhile I would point out that, if it is permissible to suppose that this Māravarman Vikrama may be identical with the Kōnērīnmaikondān Vikrama whose reign began (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 228) between 13th January and 27th July, A D 1401, the given date very fairly well fits in with his reign. In the 6th year of this king's reign the 15th day of Kanyā corresponded to Monday, September 13th, A.D 1406. On that day at mean sunrise the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, as also, by all systems, the *nakshatra* Hasta. The 1st śukla *tithi* had begun 1h 20m before mean sunrise, that is to say, it had been current for 1h 20m on the Sunday (September 12), and during that time the *nakshatra* Hasta had been current by all systems, it having begun by the equal-space system and that of Garga 17h 11m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta 20h 35m, before the Monday sunrise. That Sunday was a particularly sacred day being the Mahālaya-amāvāsyā day, with both sun and moon in Hasta. The moon's *nakshatra* has been already stated. At the moment when the 1st śukla *tithi* began on the Sunday the sun's mean longitude was 165° 4' 27', proving him to have been in Hasta.

It may be that the same conditions existed at an altogether later date, and the years can be examined individually if a palaeographic study of the original inscription can be undertaken which would confine possibilities within a limit of, say, 50 years

¹ No 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909

² The length of *rā* is written in continuation of the letter *r*

³ Read *Vikrama-Pāndyadē*.

⁴ [Mr Krishna Sastri now informs Mr Sewell that palaeographically the inscription more probably belongs to the end of the 13th century. Mr Swamikannu Pillai has accordingly calculated the date as corresponding to Sunday, August 29, A D 1288 —S K]

MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYADEVA.

117 —In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam.¹

1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō Māravarman² Nīribhuvanachohakkaravattigal śri-Vīra-
Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu lōvadu Dhanusu-nūyaru [a]para-
2 pakshattu ash[ta]m[ī]yum Saṅg-kkīlamaiyum peṇṇa Attattu nāl

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāndiyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date is incorrect for the reign of the only Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya as yet known to history, whose 15th year began between 13th March and 23th July, A.D. 1457. In that year the 12th Dhanus corresponded to Friday, December 9th, A.D. 1457, on which day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise. But the week-day was not Saturday, and the given *tithi* could not be connected with Saturday, while though the *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was Hasta by the Brahma-siddhānta having begun 2h 26m earlier, it was Uttara-Phalgunī by the equal-space system and that of Garga.

In the previous year the given *tithi* was current at sunrise on a Monday.

The date, however, is perfectly regular for the 15th year of *Jatavarman* Vīra-Pāndya which year began between the 11th November A.D. 1266 and the 13th July 1267. In that 15th regnal year the 14th day of Dhanus corresponded to Saturday, December 10th A.D. 1267, and at mean sunrise on that day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, having begun 5h. 40m before mean sunrise. At that sunrise the *nakshatra* Hasta was current by all systems.

I think, therefore, that the date is correct, but that the record belongs to the reign of *Jatavarman* Vīra, and not of *Māravarman* Vīra-Pāndiyadēva. A study of the palmography of the record will settle this question, since of course the inscription may belong to the reign of a later sovereign, bearing the name as given, who is not yet known to us historically.³

If my identification is considered satisfactory the commencement of the reign of *Jatavarman* Vīra-Pāndya is fixed as having taken place between December 11th, A.D. 1252, and July 13th, 1253.

No 25 —THE TIBETAN ALPHABET

By A. H. FRANCKE

Tibetan accounts of its origin.

As regards Tibetan historiography in general, there are two distinct schools of it, *viz.* the Central Tibetan and the West Tibetan school. Thus, the records referring to the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet vary to a certain degree, according to the schools of writers.

Central Tibetan records.—The Petersburg *rGyal rabs gsalbar melong*, Sarat Ch Das' *The Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary*, Togbarlova and the Bodhimor. They all agree on the following points: King Sron btsan sgampo (c. 600—650 A.D.) sent his minister Thonmi to Hindustan, Southern Hindustan or Magadha, to learn reading and writing. He received instruction from a certain Li byin (the Lijin of the Mongols) in reading and writing, and formed the Tibetan alphabet after the Lañtsha and Vartula characters, Tibetan dBu chan after Lañtsha, and Tibetan dBu med after Vartula. He brought the Tibetan alphabet up to 30 characters,

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Read *Tribhuvana*.

³ Since the above was in print I am assured that the title *Māravarman* is quite clear in the original.

by taking 24 from the Indian alphabet, and inventing six new characters himself. For the expression of the Tibetan vowels he added four vowel signs.

The West Tibetan school states that king Sron btsan sgampo sent his minister Thonmi and 16 fellow students to Kashmir, to learn the characters. They learnt the characters from the Brahman La byin, and pandit Senge taught them the language (Sanskrit). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they formed 24 *gSal byed* and 6 *Rins*, altogether 30 characters. (The following sentence is probably a later addition) Besides, they made them to agree with the Nagari characters of Kashmir and brought them into shape.

Looking at these two, the West Tibetan record strikes me as being the more original of the two. In the first place, the country from which the alphabet was brought to Tibet, is given here as being Kashmir. This is more in accordance with the result of Dr Vogel's examination of the alphabet. Then, the passage about the forming of the Tibetan alphabet after the Indian Lañtsha and Vartula characters, which is altogether doubtful, is omitted here. The West Tibetan account makes mention of the Indian Nāgarī alphabet, it is true, but this passage looks like a later interpolation.

European statements —The Central Tibetan account, which makes the Indian Lañtsha and Vartula characters the parents of the Tibetan alphabet, was accepted by a number of European and Indian writers on this subject. Thus, Jaschke in his Tibetan grammar, p 1, says that the Tibetan script was adapted from the Lañtsha form of Indian characters. Grünwedel, in his *Mythology* says, that the Tibetan script was formed after the Indian characters of those times, the so-called Vartula, and Sarat Ch. Das, in his article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet' (J A S B, Vol LVII, p 41) speaks of the 'letters which Sambhota had introduced from Magadha, and which he had shaped partly after the form of some of the Waitu characters of Magadha.'

As we now know, the Tibetan characters were directly derived from Indian Gupta. And this fact was already recognised by Csoma de Kőrös, the Nestor of Tibetan studies. He says on p 204 of his grammar "The Tibetan alphabet itself, as has been noticed in other places is stated to have been formed from the Dēvanagari prevalent in Central India in the seventh century. On comparing the forms of its letters with those of various ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly that at Gaya, translated by Mr (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, and that on the column at Allahabad, translated by Capt. Touro and Dr Mill, a striking similitude will be observed." When Csoma wrote this, the term of Gupta had not yet been coined for that particular kind of script. Otherwise he would have used the term.

The next student of Tibetan, who told me the same thing, was Dr F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library. In his opinion, this fact was so apparent and firmly established, that he did not think it necessary to write a line about it. And in his letter of the 7th June, 1906, he sent me a list of Gupta characters from Indoio, of the year 465 A. D., which agree very closely with the Tibetan characters.

The same view has been expressed more recently by Col. Waddell, in his article on ancient Tibetan inscriptions from Lhasa (J R A S, 1910).

With regard to the date of the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet, and the place of its provenance, Dr Vogel has favoured me with the following note:—

Relation of Tibetan to Indian scripts.


"Besides the ordinary Tibetan character, the lamas have the so-called Lañtsha which is exclusively used for Sanskrit formulas. The local tradition (of Central Tibet) holds, that the

Lañtsha is the older of the two, and that from it the ordinary Tibetan alphabet has been derived. This has been repeated by European writers, but in view of palæographical evidence there cannot be the slightest doubt that the tradition has reversed the real facts.

“The ordinary Tibetan character is the more ancient of the two, and the Lañtsha originated several centuries later. Both were derived from Indian scripts, but quite independently of each other. The time of their origin can be approximately fixed, by a comparison with the characters used in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions.

“The Tibetan alphabet is based on the Indian script, which had developed from the Western Gupta and which used to be designated by the name of Kutīla. Buhler has rejected this appellation and has proposed to call it ‘acute-angled’ (spitz-winklig)¹. The Tibetan has retained the characteristics of this script, acute angles at the lower ends, small wedges at the tops, and in general a very ornamental and elegant appearance. As regards the date, when it was introduced into Tibet, the following points may be noted.

“Initial *ā* is indicated by the sign for initial *a* with a curve attached to the bottom of the vertical, and not by a stroke to the right as in Nāgarī. The stroke came into general use in India from about 900 A. D. [Let me note that this curve is a subjoined small ‘*a*’ (No. 23 of the Tibetan alphabet). But another ancient form of *a* is found in inscriptions near Khalatse.

There the syllable *ām* is written like that  —F.]

“The *ja* has the ancient type of the Gupta period (with central bar to the right) which was preserved in India till about 700 A. D. [The Śāradā has kept this form throughout].

“The *ta* closely agrees with the corresponding Śāradā letter in that the left half of the curve has disappeared. [But see some forms of the 8th century —F.]

“The *da* has no wedge at the lower end, as is found in India from about 700 A. D.

“In *pa* the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happens in India from about 700. Neither is this the case in Śāradā.

“The *pha* has retained its Gupta type, which existed in India till about 700 A. D. It differs considerably from the Śāradā *pha*.

“The *ba* resembles Śāradā *va*. The vertical, as in *pa* is not prolonged beneath. [But see one case from the 8th century —F.]

“The *ma* has a loop, but the vertical is not prolonged beneath. It is therefore different from the Śāradā letter, but closely resembles the Indian *ma* of about 700 A. D.

“The *ya* is of special importance, as it has the tripartite shape, which in India became changed into the bipartite form in the seventh century. [The most ancient Ladakhī *yē dharmā* formula from Khalatse which Dr. Vogel believes to date from c. 600 A. D., exhibits already the bipartite form of *ya*. —F.] The Śāradā has the bipartite type.

“In *la* we observe the same as in *pa* and *ba*: the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happened in India after 700 A. D. The absence of these prolongations is the more remarkable, as the Tibetan is fond of long down strokes.

¹ *Indische Paläographie*, p. 49.

“ Our conclusion is, that the Tibetan is derived from the Northern Indian script, which was used in the 7th century. It is not based on the Śāradā, but has certain points of similarity with this script, which suggest that both were derived from the same Northern Indian character ”

My own view is, that the Tibetan alphabet was quietly worked out in the ancient monasteries of Turkistan, the Tibetan *Lu yul* and that *Sron btsan sgampo's* minister *Thonmi* reaped the fruit of such learning. My reasons are the following. The script used for Sanskrit in Turkistan, the so-called Central Asian Brāhmī, is another descendant of Indian Gupta, and closely related to the Tibetan script¹. Similar characters were used also in Ladakh for Sanskrit formulas between 600 and 800 A D. These characters were probably the parent of the so-called *Brutsha* (*Bruzha*, *Daid*) form of writing². The Turkistan monasteries were the very places where any new kind of script might have been invented, as is shown by a number of new languages which were first reduced to writing in Turkistan. Then, the man who taught *Thonmi* in Kashmir, is called *Lu byin* which name doubtless means, ‘ Blessing of the land *Lu* ’ (blessing of *Khotan*). This name may be compared with such names as *Khri bdun yul byin*, ‘ Blessing of the land *Khri bdun* ’. Thus, the man who taught *Thonmi* may have been a native of Turkistan. We have a single testimony of history for the early use of Indian characters in Western Tibet, in the Chinese *Ssu shu*, where it is stated, that such characters were used in the Empire of the ‘ Eastern Women ’ (*Guge*), etc. The Tibetan alphabet, though probably invented earlier, may have followed the development of the North Indian alphabets, until it remained stationary from the 7th or 8th century.

Regarding the language for which the alphabet was invented, I am of opinion, that it certainly was the classical Tibetan. But we must not believe that classical Tibetan was generally spoken in the 7th century. From passages occurring in a good number of documents excavated by *Sir Aurel Stein* in the deserts of Turkistan, we know for certain that the Tibetan dialects were then already developed to an advanced degree. It is very improbable that the prefixes should have been pronounced in full in those days. There is a possibility that Tibet was in possession of an archaic sacred language from time immemorial, that it was this language which was first reduced to writing, and that this already sacred language was accepted as the language of Buddhism. In this connection the following note from *Dr Barnett's* article ‘ Tibetan MSS, in the Stein collection ’ (*J R A S*, 1903, p. 112) will be of interest. “ It was probably in the reign of *Khri Sron lde btsan*, if not later, that the larger part of the Northern Canon, including the *Śālistamba Sūtra*, was translated into Tibetan. If this be so, it is singular, that a nation, which according to tradition had been hitherto buried in barbarism, should within a century and a half have accepted a new faith, assimilated its doctrines in the most scholastic form of *Mahāyāna*, and concurrently developed a culture and a political organisation, which made it a formidable rival to the older homes of civilisation on its north-western frontier. Probably tradition has exaggerated the facts, it may be that Buddhism was fairly well known in Tibet before the seventh century, and *Sron btsan sgampo* was only its Constantine. A new page of history is opening before us ”

The Tibetans themselves distinguish between two types of characters in their alphabet. One type was taken directly from the Indian alphabet, whilst the other was invented by *Thonmi Sambhota*, or his forerunners. The first type is called *gSal byed* (consonants), and the second.

¹ Compare *A. H. Franke, The similarity of the Tibetan to the Kashgar Brāhmī Alphabet*. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol I, pp 43 ff. [The correspondence between Central Asian Gupta and Tibetan is not so great that it is necessary to assume that they have been developed in the same locality. They have both been developed from the same source, and that explains the similarity—S. K.]

² Plate III, c of *Sarat Ch. Das' article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet, J A S B, Vol LVII, p. 41*

Rins The order of the Tibetan alphabet is of Indian origin. But it is strange to observe, that the group of gSal byed was divided into two parts, by inserting the Rins between them. The Tibetan alphabet was arranged as follows

gSal byed	1	k	gSal byed	9	t	Rins	17	ts	gSal byed	21	y
	2	lh		10	th		18	tsh		25	r
	3	g		11	d		19	dz		26	l
	4	n		12	n		20	w		27	ś
	5	ch		13	p		21	ʼ		28	s
	6	chh		14	ph		22	z		29	h
	7	j		15	b		23	ʼa		30	a
	8	ñ		16	m						

As we see, there are seven Rins, instead of six. Regarding the gSal byed, Dr Vogel's note will suffice. Let me add a few words about the Rins. The sibilants *ts*, *tsh*, and *dz* are distinguished from the signs for the ordinary palatals by an additional stroke.—The Tibetan *w* is a combination of *l* and *b*. We may say it is a *b* with a prefixed *l*. Also *b* with other prefixes may become a *w*, thus, the West Tibetan pronunciation of the word *dban*, power, is *wan*.—The Tibetan *z* was derived directly from the most ancient form of the Tibetan *s*, by omitting the stroke on the left side of the *s*.—The letter *z* is simply an inverted *j*.—The Tibetan character for 'a' may have been developed from the Indian *g*. 'A' as initial is in many dialects pronounced like *gh*. But as a prefix it generally has a nasal sound. Before the nose of the Tibetan *g* was properly developed, the characters for *g* and 'a' may have looked much the same. To distinguish them, 'a' was furnished for a time with an additional stroke. Compare the accompanying tables¹

It is strange that *a*, the first letter of the Indian alphabet, should be found at the end of the Tibetan alphabet. I am rather inclined to believe that it was a later development. In many ancient documents, the Tibetan *a* looks almost exactly like a *ya*, and there are a number of words in which an original *ya* has been dropped, or been turned into a vowel-bearer *a*. Thus, *yan* becomes 'an', *yid* becomes *id*, *yon* becomes 'on', etc. But in its later development the letter *a* became decidedly similar to the *a* of the Tākārī script, for which reason it was derived from it by General Cunningham. As has been noticed, old forms of the *a* in Ladakh are furnished with a hook at the lower left hand corner.

Lañtsha and Vartula

Dr Vogel has favoured me with the following note on Lañtsha. "As regards the Lañtsha, it is based on the Indian script of the tenth century. A characteristic of this script, to which Buhler has drawn attention, are the small tails, slanting to the right from the ends of the verticals. These are most prominent in the Nāgarī of the 10th century. Notice also the long straight topstrokes found in Nāgarī. Notice especially the letters *gha*, *ja*, *ya* (bipartite), *ra* (with loop). See plates in Sarrt Ch Das' 'Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,' *J A S B*, Vol LVII, and Hodgson's plates in *Asiat Res*, Vol XVI (1828).

¹ There are several incomplete tables of Tibetan alphabets from the eighth or ninth century among the documents of the Stein collection. There, the arrangement of the characters is in the following respect different from the present day arrangement. The letter *b* (often pronounced *v*) is not placed between *ph* and *m*, as shown above, but between *l* and *s*. Thus it has the place of the *v* in the Sanskrit alphabet. In the same tables the letter *wa* appears as a *ba* with a superadded 'a'. This ancient alphabet consists of 29 letters only.

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH 9TH CENTURY		C 1000—1200 A.D.			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern	
	dbu	chän	dbu	med	Atisa's time dbu chän	Kyelang document dbu	Ala inscriptions med		dbu
ka	ཀ		ཀ		ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ
ki	ཀི		ཀི		ཀི	ཀི	ཀི	ཀི	ཀི
ku			ཀུ		ཀུ		ཀུ	ཀུ	ཀུ
ke			ཀེ		ཀེ		ཀེ	ཀེ	ཀེ
ko			ཀོ		ཀོ		ཀོ	ཀོ	ཀོ
kya	ཀྱ		ཀྱ		ཀྱ	ཀྱ	ཀྱ	ཀྱ	ཀྱ
kra	ཀྲ							ཀྲ	ཀྲ
kla	ཀླ		ཀླ		ཀླ			ཀླ	ཀླ
rka	རྐ							རྐ	རྐ
ska	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ	སྐ		སྐ	སྐ
sky	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ		སྐྱ	སྐྱ
kha	ཀྲ	ཀྲ	ཀྲ	ཀྲ	ཀྲ	ཀྲ	ཀྲ	ཀྲ	ཀྲ
khi	ཀྲི						ཀྲི		ཀྲི
khu	ཀྲུ							ཀྲུ	ཀྲུ
khe			ཀྲེ		ཀྲེ			ཀྲེ	ཀྲེ
kho	ཀྲོ	ཀྲོ	ཀྲོ		ཀྲོ	ཀྲོ		ཀྲོ	ཀྲོ
khya	ཀྲྱ		ཀྲྱ		ཀྲྱ	ཀྲྱ	ཀྲྱ	ཀྲྱ	ཀྲྱ
khra	ཀྲྲ					ཀྲྲ	ཀྲྲ	ཀྲྲ	ཀྲྲ
ga	ག		ག		ག	ག		ག	ག
gi	གི	གི	གི		གི	གི	གི	གི	གི
gu	གུ		གུ		གུ			གུ	གུ
ge	གེ		གེ		གེ			གེ	གེ
go	གོ	གོ	གོ		གོ	གོ	གོ	གོ	གོ
gya	གྱ		གྱ		གྱ	གྱ	གྱ	གྱ	གྱ
gyu	གྲ		གྲ		གྲ	གྲ	གྲ	གྲ	གྲ
gra	གྲི							གྲི	གྲི
gru	གྲུ							གྲུ	གྲུ
gla			གྲེ		གྲེ			གྲེ	གྲེ
rga	རྐ					རྐ		རྐ	རྐ
rgya	རྐྱ	རྐྱ	རྐྱ		རྐྱ	རྐྱ	རྐྱ	རྐྱ	རྐྱ
sga	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ		སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ	སྐྱ
sgru	སྐྲ		སྐྲ		སྐྲ	སྐྲ	སྐྲ	སྐྲ	སྐྲ
na	ང	ང	ང		ང	ང	ང	ང	ང

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY			C 1000-1200 A D			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern
	dbu	chan	dbu med	Atisa's time dbu chan	Kyelang document dbu	Ala inscriptions med	dbu	chan	
ni									ཀྲ
nu	ཀྲ	ཀྲ							ཀྲ
ne				ཀྲ					ཀྲ
no	ཀྲ								ཀྲ
na	ཀྲ		ཀྲ						ཀྲ
cha	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
chu	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
chu	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
che	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
cho	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
leha									ཀྲ
chha	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
chlu	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
chhu	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
chhe	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
chho	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
ja	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
ji	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
ju									ཀྲ
je									ཀྲ
jo	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
rj	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
ña	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
n̄u	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
n̄u	ཀྲ								ཀྲ
n̄e									ཀྲ
n̄o	ཀྲ								ཀྲ
rña			ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
sña	ཀྲ		ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ
ta	ཀྲ			ཀྲ					ཀྲ
ti	ཀྲ								ཀྲ
tu			ཀྲ	ཀྲ					ཀྲ

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY				C 1000-1200 A D			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER		Modern
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atlas & time dbu chan	Kyang document. dbu	Alci inscriptions med	dbu	chan	
te	ཏ	ཏ			ཏ					ཏ
to	ཏ					ཏ	ཏ			ཏ
rta	ར	ར	ར			ར				ར
lta	ལ	ལ	ལ		ལ					ལ
sta	ས	ས	ས	ས	ས	ས	ས	ས		ས
tra	ཏ									
tha	ཐ	ཐ	ཐ	ཐ	ཐ	ཐ		ཐ		ཐ
thi										
thu	ཐ		ཐ			ཐ				ཐ
the										
tho	ཐ	ཐ	ཐ		ཐ	ཐ		ཐ		ཐ
da	ད	ད	ད		ད			ད		ད
di	ད	ད	ད		ད			ད		ད
du	ད	ད	ད		ད			ད		ད
de	ད	ད	ད		ད			ད		ད
do	ད	ད	ད		ད			ད		ད
dra	ད	ད	ད		ད			ད		ད
dru	ད	ད	ད		ད			ད		ད
lda	ལ	ལ	ལ		ལ			ལ		ལ
sda	ས	ས	ས		ས			ས		ས
na	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ			ཏ		ཏ
ni	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ			ཏ		ཏ
nu	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ			ཏ		ཏ
no	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ			ཏ		ཏ
na	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ			ཏ		ཏ
sna	ས	ས	ས		ས			ས		ས
pa	པ	པ	པ		པ			པ		པ
pi	པ	པ	པ		པ			པ		པ
pu	པ	པ	པ		པ			པ		པ
pe	པ	པ	པ		པ			པ		པ
po	པ	པ	པ		པ			པ		པ
pra	པ	པ	པ		པ			པ		པ

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH 9TH CENTURY				C 1000—1200 A.D.				15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time dbu chan		Kyelang document dbu	Ala inscriptions med	dbu	chan	
pya	ཕ		ཕ	ཕ							ཕ
spa	ས		ས	ས							ས
spya	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ							སྤ
spra	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ							སྤ
pha	ཕ		ཕ	ཕ							ཕ
phu	ཕུ		ཕུ	ཕུ							ཕུ
phe	ཕེ		ཕེ	ཕེ							ཕེ
oho	ཨ		ཨ	ཨ							ཨ
phya	ཕམ		ཕམ	ཕམ							ཕམ
phra	ཕམ		ཕམ	ཕམ							ཕམ
ba	བ		བ	བ							བ
bi	བེ		བེ	བེ							བེ
bu	བུ		བུ	བུ							བུ
be	བེ		བེ	བེ							བེ
bo	བོ		བོ	བོ							བོ
bya	བྱ		བྱ	བྱ							བྱ
byu	བྱུ		བྱུ	བྱུ							བྱུ
bra	བར		བར	བར							བར
bru	བརུ		བརུ	བརུ							བརུ
bla	བལ		བལ	བལ							བལ
sba	སབ		སབ	སབ							སབ
sbya	སབྱ		སབྱ	སབྱ							སབྱ
mi	མ		མ	མ							མ
mi	མུ		མུ	མུ							མུ
nu	མུ		མུ	མུ							མུ
me	མེ		མེ	མེ							མེ
mo	མོ		མོ	མོ							མོ
mya	མཤ		མཤ	མཤ							མཤ
rma	རམ		རམ	རམ							རམ
sma	སམ		སམ	སམ							སམ
smya	སམཤ		སམཤ	སམཤ							སམཤ
tse	ཅ		ཅ	ཅ							ཅ

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET

PLATE V

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY				C 1000-1200 A D			15TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time. dbu chan	Kyelang document. dbu	Aici inscriptions med	dbu	chan	
tsi										མི
tsu										མུ
tse										མེ
tso										མོ
rtsa	འ		འ	འ						རྩ
stsa	ཤ ཤ ཤ		ཤ		ཤ	ཤ				ཤ
tsha	མ མ		མ	མ	མ	མ				མ
tshi	མི				མི	མི				མི
tshu					མུ	མུ				མུ
tshe	མེ		མེ		མེ	མེ				མེ
tsho	མོ		མོ		མོ	མོ				མོ
dza	འ		འ		འ	འ				འ
dzi	འི				འི	འི				འི
dzu										འུ
dze										འེ
dzo										འོ
rdza	རྩ									རྩ
wa										མ
wi										མི
wu										མུ
we										མེ
wo										མོ
za	མ		མ		མ	མ				མ
zi	མི				མི	མི				མི
zu	མུ				མུ	མུ				མུ
ze										མེ
zo										མོ
zla										མ

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY				C 1000-1200 A.D.			16TH 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern
	dba	chan	dba	med	Atīsa's time. dba chan	Kyelang document. dba	Ala inscriptions med	dba	chan	
'a	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'i	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'u	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'e	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'o	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ya	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yi	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yu	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ra	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ri	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ru	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
re	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ro	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
rla	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
la	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
li	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
lu	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
le	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
lo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
sa	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
si	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
su	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
se	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
so	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
sra	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
sla	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ

Our conclusion is, that the Lañtsha was introduced into Tibet about 1000 A D, and in this instance not from Northern, but from Eastern India. It should be remembered, that in the hill districts of Northern India, and probably in the plains of the Panjab also, Śāradā was used, and not Nāgarī. The Indian alphabet was adopted wholesale and practically unchanged, probably because it was intended to be used for Sanskrit exclusively.

This explains how the Tibetan tradition came to reverse the real facts. The Lañtsha used exclusively for the sacred language, was considered as the holy script, and consequently the belief arose that it was the original character from which the ordinary Tibetan alphabet was derived. The Vartula is only a variety of Lañtsha."

Although the Tibetan script has almost remained stationary since the eighth century, it has undergone a few slight changes, which help us roughly to date ancient documents and inscriptions. The following are the chief characteristics.

(1) The Stein MSS from Turkistan, and stone monuments from Lhasa, of the 8th or 9th century.—The *j* has only two parallel horizontal strokes to the right of the vertical stroke. The *t* in many cases looks as if the left half of the curve had not yet entirely disappeared. The shape of the *th* in many cases reminds us strongly of the old Brāhmī or Gupta form. The *b* is almost invariably of triangular shape. In one case the right vertical stroke of the *b* is prolonged below the line. The letter 'a' in many cases is furnished on the top with a short additional stroke. The *s* in many cases shows the structure of the *z* distinctly. In *s* the connecting line between the two vertical lines mostly proceeds from the lower end or the middle of the left vertical line. The *h* mostly has a horizontal position like the *h* of Central Asian Brāhmī.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is very often inverted, and, apparently in the older documents, joined to its consonant base. All the other vowel signs are joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant, with the exception of *ch*, *tsh*, *lh*, and *y*, where it is joined to the middle, and *l*, where it is joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is joined to the right lower end of the consonant. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the middle of the upper line of the consonant, with the exception of *s*, *m*, and *p*, where it is joined to the left upper end, and *l*, where it is occasionally joined to the right upper end. It is often of the shape of a whip.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The suffixed *d* (called *drag*) is used rather frequently, (b) subjoined *y* appears regularly below *m* when the latter is followed by *i* or *e*, (c) the articles *pho* and *pha* instead of *po* and *pa* are found occasionally, and also *chhin* instead of *chin* in the supine, *chhi* instead of *chi* as interrogative pronoun, (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a', (e) there are a good number of cases, where the final consonant of a syllable is written below the first consonant, (f) the euphonic laws are somewhat different from those of the present day, (g) aspirated consonants suffer a *g*, *d*, or *b* prefix to be placed before them (*gchhig*, *one*, etc).

(2) Documents of the 11th and 12th centuries, from Lahoul and Spiti.—The *b* is of quadrangular form, and all the consonants have their present beautiful shape.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is no longer inverted (with the exception of a few cases in *dBu med*), nor is it joined to its consonant base. The *o* vowel sign shows a tendency to be joined to the right upper end of its consonant base, but occasionally changes about, especially in the case of *s*. In *p* and *m* it is still joined to the left upper end. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the left upper end of the consonant base in the case of *s*, *m*, and *p* (probably). In most other cases it shows a tendency to being joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is always joined to the right lower end of its consonant base. In *dBu med*, the *u* vowel sign alone is joined to its consonant base.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The *drag* is still occasionally found, (b) the *ra* is mostly furnished with a subjoined *y*, when placed before *r* and *e*, (c) the articles *pha* and *pha*, the supine in *chhin*, and the pronoun *chhi* have disappeared, (d) the vowels *a* and *o* are still occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a', (e) the final consonant of a syllable is no longer written below the first consonant, (f) aspirated consonants do not any more suffer a *g*, *d*, or *b* prefix to be placed before them, (g) abbreviations of words appear, (h) inverted dental letters are used to express Sanskrit cerebrals (A few have already been used in the eighth or ninth century)

Sarat Ch Das attributes the work of increasing the Tibetan alphabet from 30 to 50 characters to Santa Rakshita of the 8th century, palaeographical evidence may be adduced to prove this. A few inverted dental letters occur in the documents of the Stein collection. Dr Vogel makes the following note on these new characters: "Another point is noteworthy. There are several letters which the Tibetan has not directly borrowed from India, but which are due to a secondary development in Tibet itself. They are the following, (a) Initials *ri*, *ri*, *ri*, and *li* derived from the signs for *r* and *l* with vowel marks. The long vowels have the 'a' attached beneath, (b) Medial aspirate *gha*, *gha*, *dha* and *bha* formed of the signs for *ga*, *ja*, *da*, and *ba* with addition of unscripted *ha*, (c) cerebrals *ra*, *pha*, *da*, and *na* formed by reversing the signs for the dentals *ra*, *tha*, *da*, and *na*, (d) cerebral sibilant *sha* formed by reversing the sign for the palatal sibilant *sa*"

(3) Stone inscriptions of the 15th and 16th century from Spiti, etc.—All the characters have their present form

Vowel signs—With the exception of the *r* vowel sign, the vowel signs are still joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the right upper end of the consonant base. This is particularly evident in the case of *p*, *m*, *l*, and *s*. The same may be said of the *e* vowel sign

Other characteristic marks—The *drag*, the *y* between *m* and *r* or *e*, and all the other characteristics of the ancient orthography have disappeared. I believe that with Buxton's edition of the great encyclopædias (1310 A D) the last remnants of the ancient orthography disappeared. I do not believe that there are any complete copies extant of the encyclopædias which exhibit the ancient orthography. According to Sarat Ch Das, it was Tsonkhapa (c 1400 A D) who introduced the new orthography

(4) Modern Tibetan Vowel signs—In *dBu chan*, none of the vowel signs is necessarily joined to its consonant base. In *dBu med*, only the *u* vowel sign may be joined to it. But the vowel signs are often found joined to their consonant bases, as was the case formerly

NO 26—LIST OF MINISTERS' NAMES FOUND IN THE TIBETAN INSCRIPTION
IN FRONT OF THE TA-CHAO-SSU-TEMPLE (JO-KHANG) IN LHASA, 822 A D.

BY A H FRANCE, PH D

On p 89 of Vol X of the *Epigraphia Indica* I published my reading of the text and a translation of the Tibetan part of the Tibeto-Chinese stone-inscription in front of the Ta chao-ssu Temple (Jo-Khang) in Lhasa. My reading of the Tibetan text was based on a rubbing of the inscription reproduced in Bushell's article "The Early History of Tibet"¹. My article treated only of the principal part of the inscription and did not take into account the list of names of Tibetan ministers which was inscribed on the same stone monument. That list is found reproduced on a second plate appended to Bushell's article. This reproduction is also

¹ *J. E. A. S.*, Vol XII, 1880, pp 535 ff

based on a rubbing stated to have been obtained at Peking in 1869, which was said then, from the condition of the paper, to date at least from the last century

When I had just written my first article on the Ta-chao-ssu inscription, Professor Waddell's first article on "Ancient Historical Edicts" came into my hands¹ At first, I did not feel sure whether it would be right to publish my translation in these circumstances, but as Professor Waddell did not announce a translation of the Mu-tsung inscription in his preface, but only expressed some doubts regarding it, which I did not share, I sent my translation to the press Since then, I have been in the pleasant position of catalogner of Sir Aurel Stein's Tibetan manuscripts from Turkistan, and my work on these documents has suddenly given new interest to the list of ministers' names, found on the north side of the stone I discovered that most of the names of ministers carved on the Lhasa stone monument, occur also in Sir Aurel Stein's documents, and this remark does not only hold true of the Mu-tsung edict of 822 A D, but also of the earlier Potala inscription of 730 A D The names of the ministers rJe-blas and sTag-sgra, found in that edict, also occur repeatedly among Sir Aurel Stein's excavated documents Thus, the name sTag-sgra is found in Nos MI, xlv, 7, and x, 95, and the name rJe-blas in Nos MI, xiv, 108, and xiv, 65, of the Stein collection The names Khri-bzer and sTag-bzer of the Potala inscription of 764 A D are found in M I xvi, 3

The ministers' names of the Mu-tsung edict are found in twenty short inscriptions in various states of preservation, which are separated from one another by Chinese inscriptions The following article does not deal with the latter

No 1.

Text	Bod-chhen-poi-blou- dum-gyi thabs-dan-myin-rus	'adzinbai-gtogs-	Translation	Titles, names, and clan-names of the ministers of great Tibet who have seized the [agreement] and . . others
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NOTES Rus is probably the same as rus pa, bone, clan; dum I cannot explain, 'adzin ba instead of 'adzin-pa is often found in ancient documents

No 2

Text	Bod-chhen-poi-chhab srid-kyi-blou-po-chhen- la-gtogs pai-thabs dan-myin- rus	Translation	Titles, names, and clans of the great ministers of the govern- ment of great Tibet, attached to and others
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No. 3

Text	khā-chhen-po-la-gtogs te- sa-la-dban-zin-ohhab-srid- 'adzin dpal chhen-po . .	Translation belonging to the great (heaven?), seizing the govern- ment, and reigning on earth, . . . great glory . . .
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No 4

Text:	gy(1)-go-chhog-gi	Translation of the highest(?) . .
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NOTE chhog may stand for mchhog, best

No 5

Text	blon-chhen-po-blou-l	Translation	The great minister, minister L
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¹ J. E. A. S., 1909, p 923r

No. 6.

Text (blon-dmag) Translation (crowd of ministers?) . . .

No 7

Text. (blon rgyal) Translation (royal minister ?)
(or minister and king ?)

No. 8.

Indistinct

No 9

Text chhab-srid Translation government
Khod-ne-stan, Khod-ne-stan

The name *Khod ne stan* has not yet been found in the Stein collection

No 10

Text chhab-srid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po- Translation The great minister of the gov-
lan-khri-bzer- ernment, uncle Khri-bzer-lha-
lha-mthon mthon

NOTES The word *lan* 'uncle,' in connect on with names of ministers is repeatedly found among the Stein relics. It may be compared to the title *agu*, 'uncle,' of the heroes of the *Kesar Saga*. The name *Khri bzer* is probably the personal name, and *lha mthon* (god seer) may be a clan name.

The name *Khri bzer* is found in the following documents of the Stein collection: M Tagh, aV, 0015, aIV, 00122, bI, 0092, MI, 1, 23, xvi, 1, 3, xxviii, 0016, etc.

The name *lha-mthon* has been found only once, viz. in M Tagh, aI, 0012.

No 11

Text chhab-srid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po- Translation The great minister of the
blon-rgyal-bzan- government, minister rGyal-bzan-
'adus-(r)kan 'adus-(r)kan

NOTES Here again, as in all the following cases, I take the first name as the personal name, and the second as the clan name.

The name *rGyal bzan* occurs in MI, xiv, 108g, and xiv, 0016 of the Stein relics. The name *'aDus rkan* has not yet been found.

No 12

Text: Bod-chhen-po-blon-po . . . l-gyi- Translation Titles, names, and clan-
thabs-dan- names of the . . . ministers
myin-rus, of great Tibet

No 13

Text: Nan-blom-mchhums-zan-rgyal- Translation The perfect minister of
bzer-khod-ne- Inner Affairs, uncle rGyal-bzer-
brtsan khod-ne-brtsan.

NOTES *mchhums* is probably connected with *'achhums pa*, to be full, perfect.

The name *rGyal-bzer* occurs in the following documents of the Stein collection: M Tagh, aIV, 00122, bI, 0092, bI, 0095, bI, 00104, MI, xxx, 001, xlii, 002. In No. M Tagh, bI, 0096, we find the name *rGyal-bzer-legs brtsan*.

The name *Khod ne* has not yet been discovered in the Stein collection.

No 14

Text: Phyi-blon-bkā-la-gtogs-pa-
chog-ro-
blon-btsan-bzer-lha-gon-

Translation · The minister of Chog-ro, who
is under the command of the minister
of Outer Affairs, bTsan-bzer-lha-
gon

NOTES *Chog ro* is the well known name of a province

The name *bTsan bzer* is found in the following of Sir Aurel Stein relics M Tagh, aII, 0057, MI, xxvii, 19 —
The name *lHa gon* occurs in MI, xiv, 58 in the following connections 'O nas lha gon and dBan : lha-
gon

No 15

Text . . . mehhims-zau-brtan-
bzer-stag-
tsab(tsan²)

Translation The perfect , uncle
brTan-bzer-stag-(tsab).

NOTES The name *brTan bzer* has not yet been found in the Stein's relics

No 16

Text mNan-pon(Kha-ba-soi-slog-
gi-bla 'abal)-blon-
Klu-bzan-myes-rma

Translation The lord of curses (magician)
the superior of Kha-ba-soi-(slog²),
minister Klu-bzan-myes-rma

NOTES *Pon*, instead of *dpon*, master, several syllables between *Khab* and 'abal are indistinct *Kha ba so*
are mentioned as officials in the account of *gNya khri btsan-po* in the *La dtags rgyal-rabs*

For the name *Klu-bzan* see No 17 A name similar to *myes rma* is found in No MI, xxiv, 0034 of Sir Aurel
Stein's relics, in the name *Lan khrug sme-rma* Let me add that several ancient names contain the syllable
myes as well as *rma* as one of their parts in the Stein collection

No 17.

Text. bKai-phr(i)n-blon. . . . n-ka-
blon stag-bzer-(hab²)-
(nyen)

Translation The minister who announ-
ces the orders, . . . minister sTag-
bzer-(hab-nyen²)

NOTES The name *sTag bzer* is found in the following of the Stein documents MI xxvii, 19, xxviii, 5,
xxviii, 0039, 0041, xlii, 2, xvi, 3 — In No MI xvi, 19, the name *sTag bzer legs kon* is found

No. 18

Text. rTsis-ba-chhen-po. . . . blon-
stag-
gzigs

Translation The great accountant,
. . . . minister sTag-gzigs

NOTES *rTsis-ba*, instead of ordinary *rTsis-pa* The name *sTag-gzigs* has not yet been found in
the Stein relics

No 19.

Text. Phyi-blon zan-klu-bzan

Translation The minister of Outer Affairs,
. . . . uncle Klu-bzan,

NOTES The name *Klu-bzan* is found in the following of the Stein documents M Tagh, aII, 0078, MI,
xxvii, 19

No 20

Text · Z'al-che-ba-chhen-po-zal-
blon-rgyal . . .

Translation The great judge, the minister
of judgment, rGyal . . .

NOTES *che ba* instead of ordinary *chhe pa*. Unfortunately, the name of the minister has not been preserved
in full, there are many names, beginning with *rgyal*, occurring in the Stein relics

GENERAL NOTE Let me add that in the ancient documents of Sir Aurel Stein's collection, we generally find
only the personal names of the ancient ministers, preceded by their titles It is only in rarer cases that we find the
personal names and clan names combined My explanation of this fact would be that in all those cases, where the
personal name alone is given, we may be sure that the document deals with the 'famous' minister, whose personal
name and clan-name are both found on the Mu-tsung monument But there were certain officials, whose personal
names were in agreement with those of one or other of the famous ministers, but whose clan name differed from
theirs It is only in such cases, as I believe, that the documents of the Stein collection give both names, so as
not to leave any doubt with regard to the identity of the person in question

In conclusion let me say that up to this I have examined more than six hundred of Sir Aurel Stein's relics.

No 27 — TIWARKHED PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA, SAKA 553

BY RAI BAHADUR HIMALAL, B A

Tiwarkhēd is a small village on the south bank of the Ambhōrā-nadi, in the Multāi tahsil of the Bētūl District in the Central Provinces. It is 14 miles south of the Multāi town which is 29 miles south-east of Badnūr, the head-quarters of Bētūl District. The village has no ancient remains except a mud fort built as a protection from the Pindāri free-booters during the declining period of the Nāgpur Bhonslā rulers. This *garhē*, as it is called, is now dug up in several places, and the site occupied by the villagers. Within its premises Nandgiri Gosain, a resident of Tiwarkhēd, built a new house about 40 years ago. While digging for the foundations he came upon a set of copper-plates, but not knowing what they were, he stowed them away in his lumber room, where they continued to enjoy the same obscurity as they had done underground, until Mr Balwant Singh, Sub-Inspector of Police, Multāi Station house, visited the village in the beginning of the year 1910, when Bāpūji Gosain (son of Nandgiri now dead) observing that the plates contained some curious writing presented them to him for decipherment. Mr Balwant Singh treated the plates with nitric acid to remove the accretions of centuries and then kindly forwarded them to me. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that the Multāi plates referring to the same line of kings were also found in the custody of a Gosain¹

Our plates are two in number, each measuring $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. They are substantial, being $\frac{1}{8}''$ thick. Each plate is inscribed on one side only, the inscribed surface giving an appearance of a depression owing to the edges having been made slightly thicker. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation except that the left top corner of the first plate and the left bottom corner of the second one are a little bit corroded, still the lettering is pretty clear. The ring which was uncut when it reached my hands has a seal on a flattened out surface. It is oval in shape and bears the stamp of a figure which is now indistinguishable, but the legend *śrī-Yuddhīśura* underneath, is fairly distinct. The record contains 16 lines, each plate bearing 8 lines. Under the eighth line the word *svahastēna* is inscribed, but this word occurs in its proper place in line 11. On the margin of the second plate there appear to be 3 figures and 2 letters (probably after-additions) engraved one under the other, which I read as 553 *shāra*,² meaning apparently 'the year 553'

The characters of the record belong to the northern class of alphabets. The engraving is well done throughout. The average size of letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The orthographical peculiarities worth notice are — (1) the doubling of the letter with a *rēpha* on, as in *visīrnnē* (l 1 f), but this is not uniform as in *-Durgarājā* (l 2) *ga* has not been doubled, (2) the two different ways in which the vowel sign of *ē* has been expressed as in *Rāshtrakūtānvaṃyē* (l 1 f) of which the *ē* of *yē* is formed by attaching the sign to the letter instead of superscribing it as in *grāmē* (l 9), (3) the letter *t* has been doubled before *r* in *sagōttrāya* (l 6) and *puttrāya* (l 7) and *dh* before *y* in *Mādhyandina-*, l 7, (4) the sign of *ā* attached to the letters *j* and *t* is represented by an upward stroke, instead of a downward one, as in *jā* of *-Durgarājā* (l 2) and in *tā* of *Munḍibhattāya* (l 7), (5) *b* is not distinguished from *v* as in *-vrahmanya* (l 5). Final form of *t* occurs in line 2.

The language is Sanskrit, but the record seems to have been composed by a clerk who did not properly remember the *ślōkas* in praise of the dynasty mentioned in the plates. He therefore introduced prose, maintaining the sense, if not the original wording which, if correctly put in, would have turned the first 6 lines into verse. At present, they are a mixture of verse and prose.

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVIII p 230, et seq

² This word seems to have some connection with the Hindi word *sāla* 'year,' unless it is a mistake for *Śāla*. [As will be seen from the accompanying photo lithograph the first two figures look very much like the English numeral 5. *Shāra* is probably meant for *Shāka* — V V.]

Commencing with *vistīrnā* in line 1 to *-Durgarājā(jō) nripah* in line 2 there is the first half of a *Śārdūlatīkṛīḍita* verse, the other half of which may be completed from the Multāi plates, where it is given in full¹. Again in line 4 if we find a quarter of the same kind of verse beginning with *dānārdrīkṛīḍita* and ending with *dupēndrāyitam*. In line 6 we again find a quarter of a *Vasantatīlaka* verse beginning with *srī Nannarāja* and ending with *-chand[r*]ah*. All the rest is prose except a benedictive quotation in line 12. It is again the first half of a verse incorrectly quoted, other words of similar meaning having been inserted for words forgotten, thereby affecting the metre. It appears to me that the record being a business matter, no great attention was paid to formal portions which were copied from memory in the office of the record-keeper, wherewith synonymous words were sometimes substituted for the original ones without any consideration for metre².

The inscription refers itself to the Rāshtrakūta dynasty of which four kings are mentioned. It records a grant of land in the villages Tivārēkhēta and Ghūkhētā situated on the south bank of the Amvēnaraka-nadī, to one Mundibhatta, son of Svāmībhatta, a Mādhyandina Brāhmana of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, by king Nannarāja³ (Nandarāja ?). The grant was made on two occasions, viz. on the Mahākārttikī day and on a solar-eclipse, the latter at the Kapilā-tīrtha. Apparently the Rāja went to bathe there and made the gift, as did his two principal officers, Gōvinda in charge of religious affairs and Narasiṅgha (Narasimha) the minister for peace and war, who gave away 10 *navarānas* (of land) of Karañjamalaya on the eastern bank of the Sārasavāhalā and the Darbhavāhalā. The charter was afterwards issued from Achalapura and is dated in the Śaka year 553 increased by eight months, i.e. in the month of Kārttika as specified in the text. The date corresponds to October 631 A.D.

It does not, however, appear that there was a solar-eclipse in the month of Kārttika. Mr. Gōkul Prasād Īśwardās (now Tahsildār of Hōshīngābād) informs me that there was a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 553 on the *amāvāsya* of Māgha (27th January, 632 A.D.) i.e. after our charter was given away. But the solar-eclipse referred to must have occurred prior to the date of the issue of the charter. In the Śaka year 553 current, there were two eclipses, a total one in the month of Śaravana on the 13th August 630 A.D. and an annular one in the month of Māgha on 7th February 631 A.D. The total eclipse having occurred at night was not visible, but the annular one was, as it occurred 17 minutes after sunrise. The former took place on a Monday and the latter on a Thursday. Thus while a grant made on an *amāvāsya* falling on Monday (*sōmaratī*) coupled with a total eclipse would be more meritorious than that made on a Thursday with an annular eclipse, it is possible that the visibility of the latter may have counterbalanced other considerations and invested it with greater importance. So the greater likelihood is that the grant was made on the 7th February 631 A.D. And this date falls much nearer the date of the issue of the charter than the other.

With regard to the history of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, this record does not throw any additional light on what is known from the Multāi plates. It gives the same information (in rather a vague form on account of its defective composition) as the Multāi record, mentioning Durgarāja as the original ancestor, whose son was Gōvindarāja, from whom was born Svāmīkarāja, whose son was Nannarāja (Nandarāja), whose second name Yuddhāsura occurs on the seal. Our charter is, however, very important from one point of view. In the Multāi plates no less than five villages are mentioned, viz. the village granted with four others which bounded it on its

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234.

² [The text is so full of mistakes that the exact sense of the original is not apparent in several cases. For instance the part played by Śamragana (if it has to be taken as a proper name) in line 9, is obscure. No attempt is therefore made to correct the text - V V.]

³ In the Multāi plates the name of the king is *Nandarāja*. The name *Nanna* in the Rāshtrakūta family is also known from later times. A grant of Śankaragana, the son of Nanna, the son of Kakkarāja, dated Saka 715, has been published above, Vol. IX, pp. 193 ff.

four sides. None of these has been as yet identified. Dr Fleet writing in 1889 remarked — 'Mr Ommanney reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multāi District nor could he discover any at all like them at Hōshangābād or Jabalpur. It is therefore not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long a time. All that can be said on this point is that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India, or of the Central Provinces¹. On 30th July 1909 Dr Fleet wrote to me, 'It would be a valuable bit of work if you can locate this record. It is important to decide by identification of places, what locality it does belong to, because it has a bearing on three leading matters — (a) the origin of that branch of the Rāshtrakūtas which had the Garuḍa crest, (b) the northern or southern use of the Śaka era, (c) the origin of that particular type of Nāgarī. It is almost impossible that all these 5 villages should have ceased to exist. But though some years ago I closely examined many sheets of the Indian Atlas I could not locate them. All the probabilities are that this record belongs to the south of the Narbadā. I have practically satisfied myself that the places do not exist in Gujarāt and Khāndēsh'. Although it has not been possible for me to locate with anything like certainty the villages of the Multāi plates, our present charter has come to light as if to solve the difficulty which antiquarians have felt for the last twenty years or for the matter of that for three quarters of a century calculating from the date of the first discovery of the Multāi plates. The fact of the Rāshtrakūta domination on the Multāi plateau is now once for all fully established inasmuch as our plates were found in the very village where Nannarāja granted lands to Mundibhatta. Tivērēkhēta of the inscription is undoubtedly the present Tiwarkhēd and the Amvēviaraka-nadī the Ambhōrā nadī on whose south bank the present village is still situated. As noted above, the engraver has made no difference between *b* and *v*. The real name of the river appears to have been Ambēviara, *ka* being a pedantic addition to make it sound like Sanskrit. According to the record Ghūikhēta should also be somewhere near the Ambhōrā-nadī, but it is untraceable now. There is one Ghūikhēd, about 40 miles south of Tiwarkhēd in the Chāndūr tāluk of the Amraoti District of Berār, but I do not find the river running to it. About 55 miles from Tiwarkhēd lies the town of Ellichpur (commonly pronounced Elachpur or Alachpur) which I take to be the corrupted form of Achalapura from whence our charter purports to have been issued. Ellichpur is a well known historical² place and was the headquarters of a district until 1905. The transposition of letters *cha* and *la* in *Achalapura* to *Alachapura* is of the same category which changed the old name of Benares from *Vānārasi* to *Vārānasi*³. Even at the present day we often hear *Lakhnau* pronounced as *Nakhlan* and *matlab* as *matbal*. In the Nirvāna-kānda of a Prākṛit work of the Jains there is mention of Achalapura as follows —

*Achhalapuravaranyadē isānarbhāya-Mēdhugirisiharē
āhutthayakōdīō nvvānagayā namō tēsīm*

'On the summit of Mēdhugiri near the good town of Achhalapura towards north-east (of it) three and a half crores (of saints) obtained salvation. I bow down to them.'

This Mēdhugiri or Mendhagiri is now better known as Muktagiri,⁴ a hillock on which several Jain temples are constructed, which contain idols dated in the 14th century A D. It is only

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVIII, pp 230-231

² Chammak, the old Charmānka, which was granted by a Vākātaka king is only 6 miles from Ellichpur, see *Gupta inscriptions*, p 236

³ In the Nirvāna kānda, a manuscript preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona, the name of Benares appears as *Vānārasi*, whereas latterly elsewhere we have it as *Vārānasi*

A modern recorded example of similar transposition may be seen in Mr R. Hughes Buller's Census Report of Baluchistan for 1901 where on p 99 he says "The Mengāls, Bizānjos and Zahris, the three largest of the Brahui tribes are termed *Jadgāl* or *Jagdāl*"

⁴ See *Retul District Gazetteer* (1907), p 249



6 miles north-east of Ellichpur and is classed as a *Siddha-kshētra* by the Jainas. It is visited by the pilgrims of that community from all parts of India. In the Śīnikā-Purāna¹ of the Jainas the name of the town again appears without transposition of letters. These references not only prove the identity but indicate that Ellichpur was an important place in olden days and that the Rāshtrakūtas had made it the head-quarters of a province if not their capital which is believed to have been at Mākhēd further south. The old name Achalapura was apparently given to Ellichpur with a certain meaning, as the latter is situated just at the foot of the Satpura Hills (*achala*). With regard to other places mentioned in the inscription, the Sārasavāhalā and Darbhavāhalā appear to have been streamlets which I have been unable to identify. It is not clear what Karañjamalaya was. It may have been a village, in which case it may be identified with one of the numerous Kāranjas in Berār. If it was a forest of *karañja* or *lanjya* trees (*Pongamia glabra*) or a field having *karañja* trees, it would now be very difficult to identify with certainty even if we came upon a forest or field having these trees.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Om² [||*] Svasty=Acha[la]pur[ā]d=[||*]Vist[i]nnō sthiti-pālan-āpti-yāsasi si-Rāshtrakū-
- 2 t-ānrayē ramyē kshira-middhā(dhā)v=iv=ēndui=abhavat śrī-Durgarājā(jō) uripah tasyavātta³
- 3 tmaja[h*] śrī-Gōvīndarājah māsi⁴ tasy-ātmajah ātman(n)y=āhita-śakt[i]-sompāna⁵-pra-
- 4 kriti-mandala-sri-Svāmīkarāja[s=ta*]sya tanayō dānārdrikṛita-pāna(ṇi)nā pratidi-
- 5 nam yēna dvīpēndrayitam parama-vra(bra)hmanya[h*] prāpta-pañcha-mahāśa-
- 6 v(b)da[h*] śrī-Nannarāja itī sarvva narēndra-chand[r*]ah Bhāradvāja-sagōtrā-
- 7 ya Mādhyandina-Svāmībhata⁶-puttrāya Mundibhattāya Trivērēkhēta
- 8 Amvēviaraka-[na*]di-dakshina-tatē pañchāśa Māhakārttikī⁷ (svahastēna⁸)

Second Plate

- 9 śrī-Samraganēnā⁹ Mandibhattasya Ghūikhēta¹⁰-grāmē A[mvē]-
- 10 via[ra*]ka-nadi-dakshinē tatē pañchāśa ādityōparāgē
- 11 Kapilā-ti[rthē] svahasta(stē)na pratipādītam [||*] Uktañ=cha Vēda-Vyā-
- 12 sēna [||*] Shashta samvachchhara¹¹-sahasīnāi svargē tishta bhūmidā¹²
- 13 Sārasavāhalā-pūrvvē tatē Karañjamalaya Darbhavā-
- 14 halā-pūrvva-tatē daśa-nivarttanāni dharmmahāśa¹³ Gōvi-

¹ [Śīnikāpurāna is the name of a work by Subhachandra preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona -V V]

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read *tasy=av=ā-*

⁴ Read *āsīt*

⁵ Read *-sompāna-*

⁶ Read *-bhāṭṭa-*

⁷ Probably *Māhākārttikyām*

⁸ The word *svahastēna* has been added under the line and probably applies to the correction which is made at the end of this line. The syllables *māhakārttikī* are entered over an erasure.

⁹ Probably *Samkaraganēna*

¹⁰ [On the impression and on the plate the reading seems to be °*khetā*° -V V]

¹¹ Read *shashṭim varsha*^o

¹² Read *tishṭhati bhūmidāḥ*

¹³ Read *dharmahāśa* or *dharmānkuta*

15 nda-mahāsandhivigraha-Narasimgha¹-sahitā² || Śaka kāl-samyachchha(ṭṣ)ra-

16 śatīshu pa[m]cha[su*] [tra]ya[h*]-ḍamchāsa-varshādhitīshu ashtamaśābhyatikīshu³

TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! From Achalapura In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious Rāshtra-kūta lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability there was (born) a king, the illustrious Durgarāja, just as in the (broad and charming) ocean of milk (was produced the moon) His own son was the illustrious Gōvīndarāja His son was the illustrious Svāmīkarāja, possessed of a host of subjects acquired by self-centred prowess His son, who resembles the lord of elephants in having his hand moistened (with the water poured) at donations (*dāna*) while the elephant has the trunk wet with the ruddy juice (*dāna*),⁴ (is) called the illustrious Nannarāja, who is most kind to the Brāhmanas, who has attained the five great sounds and who is the moon amongst all the kings

To Mundibhatta son of Svāmibhatta, of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra (and) the Mādhyandina- (*śākhā*), fifty (*nīrtanas*⁵ of land) in Tivērēkhēta (village) on the south bank of the Amvēnaraka river (were given) through the illustrious Śam[ka]ragana on the Mahākārttikī (day) To (the same) Mundibhatta were given by our own hand at the Kapilā-tīrthā, fifty (*nīrtanas* of land) in the Ghūkhēta village on the south bank of the Amvēnaraka river, on (the occasion of) a solar eclipse

And it has been said by (Vyāsa) the arranger of the Vedas —The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years

Ten *nīrtanas* (of land) on the east bank of Sārasavāhalā (and) on the east bank of Darbhavāhalā of Karañjamalaya (were given) (perhaps to the same donee) jointly by the Superintendent of religious affairs (*dharmaśāsa*) Gōvīnda and the Great Minister for peace and war (*mahāsandhivigrahin*) Narasimha

In five centuries of years increased by fifty-three years (and) also increased by eight months of the Śaka era.

¹ Read -Narasimha

² Read -sahitar

³ Read -māsābhyatikīshu

⁴ I am indebted to Mr Venkayya for drawing my attention to the pun on the word *dāna* in this sentence

⁵ *Nīrtana* is a land-measure which the dictionaries give as equivalent to 20 rods. The word occurs in a commentary on *śloka* 21, chapter 140 of the Śāntiparvan in the Mahābhārata *yaś kirāṭaś śalam nīrtanaṅī śākūṁś karshati tēna viśhīrūpēna rājakiyam api nīrtanaradāśalar karshaniyam sriyavad rakshariyam cha*. From enquiries which I personally made in Berar, I came across some old men both of the literate and the illiterate class who told me that in their younger days, about 50 years ago, a land measure called *retana* equal to 9 *biglas* was in use, and that 13 *netanas* made a *chāhur* which is still in use and is equal to 120 *biglas*. In Berar a *bigla* is 2,670 sq yds. A *netana* would, therefore, be equal to 2,670 × 9 or 24,030 sq yds., a little less than 5 acres or 20 rods which contain 24,200 sq yds. Taken with reference to a *chāhur* of 120 *biglas* a *retana* would be equal to 9 $\frac{2}{3}$ *biglas* or 24,645 sq yds., i.e. slightly in excess of 5 acres. In popular calculations such complex fractions as $\frac{2}{3}$ are often neglected and it seems to me that the real value of a *netana* was somewhere midway between 9 and 9 $\frac{2}{3}$ *biglas* and thus would be 5 acres or 20 rods. I therefore feel no hesitation in holding that *netana* is a corruption of the old *nīrtana*. In the *sannads* in possession of the Berar jagirdars *netana* occurs as a land measure. That the use of the *netana* measure was much prevalent in the Deccan may be inferred from the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I of A.D. 674 (about the same period as our grant), above, Vol. X, pp. 102 to 105.

No 28—THE PARIKUD PLATES OF MADHYAMARAJADEVA,

By R. D. BANERJEE, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

The plates bearing the subjoined inscription were sent in 1906 to the late Dr. Theodor Bloch, then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, by Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S., Magistrate of the Puri District of Bengal. They were handed over to me by Dr. Bloch in 1908 for decipherment. I finished my article early in 1909 and gave the paper to Dr. Bloch, but he fell ill after looking through the transcript of the first plate and never recovered sufficiently so as to be able to finish it. The plates were not presented to the Indian Museum and consequently there is no record of them in that office. I had only heard from Dr. Bloch that they had come from Pārikud in the Puri District.¹ When I was touring in that district for collecting specimens for the Indian Museum, in September 1910, I learnt from Mr. J. Clarke, I.C.S., the then Magistrate, that the plates belonged to the Rāja of Pārikud who had no intention of presenting them to the Museum. The plates will, accordingly, be sent back to the Rāja after publication. I am obliged to Mr. Clarke for the following information about the plates. The name of the present owner is Śrī-Gaurīchandra-Mānasīnha Hanu-chandana Mardarāja Bhāmaravara Rāja, Rāja Bahādur of Pārikud. The Rāja is not able to trace which of his ancestors first secured the plates and from what source they were received, nor is he able to state the locality in which they were discovered. The plates used to be preserved in his record room. Mr. Clarke kindly procured for me the genealogical tree of the Pārikud family, but I find that none of the kings mentioned in the subjoined inscription could be traced in the copy sent to me, though I heard from Mr. Clarke that the Rājas of Pārikud claim to have been descended from the kings mentioned in the copper-plate record.

The inscription is incised on three thin plates of copper, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'$ and held together by a circular ring of the same metal whose diameter is roughly $3\frac{1}{2}'$. To this ring was affixed a seal of some other metal, presumably brass (?), of which, however, there remains only a mutilated part and the solid base in which the edges of the ring are fixed. The last of the plates is broken in the right upper corner, while the first shows a slit from the ring-hole to the edge, as in the case of the Bugnda plates of Mādhavavarman.² This record which has been engraved on the second side of the first plate, and on both sides of the other two plates has already appeared in the *Vaṅgiya-Sāhitya-Parīśad-Patrickā*.³ It refers itself to the reign of Mādhyamarājadeva of the Śailōdbhava family who ruled in the Kōngōda-mandala. The language of the grant is very incorrect Sanskrit and the record has been very carelessly incised. Doubling of consonants has been avoided, and almost invariably letters are left out at the ends of words. There is one incorrectly spelt word in the inscription, which is quite unintelligible to me. It is *israkē* in l. 49.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village in the Katakabhukti-vishaya to twelve Brāhmanas, viz. Śīlasvāmi, Gōvardhanasvāmi, Vāndhusvāmi, Kavadisvāmi, Nārāyanasvāmi, Mādhavasvāmi, Bharanisvāmi, Durgasvāmi, Ādīśvāmi, Rājasvāmi, Śīlasvāmi and Sukhasvāmi.

¹ [It may be noted that these plates were sent to the office of the Assistant Archaeologist, Eastern Circle, in Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1906 by Mr. D. P. Bhandarkar while the latter was the acting Archaeologist and Surveyor of the Bengal Circle. The plates were returned to Mr. Bhandarkar with a set of ink impressions for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vide Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Appendix A, No. 8). The accompanying photo-lithographic plate is prepared from the impressions supplied by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent's office (Madras).—V. V.]

² Above, Volume III, p. 41 f.

³ Volume XVI, p. 193.

The inscription supplies the new word *timmira* which is not found in published copper-plates, in the phrase *diādasa-timmira-pramāna*, l 44 Perhaps "*timmira*" is the correct spelling. The new verses of the inscription, which are not found in the Buguda plates, contain nothing of importance. I could only infer from them that the kingdom of Madhyamarāja contained all sorts of hermits (vv 12 and 13). There is no mention of the doings of the king. We may gather, however, that he was a man of great strength (v 17), a capable archer comparable to the son of Prithā (i.e. Arjuna) (v 16) and an ardent devotee of Śiva (vv 14 and 15). The inscription is dated twice: 1st, in the regnal year twenty-six: *shad-viṅśatimē vijaya-vardhamāna-rājyē* (l 45) and again at the end, in an era which has not been specified.¹ The letters on the third plate have suffered very much from corrosion and the numerals of the date have become very indistinct. I find on prolonged examination that the numerals are 80, 8, but Messrs Venkayya and Krishna Sastri to whom the paper was first submitted are of opinion that nothing whatever can be discovered. If my reading of the date be correct, I would refer it to the Harsha era, though no instance of the use of this era has so far been found in Orissa.² If my views be correct, the date of the grant would be $88 + 606 = 694$ A D.

Up to this date three inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of the Kōngōda-maṇḍala have been published — The Buguda plates of Mādhavarman,³ (2) the Ganjam plates of the time of Śasānkarāja,⁴ and (3) the Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja.⁵

The first part of the inscription on the Pārikud plates is in verse, like that of the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman, and the first nine verses of both are identical. The tenth verse of the Buguda grant is not to be found in this record and the eleventh verse of that record appears as the tenth of the Pārikud inscription. The Buguda grant furnishes the genealogy of the family from Raṇabhīta to Sainyabhīta, while the Pārikud grant carries the genealogy two generations further.

The following tables show the genealogy according to the Buguda and Pārikud grants. —

<i>Buguda plates</i>	<i>Pārikud plates</i>
Śailōdbhava (<i>in his family</i>)	Śailōdbhava (<i>in his family</i>)
Raṇabhīta	Raṇabhīta
Sainyabhīta I. (<i>in his family</i>)	Sainyabhīta I (<i>in his family</i>)
Yaśōbhīta	Yaśōbhīta I
Mādhavarman Sainyabhīta II	Sainyabhīta II
	Yaśōbhīta II
	Madhyamarāja

¹ [From the accompanying photo lithographic plate it will be clear that the date is here very badly damaged. What is seen is a circle which may denote 20. It is just possible that the regnal year of the king is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *samvatsarē* — V V.]

² It may have been imported from Northern India as was the Gupta era in the case of the date of the Ganjam plates of the time of Śasānka, above Vol VI, p 143. [Palæography is hardly in favour of this early date. Professor Kielhorn thought that the Buguda plates, which are earlier, may belong to the 10th century; see above, Vol. VII, p 102 — S K.]

³ Above, Vol III, pp 41 ff and Vol VII, pp 100 ff. and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol VI, pp 143 ff.

⁵ J. A. S. B., Vol LXXIII, Pt. I, 1904, pp 282 ff.

The Khurda and Ganjam plates mention three generations only —

Khurda plates.

Sanyabhita
|
Yaśobhita
|
Mādhavarāja

Ganjam plates

Mādhavarāja
|
Yaśobhita
|
Mādhavarāja II

(619-20 A.D.)

Both of these plates, like the Buguda and Pārikud grants, were issued from the Kōngōda-mandala and the similarity in names as well as the name Sanyabhita found on the seals of the Buguda, Ganjam and Khurda grants leads one to believe that Mādhava was the surname of both Yaśobhita's father and son. But the characters of the Ganjam and Khurda grants are much older than those of the Buguda and Pārikud plates. It may be that the former were written in the current alphabet of North Eastern India while in the latter the alphabet prevalent in the Northern Circars, was used.¹ If the four grants be held to belong to the same country, then it may be affirmed with some degree of certainty that the Sanyabhita of the Khurda grant is the same as the Sanyabhita I of the Buguda and Pārikud grants. As Yaśobhita is a common factor, we have to admit that Sanyabhita II is the same person as Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjam plates.

It is not certain whether Yaśobhita II and Madhyamarāja are different persons. When the late Professor Kielhorn published the Buguda grant for the first time, he was of opinion that Mādhavarāman was a son of Sanyabhita II.² Dr. Hultzsch, in his paper on the Ganjam grant of the time of Śaśānkadēva,³ pointed out that Sanyabhita was probably a surname of Mādhavarāman, and this view was subsequently also adopted by Professor Kielhorn.⁴ A similar case occurs in this inscription also. In the metrical portion of this inscription, there is nothing to show that there was any relationship whatsoever between Yaśobhita II and Madhyamarājadēva. In ordinary circumstances and on the analogy of the Buguda inscription, it may be assumed that Madhyamarāja is a *bruda* of Yaśobhita II, but there is one small phrase, the import of which, though very weak, yet may prove that king Madhyamarāja was a son of Yaśobhita II. This is the phrase in the 27th line — *Madhyamarājadēva-guna-dhṛid-rājyam pituḥ prāptavān*. The word *pituḥ* may refer to Yaśobhita II.

The inscription records the grant of a village in the Katakabhukti-vishaya. As the king addresses the officers of the Kōngōda-mandala, it is apparent that the village was situated in that district. The identity of Kōngōda with Kong-u-t'o is, perhaps, well known.⁵ Very little can be added to Dr. Kielhorn's remarks about the characters of these inscriptions in his note on the Buguda plates.⁶ The king Madhyamarāja had performed the *vājapēya* and *āsvamēdha* sacrifices (ll 38-39). He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and the fact that he performed the *āsvamēdha* sacrifice shows that he claimed the rank of a supreme monarch (*chakravartin*).

¹ [It is difficult to follow Mr. Banerji when he says that the alphabet of the Ganjam and Khurda plates is much older than that of the Buguda and Pārikud plates and at the same time asserts they may be local varieties current simultaneously — V. V.]

² Above, Vol. III, p 42.

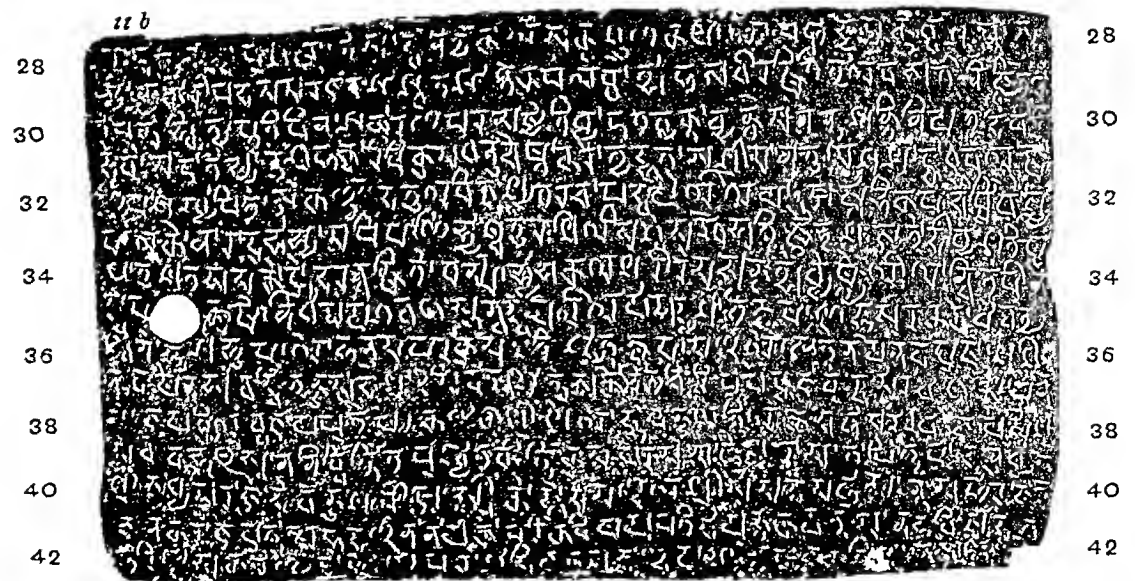
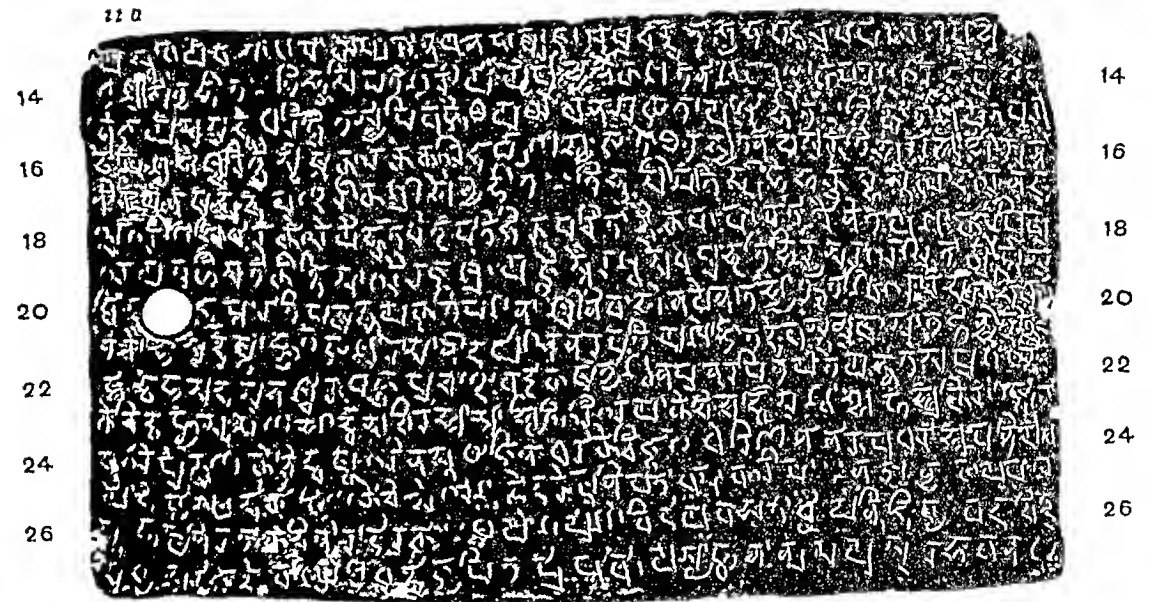
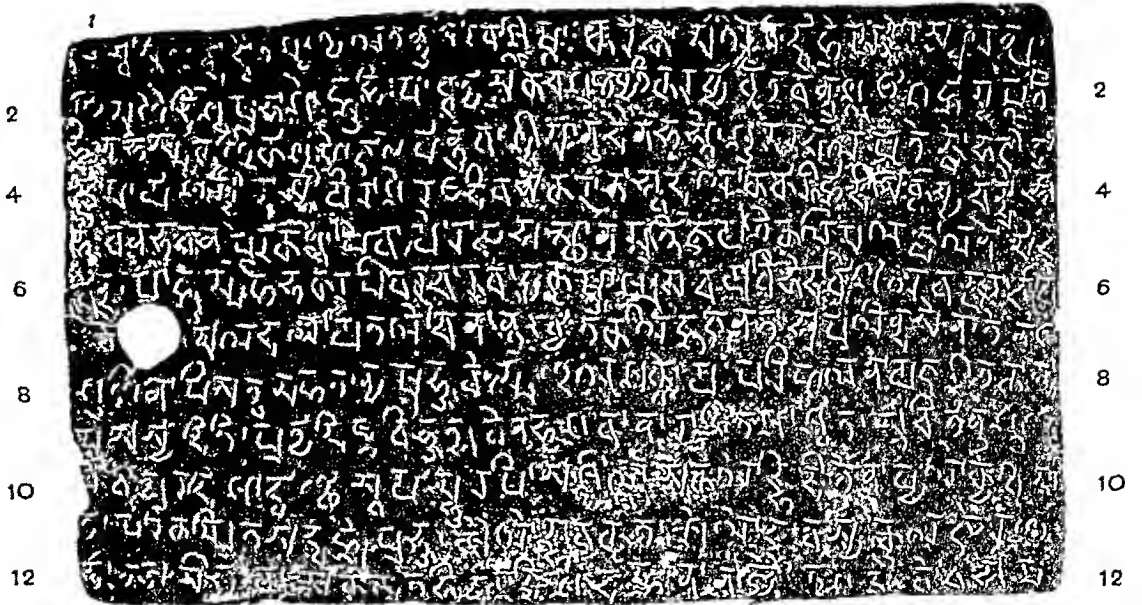
³ Above, Vol. VI, p 188

⁴ Above, Vol VI, p 144.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p 101

⁶ Above, Vol VII, p 100.

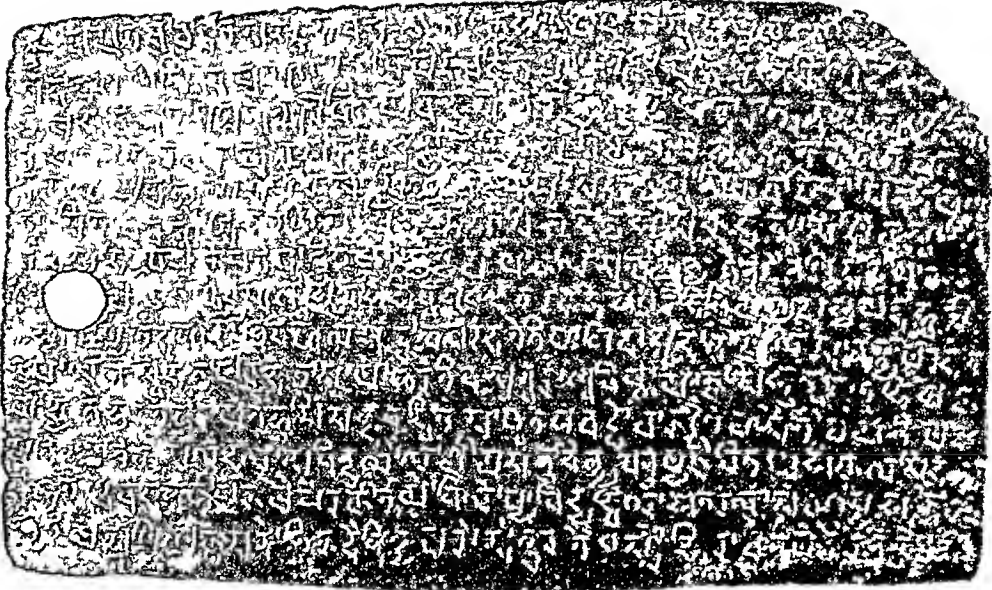
Parikud Plates of Madhyamarajadeva



111 a

44
46
48
50
52
54
56

44
46
48
50
52
54
56



111 b

58

58



- 16 dhō=pi subhai=chaittrav=mrishṭa[h*] Lalamka[h*] La'... [S*] Jātō=tha tasya tanaya[s*]=sukriti(ti) simasta-simanti(nu)
- 17 m-nayana-sharpada-pundarika[h*] [I*] si-Samyabāita... bhūmi(nu) patu=mmahēbha-kumbha-sta(stha)h-dalana-d[u]-
- 18 rllali(h)t āsīdhāra[h*] [|| 9*] Kālcyau=bhūta-dhātri(tri)-pat bhū -upachar-ānu(nō)ka-pāp-āva[t]āra[ī*]=m(ni)ta(tū) yōsā(shā)m ka[th=ā]pi pīa-
- 19 layam=abhimatī ki[r]ttī-sā(pā)lar=ajaśra(sra)[m] | yajñais=tau=Δsvamēdha-prabhrītibhur=amarā lambhūtās=[tr]i(tri)ptum=n-
- 20 rrvr(rvi)[m=nddri]pt-ārātī-paksha-kshaya-kriti-patunā Śrīnivāsēna yōna | [10*] Tasy=ōtkhāt-īkhal-ār[ī*]=mmarud=iva a-
- 21 vaṇa(ṇ) bhāsvad-nshnāśu-tjāś 4(4)13 mīnī dayāna[ī*]=n ar pati[shu*] Yaśōbhīta-dcvaś=tanūja[h*] | mātangāu=yō-ti(ti)tu-
- 22 ṅgā[n]=va(ha)ha[la*]-madamuchas=chārn-vaktra-pracharandah... va(hi)dv[ī(ddhvā)]² karshaty=ā[s]vōra punar=apī tapatē ya[u]-nata[s*]-sī pragalbha[h*] [|| 11*]
- 23 Kē chid=vaḥnya(nya)-mṛigēṇā sārddham=achī(chā³)rams=tāś-tē sthiti(ti) h(h)layā kē chī[ch*]=ch=ō]rddh[v*]a-mukhās=sihāra kirala jv[ī]a-
- 24 vah-prē'shan(nū)[h*] [I*] kē chid=... dhāriṇī(nō) [n]āra-ra[ī*]... cē chūj=ja[ī]-ja[ī] dhāriṇī(nō) [n]āra-ra[ī*]...
- 25 pī divy āspa[u]-ā[k]ā[n]kshina[h*] [|| 12*] Kē... nīyatā dhūmāvahī-jāi(yi)na[h*] anyō vāya-phal ā-
- 26 mvu(mbu)-bhaksha-nuratī[h kō] chī[u=ni](nmi)riharaka[h*] [I*] uha⁴ yōga-yugō⁵ vihāya vasatī dh[y]āyanti divyam pīdam chitīam
- 27 Madhyamarājadēva-guna dhṛid=rājya[m*] pīu[h*]... Yasy=āhva(hvā)nān=mama[d*]yu[s*]=sura-bhavaṇa ga-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 28 tā divya-sa[t*]trā[h*] pragalbhā[s*]=jō to [s*]=sā-dhā[m*]... nītrakālam sa(sa)krī[ta*]-gava-kath-ālāpa-brīdyā(dyū)[h*]⁷ prakur... [I] Śārabhō[s*]=sa[m]-
- 29 sthāna-kūrī padam=amarajava[h*] śāsata[m*] śānta-rūpa... rīśha[s*]=sa vira[h*] kshītitala-vasatī(ti)m nīrjūt āū-
- 30 ti-paksha[h*] [|| 14*] Stihity-upta(tpa)[t*]ti-[v]inaśa-ī arāna-parama⁸ jyō... vyāhata[m*] vyakt-āvyaktam=ananta-śakti nīyatam d[ī]vān-
- 31 dēvō mahā[n*] [I*] tasy=ānugrahakāri-vikramā-dhanu[s*] chesīta[ra] karōty=adbhūtā[ra*] sa śrīmān=atula[s*]=Śāśūkā(nkā)dhava[ī]...

¹ Read -ushnāśu tājāś-

² It would suit the exigencies of metrical purposes if the two syllables *dvā* came after *chā*, but purport would still be indefinite.

³ Read *chīch=chhāla*

⁴ Read *stham*

⁵ Read *yugō*

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁷ One would expect *hrīdyā sukṛita guna kath ālapān*

⁸ Read *param*. The missing syllables may be *s=svayam*

- 32 nī-yaśa[h*]-khyāpitā[m*] [|| 15*] Ā karṇṇid-atula[m*] vikṛīṣya(śhya)
tara[sā*] chāpa-dvayair=lilayā ||¹ [a]shtābhi[h*] kapa(va)chair=ivīśhitya
- 33 phalakō(kā)n-ārād=ubbābhūm=apī [I*] pānibhyā[m*]ḥ-chaturāḥ śilī(li)mukhai(kha)-
mukhai[h*] — — sutī(ti)kshnāi[r*]-bhriśah² jāto di(di)vya-gatī[h*] Prī-
- 34 thā-tu-sata sama[h*]³ Kōngōda-ra[tna]-kshītō(tau)[|| 16*] Varmmā(rma)ḥḥyām
sakala[m*] ḥariram=asakrit=samvṛṣ(vō)shityḥ(śhitya) lil-ānvitam pīnṛ(mau)
- 35 dvō(dvau) purushō(śhau) nidhāya jagavat⁴ skundha-[dvayī] lilayā [I*] sadya[ś*]
sūta-kṛipāna-bhūṣura-karō dhāvaty-a-
- 36 kḥi[n*]nō bhriśa[m*] bhūpālō Hanuma[ḥ*]-parākrama itī ḥyātā[h*] kshamā-
mandalō | [17*] Jātōna yōna vapushā śa[ś*]-
- 37 n=[ē]va yēna sa[m]varddhitan=kamuda-śa(śha)ḥdam=iv-ātma-gōtra[m*] [I*]
samkōchitam cha ripu-paukaja-vṛindam=ārādhāt⁵ k[ō]pōna
- 38 [yō] jayati lavdha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpa[h*]⁶ | [18*] Katāt⁷ śrī-Śailōdbhava-
kula-tīlakō mahā-makha-Vājapēy-Āśva-
- 39 mēdh-[ī]vabhriśasāna-nu vī(rva)rttita-prakhyāta-kīrtti-krama[h*] parama-māhḥ-
svārā(rō) mātā-pitrī-pādānudhyāta[h*]
- 40 śrī-[Ma]dhyamarājadōva[h*] kusa[li] asnum Kōngōda-mandalē śrī-
śīman[ta]-mahāsā[ma*]uta-mahārāja-rā-
- 41 ja(jā)naka-rājaputtr-ā[m]taranga-dandanāyāk-⁸ōparika viśhayapati-[ta*]dāyu[k]taka-
vairttamāna-bhaviśhyad-ī[y]ava-
- 42 hārīna[h] sa-kāra(ru)nyam vrā(brā)hmana-purōgudī-⁹ janapadāñ=cha yath āra[m]
mā[na]yati [bōdha]ya[ti ā]-

Third Plate, First Side

- 43 jñāpayati cha [||*] viditam=astu bhavati[m] jñā(śrī ?)-Katakabhukti-viśha[ya*]-
samva(mba)ddha purvva-[kha]nda . .
- 44 [mō] dvādasā-[t]immura-pramāna[s*]=sarvva-pidā-varjitaś=chāta-bhat-āpravēśy[ō] na
kiñchid=anapa[ragrā*]-¹⁰
- 45 hya[h*] śhad-vinśatimē samvatsarē vijaya-varddhamāna-rājy[ē] mātā-pitrōr=
ātmanas=cha puny-ābhi[vri*]-
- 46 [d*]dhayē sahla-dhātā-pura[s*]sarēna(ṇ-ā)-chandr-ārka-kshīti-sama-kālam=asmābhi[r*]=
nānā gōtra-pravara-

¹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous Read *chāpa dvayam*

² Read =*bhriśam*

³ This corrupt phrase is, perhaps, to be corrected into *Prīthāsuta samāḥ Ratna-kshīti*, as applied to Kōngōda, is difficult to explain Perhaps *Kōngōda rād-rakshītā* was intended.

⁴ Read *yugapat*=

⁵ Read =*ārāt*=

⁶ Compare this verse with verse 10 of the Buguda plates, which is omitted in the first part of the subjoined inscription Samyabbhīta Mādhavavarman is there compared to the Sun, while here Madhyamarāja is compared to the Moon

⁷ Read *Kaṣṭhāch=chhri-*

⁸ Read =*dandanāyāk*-

⁹ *Purōgādī* is pleonastic Read *purōgādī=janapadānt=cha* One would have expected, as in other allied plates, *janapadān=anyānt=cha*

¹⁰ Perhaps we have to read *na kena chit=parigrāhyaḥ*,

- 47 charanāya vrā(brā)hmana-[Śi]lasvāmi-Gōva[r]ddhanasvāmi-Vandhusvāmi-Kavadīsvāmi-Nārāyana-
- 48 svāmi-Mādhavasvāmi-Bharamsvāmi-Durggasvāmi-Ādityasvāmi-Rudiasvāmi-Śivasvāmi-
- 49 S[u]khasvāminē ¹vi[śra]kē(?) pratipādita[h*] yatō [h]y=asya yathā-kālam=upayujyatō na k[ō]na śchi(chi)d=[vighāta][h*] kara-
- 50 niya[h*] | Uktāñ=cha Dharmmasāstr[ē] [||*] Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā data(ttā) rājabhi[s*]=Sagar[ā]dibhi[h*] [!*] yasya yasya yadā bhū(bhū)mi[s*]=
- 51 tasya tasya tada(dā) phalam [|| 19*] Mā bhū(bhū)d=aphala-śankā va[h*] para-da[t*]t=ōti pā[!*][th]ivā[h*] [!*] [sva]-dānāt=phalam=ānantya[m*] para-dat[t-ā]-
- 52 nupālana(nē)² [|| 20*] Sva-da[t*]tā[m*] para-da[t*]tām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharām [!*] śva-vishthāyā[m*] krimir=bhū(bhū)tvā [³ pitribhi[s*]=saha
- 53 pachyatē [|| 21*] Haratē hārayatō bhū(bhū)mi[m*] manda vu(bu)ddhi[s*]=tama-vrīta[h*] [!*] sa va(ba)ddhō Vārunai[h*] pāsai(śai)[s*]=ti(t)[r*]ya[g*]-yōnisha(shu) jā-
- 54 yatī(tē) [||] [22*] Iti kamala-dal āmvu(mbu)-vī(bi)ndu-lōlām śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [!*] sakalam=ida[m=u]-
- 55 dāhritañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi(hi) purushai[h*] para-kīrtayō vilōpyā[h*] [|| 23*] Vidyud-vilāsa-taralām=avagamyā sa[mya*]k(g)=lōka-
- 56 sthītam yasa(śa)śi(sī) śa(sa)kta-manōbhīr=u[ch*]chai[h*] [!*] nitya[m*] par-ō[pakrīti*]mātra-ratai[r=bhavadbhū*]=dharmm-ābhīrādhanā-parai=anu[mōdīta]-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 57 [vyam] [|| 24*] . . . [hkh]ta[m] sāndhivīgrahika-
- 58 dēvēna [!*] Lāñchi(ñchhi)tam
- 59 driddhēna || Sa[mvat] [88] Kārttika-śukla .

No 29 —EIGHT CHOLA DATES

By THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR L D SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M A, B L, L L B.

In his paper on the dates of Chōla kings (above, Volume X, pp 121 ff) Mr R Sewell has shown, by an elaborate calculation of a Tamil date from Nandalūr and of five Telugu dates from Bāpatla (Nos 186 to 190) of king Kulōttunga-Chōda II, that the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōda II (Kulōttunga-Chōla II of Tamil inscriptions) must be placed between March 26th and July 14th A.D. 1133. The subjoined eight dates, besides confirming the correctness of Mr Sewell's results, enable us to reduce the limits of the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōla II, to the period May 9th—July 14th A D 1133. Also, in the date from the Nandalūr Tamil inscription (which I have included among the eight dates now calculated) the difficulty felt by

¹ [The reading intended is perhaps *vīpaschite* —V V]

² See above, Vol III, p 45, note 15.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

Mr Sewell about the *nakshatra Śravana* is explained by a reference to the custom usually followed in fixing the day of the Śivanātri in Southern India. The Śivanātri begins at midnight, when the *nakshatra Śravana* must be current, and is kept all the following day. The inscription presumably refers to the *nakshatra Śravana* only in this sense, as it was not current at sunrise on the following day.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA (II)

244 —In the Vaidyanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirumalavādi¹

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Pā-maruvīya puviyēḷum

33

Kōv=Iṅāṅkōsari-

34 pāṭṭai=āna Tribuvanachchakkaravattigal śi-Kulōttunga-Śōḷadōvarku

35 yandu 2āvadu Danu-nāyarru apāra pakshattu navamiyu[m] Tī[ṅ]-

36 gat kilamaiyum peṅra Attattī nāl

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājākēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 19th December A D 1134 on which day the *tithi* of Hasta ended at 5½ *ghatikās* after sunrise, while the 9th *tithi* of the dusk-forenoon of the lunar month *Śravana* commenced on the same day at 45½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Dhanus, as recorded in the inscription.

245 —In the Karavandīśvara temple at Udayārkōyil -

1 Svasti[ī] Śr[ī] ||— Pū-ma[ṅ]u-paṭṭamam

20

Kōv=Iṅāṅkōsari-āna

30 [Tr]ibuvā[na]chchakkaravattigal śi-Ku[ḷ]ōttunga-Śōḷadēvaṅku yā-

31 ndu 4 nāl-āvadu

33 Śinna-nāyarru apāra-paksha[tt]u Tīnga[ḷ]-kilamai[ṅ]m [sadurtt]iyu[m] peṅra
Iṅvadi-[nāl]

"In the 4th— fourth— year (of the reign) of king Rājākēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th August, A D 1136, on which day the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Bhādiapada ended at 41 *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ended on the same day shortly after sunrise. The ending moment of the *nakshatra* in mean Lankā time was just *before* sunrise on the 17th August, but from the time of the year and for any place in Southern India, it will be seen, from Table XIII of my *Indian Chronology* that the ending moment of the *nakshatra* in local time must have been shortly *after* sunrise, so that the inscription is correct in giving the *nakshatra* as Rēvatī. The solar month was Simha.

¹ No 85 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

² No 405 of the same for 1902

246 —In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr¹

- 1 [Sva]stī śr[ī] [||*] Pū-mēvu tūrmagal .
- 2 . kōv=Irr-ā(Irā)jakōśaipa[nmar=āna] Chakraya[rtti]-
ga[l] śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladōvarku yāndu ett-āvadu
- 6 śrī-Kulōtta[nga]- Śōladēvar[kn] yāndu ett-āvadu
Kumbha-nāyarru apara-pakshattu=chchatarddasī[ynm] Vell-kkilamayū[m]
Tuvē(vō)namum=āna Śivarāttirī-nāl

“In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śivarātri, which was (a day of) Śravana, a Friday, and the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha in the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva ”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February, A D 1141, on which day the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Māgha ended at 41½ *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Śravana had ended at 8 *ghatikās* after midnight between the 6th and 7th February. Now, Śivarātri is celebrated on the day following the *midnight* (nearest to Māgha *amāśyā*) at which the *nakshatra* Śivana is current. Therefore Śivarātri in the year in question fell on a Friday, and it was the solar month of Kumbha, as stated in the inscription.

247 —In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr²

- 1 Svastī śrī [||*] Pū-mannu-padumam
- 4 . kōv=Irājakēśarīpanmar=āna Tiribu[va]na[ch]cha-
[k]karavattigal śrī-Kulōttun[ga]-Śōladē[va][i*]kku yāndu 10 āvadu [Da]nu-
nāyarru [pū]rva-paksha[ttu] ēkāde(da)śī[yum Tinga]t-kilamaynm perpa
A[s]vatī-nāl

“In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanu ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 30th November, A D 1142, on which day the 11th *tithi* or *ēkādasi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśīras ended at 59 *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Aśvinī ended on the same day at 41 *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise.

It may appear at first sight that a *tithi* which ended at 59 *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise may possibly have been carried forward to the next day in local time, but it will be seen from Table XIII of my “Indian Chronology” (p 157 of the Tables) that in the year A D 1142, on the 25th day of the solar year, which was our day, the difference between mean Lankā time and Tanjore time was only an addition of 4 *palas* to the former, which would still have placed the ending moment of the *tithi* within the civil day noted above, *i.e.* the 30th November. The solar month was Dhanu, as stated in the inscription.

¹ No 572 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907

² No 553 of the same collection for 1904

248.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Udayārkōyil.¹

- 1 [Svasti śri] [||*] [Pū-mannu-padumam]
 21 kōv=I r̥jak[ċ]sar[i]panmai=āna Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śri-
 Kulōttunga-Śōla[d]ċ-
 22 var̥ku yāndu 14 āvadu Mēba-nāyar[r̥]ru pūrvvapakshattu navamiya(yu)[m]
 V[ī]yāla-kkīla[mai]ya(yu)[m] per̥ra] Āyila[ya]ttin nā

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Āślēshā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

The date corresponds to Thursday, 10th April, A D 1147, on which day the 9th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Vaiśākha commenced at 26 *ghatikās* after mean Lanka sunrise, while the *nakshatra* for the whole of that day and for 5½ *ghatikās* of the next, was Āślēshā, the *nakshatra* Pushya having ended shortly before sunrise on the 10th April. The solar month was Mēsha

249.—In the Kripāpurīśvara temple at Tiruvonnainallūr.²

- 5 [i]nda śri-mey-kkirtiy-ndaiya Tribhuvan[eh]chakkaravattigal śri-
 Kulōttunga-Śō[r̥]dēvar̥ku yāndu 15 vadu [pa]dinaij,³
 shitiyun⁴=Dingal-kīlamaiyum per̥ra Bara-
 6 ri-nāi

“In the 15th—fifteenth—year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had this glorious panegyric poem (in his honour), the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Bharani, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* ”

Neither the solar nor the lunar month is traceable in the inscription which only refers to a sixth *tithi*, but it will be observed from Table XI of my “Indian Chronology” that a 6th *tithi* can concur with the *nakshatra* Bharani only in the dark fortnight of lunar Śrāvṇa or of lunar Bhādrapada. We work for the latter in the year A D 1147 and find that the date corresponds to Monday, 18th August, A D 1147, on which day the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended at 39½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Bharani ended on the same day at 12½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Simha. N B—Monday, 9th August A D 1137, would have satisfied the *vīra*, *tithi* and *nakshatra*, but we reject this date, as A D 1137 was obviously not the 15th year of our king

250.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmīn temple at Tirumalavādī.⁵

- 1 ||| Svasti śri [||*] Pū-mannu yānar
 27 kōv=I-
 23 rājakēsarī[pa]nmai=ā[ṇa*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śri-Kulōttunga-Śōladē-
 var̥kku
 29 yāndu 15 āvadu
 32 ir̥v=āttai Magara-nāyar[r̥]ru pūrvvapakshattu piri[dī]-
 pada[mu]m Viyāla-kkīlamaiyum per̥ra Utirādatti-nāi

¹ No 401 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 316 of the same collection

³ Read *paḍṇaijārādu*

⁴ Read *śaślithiyun*

⁵ *Viz* the introduction *p^r magru padumam*, etc. of Tribhuvanachchakkaravartin Kulōttunga Chōladēva mentioned in No 315 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902 (No 251, below)

⁶ No 83 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

“In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttarāshādā which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the first *tithi* (*pratipadā*) of the first fortnight of the month of Makara in this year”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th December, A D 1147, on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Pansha ended at 29½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādā ended at 20½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise on the same day. The same day was also the first of the solar month Makara

251 —In the Kripāpurīśvara temple at Tīruvennainallūr ¹

- 1 [P]ū-mannu-padumam
- 2 śī-mey-kki[1*]ttiy-udaya Tribhu[va*]naehchakkaravatt[ga]l śrī-
Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarhku yāndu [1]ṣ vadu Ishaba-nāyarṟu=ppadinārān=diyedy=āna
Nāyarṟu-kkalaman-nīl

“In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had (*this*) panegyric poem (in his honour), the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on a Sunday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Ṛishabha”

The lunar *tithi* is not cited, but the week day affords a clue to the date. During the 15 years A D 1135 to A D 1149 there were only two years in which the 16th day of solar Ṛishabha was a Sunday, and they were A D. 1137 and A D 1148. We reject the former date, as it obviously was not the 15th year of our Chōla king, and we conclude that the date of the inscription was Sunday, 9th May, A D. 1148, which was the 16th day of Ṛishabha

Summary

We can now arrange the eight dates discussed above in chronological order and endeavour to discover therefrom the commencement of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla II

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| (244) | 2nd year | Monday, 10th December, A D 1134 |
| (245) | 4th year | Monday, 17th August A D 1136 |
| (246) | 8th year | Friday, 7th February A D 1141 |
| (247) | 10th year | Monday, 30th November A D 1142 |
| (248) | 14th year | Thursday, 10th April A D 1147 |
| (249) | 15th year | Monday, 18th August A D 1147. |
| (250) | 15th year | Thursday, 25th December A D 1147 |
| (251) | 15th year | Sunday, 9th May A D 1148 |

Dates disclosed by Inscriptions

We see that the 15th year of the reign must have commenced between the 10th April, A D. 1147, which fell in the 14th year and the 18th August A D 1147 which fell in the 15th year. At the same time the last inscription shows that the regnal year did not change till after 9th May. Therefore regnal years of Kulōttunga-Chōla II must have regularly commenced between 9th May and 18th August, rather 9th May and 17th August, if we bear in mind the result of inscription 245, that is, the reign itself commenced between 9th May and 17th August A D. 1133, the 2nd year of the reign in May, June or July, A D 1134, and so on with the 3rd and subsequent years

¹ No 315 of the same collection for 1902

No 30—MANNARKOYIL INSCRIPTION OF JATAVARMAN
SUNDARA-CHOLA-PANDYADEVA

B. K. V. SURIYANMANIA ANAP, B.A., OOTACAMUND

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the base of the north wall of the central shrine in the Gōpālākṛiṣṇasvāmī temple at Mannūrkōyil in the Ambāsamudram taluk of the Tinnevely district. With the kind permission of the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I edit it from an inked impression prepared in 1905.

The inscription which is in tolerably good preservation consists of 8 lines of Tamil prose written in the Tamil alphabet of the period to which the record belongs. The letters are well engraved. There are a large number of Sanskrit words and syllables in Grantha characters². Two forms of *ya* occur, one with a closed loop to the left which occurs only in the beginning of line 1, and the other, which is more common, without this loop. The secondary *ā*-symbol is, in a few cases, not separated from the consonant to which it is added. In the majority of cases the central loops of the consonants *n* and *ṇ* appear fully developed, though there are instances where they are written without the loops. Another peculiarity is that the secondary *r*-sign is marked on the left top corner instead of on the head of the letters as is generally seen in records of this period. This is especially the case with *pa*, *ṇa*, and *ḷa*, while in *na* the *r*-sign is sometimes added on to the top of the letter and sometimes by its right side, according to the shape of the letter *n* which, in this record, is not uniform. The signs for *u* and *ū* in the letters *mu* and *nu* are not distinguished. Only in one case a curve has been added to the *u* in *mu* in order to denote the length. Except in the letters *la* and *ḷa* where the first part of the vowel *u* is used to denote the *ai*-symbol, the secondary *ai* is invariably marked by two secondary *e* signs written side by side as in Grantha. The group *ṇa* is always employed whenever the two letters come together. The palatal *ṇ* is so shaped in some cases that it may at first sight be mistaken for *nī*. The guttural *n* occurring in *purangarai* (l. 3), = *Tiruaranga*- (l. 6) and *Irungandi*- (l. 8), and the syllable *ru* are peculiarly shaped.

The object of the inscription is to register a sale of land to the Vishnu temple called Rājēndrasōla-Vinnagar. Lines 2 and 3 give the boundaries and extent of the various fields that were sold, and line 4 describes the formal transfer of the land to the temple by the assembly of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam. Lines 5 and 6 give the names of some of the members of the assembly at whose instance the lands appear to have been sold. The conveyance was drawn up by the accountant (*Jaranattān*) of the village and was attested by several of the persons who ordered the sale (ll. 7 and 8). It is interesting to note that most of the members of the assembly were learned men, and this is indicated by the titles *bhaṭṭa*, *sōmayājīn* and *Iramant* affixed to their names. Further, it might also be pointed out that these members were not natives of the village but immigrants from other parts of Southern India who had settled in the several suburbs (*śēri*) of the village. A list of these suburbs and villages is given at the end of this paper.

This inscription is a record of one of the Chōla-Pāndya kings³. South-Indian inscriptions point to the existence of at least three Chōla princes who bore the title Chōla-Pāndya. Rājēndra-Chōla I (A.D. 1011-44), after he had subjugated the Pāndya country, is said to have appointed his son Chōla-Pāndya to rule over it. Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva (A.D.

¹ No 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² It is worthy of note that two of the signatures at the end of the inscription are in Sanskrit. Such admixture of Sanskrit words in a Tamil record of this period may be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the revival of learning brought about by the immigration to the Southern country of a large number of Brāhmanas from the north as a result of the conquests of Rājēndra Chōla I, which extended as far as the Ganges.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, Part II, p. 56, paragraph 25.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 1906, Part II, p. 68, paragraph 17.

1052-64) is reported to have conferred the title of Śōla-Pāndyan¹ on his younger brother, the victorious Mummād sōlan². The Chōla king Vīraājēndra (A.D. 1062-70) is also stated to have been pleased to grant the Pāndyamandalam "whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son Gangaikondasōlan³ along with the title Śōla-Pāndyan, the leader of an army of very tall elephants"⁴. Inscriptions discovered so far reveal the names of two Chōla-Pāndya princes, viz. Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya and Māravarman Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya. The former of these is spoken of in a Mannarkōyil record as one of the sons of Rājēndra-Chōla I⁵ and he is, therefore, identical with the first Chōla Pāndya ruler. It is perhaps the same king that we must attribute inscriptions dated during the reign of Jatāvarman *alias* Udayār Śōla-Pāndyādēva found at Suchindram⁶ and Śevilpēri,⁷ though the name Sundara does not occur.

The title Chōla-Pāndya given to them seems to have been invented to indicate the double fact that they were members of the Chōla family and were made to rule over the Pāndya territory. The position held by them was apparently that of a viceroy acting under the orders of the Chōla king ruling at Tanjore. The necessity for their appointment arose from the fact that the Pāndyas could never be completely subdued. They continued in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōla yoke during the whole period of Chōla supremacy in Southern India.⁸

The subjoined record is dated in the 13th year of the reign of king Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndyādēva. As his accession to the throne has been fixed at A.D. 1020-1 from the fact that his 15th year probably coincided with the 24th of his father⁹ it follows that this inscription should have been engraved about A.D. 1033-4 which corresponded to his 13th year. A few facts concerning the king's reign deserve mention.¹⁰ His latest known date is the 23rd year¹¹ corresponding to A.D. 1043-4, which was the last year of the reign of his father. Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya's inscriptions have so far been traced in the ancient Pāndya and Kōlida dominions, i.e. in the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely and portions of the Pudukkōttai and Travancore States.¹² His Chōlapuram¹³ inscription is dated in the 11th year and registers the gift of a lamp by a certain Sarvalōkāśīyā Vishnuvardhana-Maārīya *alias* Śalukki-

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol III, Part I, p. 62

² The title Mummād. sōlan was first borne by Rājāraja I

³ Rājēndra Chōla I appears to have first assumed the title Gangaikondasōlan after his conquest of the North. The city of Gangai ondi-chōlapuram owes its name to him.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol III, Part I, p. 36

⁵ No. 112 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905

⁶ Nos. 69 and 70 of the same collection for 1896

⁷ No. 408 of the same collection for 1906

⁸ Parāntaka I is known to have defeated the Pāndyas three in the field. His grandson Sundara Chōla claims to have driven the Pāndya king into the forest, while Āditya II (Karikāla), even when he was a youth, fought against Vīra-Pāndya. Uttama Chōla's title Madhurīntaka indicates his hostility to the Pāndyas and the Tiruvālaingūdu plate-give Anarablujangi as the name of the Pāndya sovereign defeated by Rājāraja I. Rājēndra-Chōla I, Rājādīrāja and Vīraājēndra I claim to have defeated the Pāndyas. The Pāndyas seem to have asserted their independence already during the reign of Kuloṭṭunga I. At any rate, we have no reason to suppose that the Chōla Pāndya kings continued very long. In fact their rule could not have lasted more than half a century, which was probably occasioned by the rule of the few princes known from inscriptions.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, Part II, paragraph 25

¹⁰ Sundara Chōla Pāndyapuram udayār, the ancient name of the ruined Śiva temple at Perundurai in the Pudukkōttai State suggests that the temple was probably called after the king and built in his time.

¹¹ No. 18 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894 and No. 438 for 1909

¹² His inscriptions found at the following places roughly indicate the extent of the country ruled by him —

Ānaimalai, near Madura, Perundurai in the Tirumayaru tāluka of the Pudukkōttai State, Mannarkōyil, Tiruvāli-varam, Ambāsamudram, Vīraśikhāmani, Kālugumalai, Gangai ondan, Śevilpēri, Shermādēvi, and Ādanūr in the Tinnevely district, Chōlapuram and Suchindram in the Travancore State

¹³ No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896

Vijayādittan-Vikkī-annan. The terms Śalukki and Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja, occurring in the name of the donor, suggest that he must have been a member of the Eastern Chālukya family.¹

According to the Tiruvālangādu grant, the Pāndyas were first attacked by Rājendra-Chōla I, with the result that their king deserted his country from fear. Establishing his son Chōla-Pāndya as the protector of the Pāndya territory, Rājendra-Chōla proceeded westwards, conquered the forces of the Kērala ruler in a fearful battle and returned to his capital leaving that country also in charge of the same prince. That the Chōla-Pāndya here referred to is none other than Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya of our record has already been noticed. It may be pointed out now that while the stone inscriptions of the 5th and 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla I, mention his conquest of the Kēralas, the invasion of the Pāndya country is practically omitted in the historical introduction of all his records. If, as stated in the Tiruvālangādu grant, the Chōla king conquered the Kēralas immediately after he had overcome the Pāndyas, the latter event would have taken place before A D 1016-7, which corresponds to his 5th year.² It would thus appear that Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya was in charge of the two conquered countries from or prior to A D 1016-7, i.e. four years before his accession.³ That he actually ruled over the Kēralas is borne out by some of the inscriptions at Maṇṇārkōyil, where mention is made of two of his Chēra feudatories named Rājasimha and Rājarāja.⁴ In one of his inscriptions,⁵ it is stated that the Chēra king (*Sēramānār*) Rājasimha built the Vishnu temple called Rājendraśōla-Vinnagar, i.e. the modern Gōpālakrishnasvāmin temple at Mannārkōyil. The name of the Chēra king conquered by Rājendra-Chōla is not given. Nor do we know if it was Rājarāja or Rājasimha.

Among the geographical names that occur in this inscription, Mannārkōyil does not find a place. It seems to be a shortened form of Manuānārkōyil⁶ and probably denotes the modern Gōpālakrishnasvāmin temple. The village in which the temple was situated, was called Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam in ancient times. It was a *brahmadēya* in Mulli-nādu, a district of Mudigondaśōla-valanādu which was a subdivision of Rājarāja-Pāndinādu. A number of hamlets appear to have been attached to this village in early days. The modern villages of Ambāsamudram⁷ and Kalladaikkurichechi⁸ were its southern hamlets, while Pāpāngulam⁹ (Vēlārkuichechi) and Ālvārkuichechi¹⁰ (Kādēru, text 1 2) situated at a distance of about 8 miles from Ambāsamudram, formed its hamlets on

¹ We do not know of any Eastern Chālukya prince with this name at the time. About A D 1030 the approximate date of the Chōlapuram inscription, the ruler of Vēngī was Rājarāja I (A D 1022-1063).

² It cannot, however, be inferred from this that the Pāndyas remained independent even until this date, because earlier inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I have been found in the Tinnevely and Madura districts. The existence of these records in that part of the country might be taken to show that the Pāndyas acknowledged the overlordship of the Chōla sovereign even before the invasion, conquered as the Pāndya country was by Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I. It was perhaps the Pāndya king's attempt to assert his independence that caused the invasion in the present instance.

³ Perhaps he was not formally installed in the Viceroyalty but allowed to issue orders in his own name as soon as he was placed in charge of the Pāndya territory. This privilege was probably granted some time after he had been actually governing the subjugated province.

⁴ Nos 111, 113 and 114 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ No 112 of the same.

⁶ *Mannānār* means Vishnu.

⁷ No 102 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905. The ancient name of Ambāsamudram was Ilan-gōykhudi.

⁸ No 90 of the same collection for 1907.

⁹ The Vishnu temple of Rāmasvāmin at Pāpāngulam is called in its inscriptions Bagavadi-Vinnagar-Ālvār at Vēlārkuichechi, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja chaturvēdimangalam (No 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

¹⁰ The Vanniyappar temple at Ālvārkuichechi was called in ancient times Tiruvannichechuramudaiyār at Kādēru, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja chaturvēdimangalam (No 121 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

the north-western side Four other hamlets of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam, viz Pāmbunāri, Kōnādu, Kadaiyam and Pulakkulam *alias* Vārimāyiletti are also mentioned in this inscription Of these, Kadaiyam may be identified with the village of the same name, situated to the west of Ambāsamudram The modern name of Pulakkulam is Pnuakkulam¹ and it is also in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram I am not able to identify the two others The position assigned to several of the hamlets would point to the identification of the *brahmadēya* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam with the modern village of Brahmadēsam in the same t̄iluka and it may be noted that the Śiva templo of Tiruvāliśvaram and the Vishnu templo of Rājēndraśōla-Vinnagar which are stated in their inscriptions to be in Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam, are quite close to Brahmadēsam From the boundaries described in the grant portion of the subjoined record it appears that at Mannārkōyil there was in ancient times another Vishnu templo called Rājarāja-Vinnagar. This has now disappeared The district of Mulli-nadu mentioned above seems to be different from another of the same name in which Shērmādēvi was situated, because while the first was in the subdivision of Mudigondaśōla-valanādu the second was in Uttamaśōla valanādu² Though the names Uttamaśōla and Mudigondaśōla after which the two subdivisions are named may refer to the same Chōla king (perhaps Rājēndra-Chōla I), yet, as these divisions occur in the inscriptions of the same period, there is not much doubt as to their representing different local areas Further, it may be pointed out that the two subdivisions named above comprised different districts Thus, for instance, the districts of Nechchura-nādu,³ Kīlkala-kūrṅam⁴ and Kīlvēmba-nādu⁵ were in Mudigondaśōla-valanādu, while Purattāya-nādu,⁶ Nāñju-nādu⁷ and Marugal-nādu⁸ were in the subdivision of Uttamaśōla-valanādu A rough idea of the extent of Mudigondaśōla-valanādu might be formed from the fact that Tinnevely, Kalugumalai, Ambāsamudram and the villages near them were originally included in it In Uttamaśōla-valanādu were situated Cape Comorin, Shērmādēvi, and Chōlapuram near Nīgerkōil Rājarāja-Pāndimādu was the name applied to the Pāndya country after its conquest by the Chōla king Rājarāja I, and it mainly consisted of the districts of Madura and Tinnevely and a part of the Travancore and Pudukkōttai States Though the Pāndyas were defeated several times on previous occasions and their dominion acquired by the Chōlas by conquest, the name of their country does not appear to have been altered prior to the time of Rājarāja I

Two rivers are mentioned in this record, viz Mudigondaśōlappērāru and Rājarājappērāru As one of the fields sold to the temple is said to have been situated to the north of the former and south of the latter, the relative position of the two is established beyond question and affords facilities for the identification of both Porundam, the original name of Mudigondaśōlappērāru is synonymous with the Tāmraparni, which near Mannārkōyil runs parallel to its tributary, the Gatanā, and is to the south of it Rājarājappērāru is, therefore, identical with the Gatanā In passing, it may also be pointed out that the two rivers join within a mile's distance of Mannārkōyil at a place called Tiruppudaimarudū

TEXT

1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō=Chchadaiyapanmar-āṇa Udayār śri-Sunta(nad)ra-Śōla-
Pāndiyadēvarkku yāndu padin[mū]nrā[va]du⁹ śri-Rājarāja-Ppāndināttu
Mudigondaśō[la]-valanāttu Mulli-nāttu brahmadēyam śri-Rājarāja-

¹ It may be noted that in the Tinnevely district there are two kinds of tanks *punal* and *lālarattuk-kuḷam* The former depends on rain for its supply of water, while the latter is fed by a channel from a river

² Nos 193 and 194 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 and No 106 of the collection for 1905

³ No 18 of the collection for 1894

⁴ See remarks against No 416 for 1905

⁵ No 408 of 1905

⁶ No 100 for 1896

⁷ No 34 of 1896

⁸ No 32 for 1896

⁹ The *ca* in *mūnrāvu* is written above the line

- chcharuppēdīma[n]galattu śī-Rājētra(ndra)śōla-Vīn[naga]r [pa]ramasvamiḡa-
lukkū śī-Rājarāja-chchatu[r]vvēd[ī]mangalattu mahāsabhayōm viṛṛu=kkudutta
būmīyāvadū [||*] Engal padāḡai Pāmbunā[rī] Idaikkū[n]ṛavettikkū
mēṛkūm [ī] śī-Rājarāja-Vīnnagardēvar dēvadā[ṇa]-
- 2 ttukku=kkīlakkūm [ī] Tan-Porundam=āna Mudīgondaśōlappērātrukku
vadakkūm [ī] śī-Rājarājappērāṛru[k]ku=ttēṛkkūm [ī] āḡa ivv=e[1*]laiyul
agappa[t]ta iru-pū¹ ārupāyechhal nila[n*] āru-vēlyum mēṛpadī maḡuk-
[kā]du² vaśakkānīṇṛa nilan mū-vēlyum pu[n]śey maḡukkādu nilan mū-
vēlyum engalūr=ppadāḡai Kōnāttu iru-pū ārup[ṛ]āyechhal³ nilan ouṛēy-
ēḡa māyūm ivv=ūr=ppadāḡai Kadāyattu-Padāyāvḡi Kādēṛru iru-pū
ārupāyechhal nilaṇ arāyūm ivv=ūr=ppadāḡai Pulakkūla-
- 3 m=āna Vārimāyilettī ēri-puṛan=garai oru-pū nilan arāyūm i=kkulatt-agam
pu(pū)-nīr-kōvai nilan arāyūm [ā]ḡa iru-pū ārupāyechhal⁵ nilan ē[ī]ē-
mukkālēy-irandu-māyūm mēṛpadī maḡukkādu nilan mū-vēlyum puṇṣey
maḡukkādu nilan mū-vēlyum oru-pū nilaṇ arāyūm kulattīl nī[r*]-kōvai-
[nī]lan arāyūm āḡa nilan padinūlē[y]⁶-mukkālēy-irandu-māyūm viṛṛu-
kkuduttōm śī-Rājēndraśōla-Vīnnagar [parama]svāmīḡalukkū śī-Rājarāja-
chcharnppēdīmangalattu mahāsabhā-
- 4 yōm [||*] I=ppariśu viṛṛu=kkudutta i-bhūmikkū cmmil=iśaiṇḡa vilai=
pporul=ellān-guyyilēy aṛa=kkondu idavē[y]⁷ vilai-ōlaiyu[m] poru[ī]-śēla-ōlaiyūm=
āvid=āḡayūm idav=alladu vēṛu vilai-māvaṛudī=pporūl-śēla-ōlai kātta=
kkadamāy=īṇṛī vilai=kk=āṛa-viṛṛu=p[porū]l-aṛa=kkondu viṛṛu vilai-ōlai-śeydu
nīrōdu atti=kkuduttōm Rājēndraśōla-Vīnnagar paramasvāmīḡalukkū śī-
Rājarāja-chcharnppēdīmangalattu mahāsabhāyōm [||*] I=ppariśu viṛṛu=
kkudukka=ppanichchōm śī-Rājarāja-
- 5 chchēri=Kkottaiyūr-Chchangaran Śīvadēvabattachchōmāśīyārum⁸ śī-
Mummadīśōlachchēri Tīruppēr=Ddēvadēvēśa-[Nā]rāyananum śī-
Arumolīd[ī]vachchēri=Kkīrāñchi Mahēśvarakīamavittanum⁹ śī-
Nittavīnōdachchēri Kōrōvī-Kāḡidāda¹⁰batta[ch]chōmāśīyārum śī-
Chōlētra(ndra)śīngachchēri Karāmbiṛchōttu Śīdarabattanum śī-
Sundaraśōlachchēri Kōrōvī śī-Mādāyachchōmāśīyārum śī-Vāraṇan-
mādēvichchēri=Kkōttattu=Ddēvadēvēśan-Śāndiraṇum śī-Uttamaśōlachchēri=Kkarp-
pūṛattu=Pporokku-
- 6 māraḡiramavittanum śī-Śēmbīyanmādēvichchēri=Kkīranūr Śōlaiṇṇān-
Śūppīramānīyabattanum śī-Kundavachchēri Nīmbai-I[ī]yanambi-
battanum śī-Pañchavanmādē[vī]chchēri=Kkundūr=Ttīruvaṛṅga-Nārā-
yana-kkīramavittanum śī Olōkamādēvichchēri Idāyāṛrukkudī=
Chchōmanakkanum āḡa i=ppari[śu] panichchu viṛṛu=kkuduttōm śī-
Rājēndraśōla-Vīnnagar paramasvāmīkalukkū¹¹ śī-Rājarāja chatu[r]vētīmankalattu¹²
mahāsabhāyōm [||*] Ippadī aṛivēn Kot[ī]yūr=Chchangaran śīvadēvabatta-

¹ *oru-pū* and *iru pū* are terms still employed in some parts of the country to mean single crop and double crop lands

² The *akshara kā* seems to be corrected from *ku*

⁴ Read *ārupāy hchal*

⁶ The *y* of this word is a correction from *p*

⁸ *Sōmāśī* is the abbreviated Tamil form of the Sanskrit *sōmayājīn*

⁹ *kīranavittar* stands for the Sanskrit *kīramavīd*, one who knows the *kīramapāṭha* of the Vēdas.

¹⁰ *Kāḡidāda* is the Tamil form of *Kāḡidāsa*.

¹² Read *chaturvēdīmangalattu*

³ This word is written below the line in the original.

⁵ The *akshara y* looks like *p* in the original

⁷ Here the original reads *pa* instead of *ya*

¹¹ Read *paramasvāmīḡalukkū*

- 7 chehōmāśiyēṅ ivaṅ on eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Kōrōvi-
 Kāhādāchchōmāśiyēn ivaṅ en eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Tiruppēr
 Dēvadēvēśa-Nāriyanan eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi arivēṅ Kirāñchi Mahēśvara-
 kkiramavittan eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Śrīdanūr=Kkēsavan Śēnduppīrān
 eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi [ari]vēn Karāmbich[chēt]tu Śrīdarabattan eḷuttu [i*]
 ippadi arivēn Kōrōvi śū-Mādivachchōmāśi[y]ḷṅ eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn
 Nimbai-Ilayanambibattan eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn
 8 Irungandi-Ddēvadēvēśibattan eḷuttu [i*] Ippadi arivēn Irāḡippurattu¹
 Yaññan² eḷuttu [i*] Ittham Virasya p[u]trēna Śāstamamka(ga)lavāsina [i*]
 [Nā]iḷayanēna vidita[m] bhakta-bhaktiṅna Śārgginā³ [i*] Iti viditam Sōlappīn
 Subramayyūna ||o Māhāsabhayār-ppanikka ivv-ōlai eḷudinēṅ ivv-ūr sabhai=
 kkaianattān [Śūrri]-Śaugaran-ūna Śamaiñjaśappiriyānēn eḷuttu ||o

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Jatavarman *alias* Udaiyār śrī-Sundara-Chōla-Pāndyādēva, the great assembly of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam sold the following land to the Supreme Lord (*paramasvāmin*) of śrī-Rājēndrasōḷa-Vinnagar at śrī-Rājūḷa-chaturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mulli-nādu (a district of) Mudigondasōḷa-valanādu (which was a subdivision) of śrī-Rājarāja-Pāndinādu (The land lies) to the west of (the path called) Idaikkunravetti⁴ (leading to) our hamlet (*padāgar*) of Pāmbunāri, to the east of the *dēvadīna* of the god of śrī-Rājarāja-Vinnagar, to the north of (the river) Tan-Porundam *alias* Mudigondaśōlappērāru⁵ and to the south of (the river called) śrī-Rājarājappērāru. The great assembly of śrī-Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam sold to the Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndrasōḷa-Vinnagar, six *vēḷi* of river-fed double-crop land lying within these boundaries together with three *vēḷi* of malukkādu-land of the same (class) which was being brought under cultivation,⁶ three *vēḷi* of dry malukkādu-land, one (*vēḷi*) and seven *mā* of river-fed double crop land in Kōnādu, a hamlet of our village, half (a *vēḷi*) of double-crop river-fed land at Kādēru in Kadaiyattu-Padaiyāvili, a hamlet of this village, half (a *vēḷi*) of single crop land close to the bank of the tank at Pulakkulam *alias* Vārimāyiletti, a hamlet of this village, half (a *vēḷi*) of crop-yielding marshy land in the bed of this tank,—in all measuring seven (*vēḷi*) three quarters and two *mā* of river fed double crop land, three *vēḷi* of malukkādu-land of the same (class), three *vēḷi* of dry malukkādu-land, half (a *vēḷi*) of single crop land, half (a *vēḷi*) of marshy land in the tank, together making a total of fourteen and three fourths (*vēḷi*) and two *mā*. For the land thus given away by sale, this shall be the sale deed and the document evidencing the receipt of the money for our having obtained on hand the entire sub amount agreed upon by us. Besides this, no other deed evidencing the payment in full of the sale money (*ṭṭai-māv-arudī-porul-śēlav-ōlai*) shall be demanded. We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājarāja chaturvēdimangalam, gave the land with libation of water to the Supreme Lord of Rājēndra-sōḷa-Vinnagar, having sold it completely and obtained the entire price and having executed the

¹ Read *Rāṣipurattu*² Read *Yaññan*³ Read *Śārgginā*. This is a verse in the Anushtubh metre⁴ Literally this word means a path cut through a hill⁵ At first sight one would take the expression *Tanporundamāna Mudigondaśōla-ppērāru* to mean 'Mudigondaśōlappērāru which is ever filled with water', but the real significance of the words seems to be that Mudigondaśōla-ppērāru is another name for Tan Porundam or the cool Porundam. Porundam and Porunai are other names of the river Tamraparni⁶ The word *vaśakkānra* seems to be used in this sense also in No. 326 of the Epigraphical collection for 1908, in the passage *v nīlattukku kālūm-kallī āāam veḷḷi mīlamum-vaśakki payir ēḡḡ*. Here *vaśakki* seems to mean cultivating or plunging in which sense it does not appear to be used at present.

sale deed We (the following persons) thus ordered the sale (of the above mentioned land) — Kottaiyūr Śāngaran-Śivadēvabhāta-śōmāśiyār of śrī-Rājarājachchēri, Tiruppōr Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyanan of śrī-Mummadiśōlachchēri, Kirāñji śrī-Mahēśvara-kramavittan of śrī-Arumōdēvachchēri, Kōrōvi Kālidādabhāta-śōmāśiyār of śrī-Nittavinōdachchēri, Karāmbichchēttu-Śīdarabhāttan of śrī-Chōlēndrasīngachchēri, Kōrōvi Madhava-śōmāśiyār of śrī-Sundaraśōlachchēri, Kōttattu-Dēvadēvēśan-Chandran of śrī-Vānavanmādevichchēri, Karippurattu-Pōrkumāra-kramavittan of śrī-Uttamaśōlachchēri, Kiranūr Śōlaippirān-Subrahmanyabhāttan of śrī-Śembiyanmādevichchēri, Nimbai Ilaiyanambibhāttan of śrī-Kundavachchēri, Kundūr Tiruvaranga-Nārāyana-kramavittan of śrī-Pañchavanmādevichchēri, Idaiyārukkuḍi Śōmanakkan of śrī-Lōkamādevichchēri We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam, thus ordered and sold (the land) to the Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndiaśōla-Vinnagar I, Kottaiyūr Śāngaran-Śivadēvabhāta-śōmāśi know this, this is my signature I, Kōrōvi Kālidāda-śōmāśi know this this is my signature I know this the signature of Tiruppōi Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyanan I know this the signature of Kirāñji Mahēśvara-kramavittan. I know this the signature of Śīdanūr Kēśavan Śēnduppīrān I know this the signature of Karāmbichchēttu-Śīdarabhāttan I know this the signature of Kōrōvi śrī-Mādhava-śōmāśi I know this the signature of Nimbai Ilaiyanambibhāttan I know this the signature of Irungandi-Dēvadēvēśabhāttan I know this the signature of Rāśipurattu-Yajñan Thus known by Nārāyana, son of Vīra, who was the devotee of the devotees of Vishnu (and) resident of Śāstamangala Thus known by Śōlaipp[ī]rān Subrahmanya At the command of the great assembly I, Śūrri Śāngaran *ahas* Samāñjasapriyan, the accountant (*haranattān*) of this village assembly, wrote this document, (this is my) signature

List of villages and chēris mentioned in the inscription.

Serial Number	Names of villages	Serial Number.	Names of <i>chēris</i> of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam ¹
1	Kottaiyūr	1	Rājarāja-chēri
2	Tiruppōi	2	Mummadiśōla-chēri
3	Kirāñji	3	Arumōdēva-chēri
4	Kōrōvi	4	Nittavinōda-chēri
5	Karāmbichchēdu	5	Chōlēndrasīnga-chēri
6	Kōttam	6	Sundaraśōla-chēri
7	Karippuram	7	Vānavanmādevi-chēri
8	Kiranūr	8	Uttamaśōla-chēri
9	Nimbai	9	Śembiyanmādevi-chēri
10	Kundūr	10	Kundavai-chēri
11	Idaiyārukkuḍi	11	Pañjavanmādevi-chēri
12	Śīdanūr	12	Lōkamādevischēri
13	Irungandi		
14	Rāśipuram		
15	Śāstamangalam		

¹ Of these *chēris* Nos 1—5 are named after the surnames of Rājarāja I, No 6 after his father Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōla, No 7 after his mother Vānavanmahādēvi, who performed *sahagamana* on her husband's death, No 8 after the Chōla King Uttama-Chōla, son of Gandarāditya, No 9 after the mother of Uttama-Chōla, No 10 after Rājarāja's sister and Nos. 11 and 12 after his queen In *Ind Ant*, Vol XL, p. 135, I have shown that Chōlēndrasūmha was a surname of Rājarāja

No 31 —DADHIMATI-MATA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHRUHLANA,
[GUPTA-]SAMVAT 289

By PANDIT RAM KARNA, JODHPUR

This inscription is the oldest of all so far discovered in Mīrwār. It was found in a very ancient temple, which is dedicated to the goddess Dadhīmati, commonly called Dadhamat-*mātājī*, situated in a desert where the boundaries of two villages named Gōth and Mānglōd meet. These villages are 24 miles north-east of Nūgōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, in the Jōdhpur State. The rims of the slab are raised one inch high on all sides, and it was discovered lying upside down in one of the corners of the hall of the temple of the goddess.

When the news of this find reached Jōdhpur, the stone was brought to the Tawārīkh Mēhkmā or Historical Department of the State, where its contents were first deciphered by me. The stone had been kept there for several years when, on the request of the *pañchas* of the Dāhīmā-Brāhmana community of Jōdhpur, the Darbār kindly ordered that it should be returned to them with instructions to take proper care of it, it being the most valuable and oldest inscription in the State. The reason why it was made over to them was that all the Dāhīmā-Brāhmanas recognise Dadhīmati as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess, and that they consequently urged that the presence of such an inscription rendered the edifice more sacred and important in their eyes and proved the antiquity of the temple of their *mātājī*. The stone is, therefore, now lying in its former position in the *sabhā-mandapa* of this temple.¹

The inscription covers a space of writing 1' high by 1' 7½" broad. The average size of the letters is about ⅜". Considerable skill seems to have been exercised in engraving this inscription, and the rims are raised one inch high, as noted above, presumably with a view to protect the writing from the effects of weather and rain or from other stones coming into contact with the written surface, but, in spite of this care and foresight, the right half of the sixth line has been rubbed off, apparently with an instrument, by somebody. Otherwise, the inscription is in an almost perfect state of preservation. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit, which is grammatically faulty and inaccurate in some places, e.g., *Avighnanāgah-pramuhā* (l. 2), *datta drama-pamchāsah* (l. 7f), *datak dramaśatah* and *Bappalah Pūrnnamukha putrēna* (l. 10), etc., etc. Besides, there are several minor mistakes of engraving. The text is in prose excepting lines 11 and 12 wherein a verse occurs, which is a quotation from the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*, as will be shown subsequently. The date of the inscription is given in the last line. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and the letters *r*, *ś*, *n*, *ṅ*, *gh*, *h*, *d*, and *b*, are identical with those of the Mandasār inscription of *Bājādhrīya* Yaśōdharman-Vishnuvardhana of M. V. 589.² In respect of orthography it may be noticed (1) that in all cases where the word Brāhmana occurs (except in ll. 3 and 12), the sign for *v* is used for *b*, though in the case of other words wherein the letter *b* occurs the sign for *b* is invariably employed, (2) the consonant following *r* has been doubled only once in the word-*Pūrṇa*- in l. 10, (3) the rules of *parasāirna* have been throughout observed with the exception of the word-*samudhya*- in l. 1.

¹ Its contents have since been committed in Dēvanāgarī characters to a copper plate which has been fixed on the left hand of the entrance and in the front wall (facing the deity) of the *Sabhāmandapa* for the reason that if the stone, which is now old enough, be broken, the contents may not be destroyed. A new *prasasti* has been added, composed by Pandit Ram Karṇa, and giving the genealogy of the Rāthōrs from Sīhā and down to the late Mahārāja, Sir Sardar Singh. [The accompanying plate has been prepared from an impression prepared by Pandit Ram Karṇa himself.—Ed.]

² Published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 224 ff., and *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 152.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī. Then follows a request to *dēvī* Dadhimatī by the community (*gōshthikā*) of Dadhya-Brāhmanas, headed by Avighnanāga. These Brāhmanas used to reside, it appears, in the same temple and were the worshippers of the *dēvī*. A passing reference is also made here to one Sri-Dhrūhlāna, who appears to have been then the ruling prince, but who this chief was and where he ruled we are unable to ascertain. Lines 3 to 10 contain the names and *gōtras* of the donors with their fathers' names and the amount contributed by each, the details whereof are embodied in the sub-joined table.

No	Name of donor	Name of father	Gōtra	Clan	Amount contributed
1	Avighnanāga	Lungaka	Vachchha ¹	Āvō	} 1,100
2	Misra	Kataka		.	
3	Mitulya	Pūphaka			
4	Yasapati	Yalshadinna			
5	Majhabāha	Ganabhata			100
6	..				120
7	Vishnudēva	Dhūlana			50
8	Nimbagana	Śūraaka		.	100
9	Dhanjāla	Achintita			300
10	Bālāditya	Avigahaka		Mahattara	100
11	Bappaka	Pūrnāmnaka			150
12	Sōmānaka				} 4
13	Achilakadē [va*]	Nimbāditya			
14	Svāka				

Line 11 contains the verse² *sarva-mangala-mangalyē svē sarvārthasādhlakē | saranvē tryambakē Gauri Nārāyani namō=stu tē*, quoted from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*, as said above. Then follow (1-12) the names of the Brāhmanas numbered 12-14 in the above table. The reason why their names are mentioned after this verse and not along with those of their caste fellows specified above, is not quite clear. Probably they contributed their mite after the engraving of the inscription had commenced. The last line, i.e., the 13th, gives the date which is the 13th of the dark half of Śīavana of the year 289 (Gupta, equivalent to Vikrama-Samvat 665 or 608 A.D.)

It may be noted that the date of this inscription has been expressed in numerical symbols. The numeral 200 has been represented by a sign resembling ५ which is just after the fashion

¹ [Perhaps the same as *Vatsa*—V V.]

² Its meaning is, O goddess Nārāyani, obeisance to thee, who art the source of all blessings, doer of good, accomplisher of desired objects, giver of shelter, endowed with three eyes and Gaurī (i.e. the spouse of the god Mahādēva).

so often observed in the Jaina manuscripts¹ (vide Bühler's Table IX) Again, 80 has been expressed by a symbol which differs but little from that given in Bühler's Table Then follows the sign for 9, which is also in harmony with the Valabhi system So that 200 80 9 stand for the year 280, which has been given in the symbolical system so often met with in early inscriptions Then follow the words *Śrāvana ba* apparently for *Śrāvana badī* (i.e. the dark half of the month of Śrāvana), the letter *dī* after *ba* having been omitted for want of space The date 13th has, again, been expressed by numerical symbols 10 has been represented by a sign which is just like that met with in the Vākātaka inscriptions (vide Table No IX of Bühler, referred to above) and 3 is denoted by three more or less parallel lines (≡) which is also after the Gupta fashion Similarly, the numeral 4 in the last line has also been represented by the symbol (𑀘) which is after the same Gupta or Nāṣṭī system (vide table quoted above) There is a dot after this symbol in the original stone, but it appears to have been inadvertently engraved by the mason If the author had meant 10, the sign for 10 and not that for 1 would have been used in its place From the above, it is quite clear that the date of the inscription is of the Gupta era and not Vikrama or Harsha Secondly, the formation of the characters resembles that of the Mandasor pillar inscription of King Yaśodharman, as already noted, which fact also corroborates the conclusion arrived at above, and thirdly, we know that the Gupta rule, which had extended far and wide over the land, came to its end at about the same period

It may be inferred from the words *asmīn dīvyā mātṛī* of line 3 that the temple of the goddess Dadhimatī was in situ when the contribution was raised by the Dadhya-Brāhmanas headed by Arighnanāga Had this subscription been called for erecting the shrine, some such word as *lāritā* would have been used. The temple is therefore a very old one Additions to the temple were made by a Dāhimā Brahmacārī named Viśhnuḍāśṛī in V S 1906²

In the beginning of this inscription there is a mention of *Dadhya-Brāhmanas*³ These are now-a-days known as Dāhimā Brāhmanas, and are one of the *chha-nyāti* (six castes⁴) of Brāhmanas of the Pañcbr-gauḍa section There is no doubt that the Dadhyas of our inscription are the modern Dāhimās, because, first, the whole of the community of the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas recognise this goddess (Dadhimati) as their *lula-dēvī* or family goddess, secondly, the majority of the population of the villages, adjoining the temple within the limit of 10 to 20 *lās*, consists of these Brāhmanas, thirdly, most of the modern names of the Khāmpas (clans) of this community are after the names of the villages situated round about the temple, e.g., Gōthīchā after Gōth, Māngulōdyā after Mānglōd, Āsōpā after Āsōp, Īnānyā after Īnānā, Khatōda after Khātū, Bōrūdā after Bōrūwāi, Dīdāwānyā after Dīdāwānā, etc The Dāhimā-Brāhmanas assert that they are descended from the well-known Dadhichi-Rishi and style themselves *Dādhichas*, while in this inscription they are termed *Dadhya*s, certainly after the name of the goddess Dadhimati A reference to No 2 in the above table would show that the epithet *Misra*, which is still used by the Dāhimās, was common in those days In the third line there occurs a word *ātī*, but there is no clan amongst the

¹ [A closer approximation to the symbol used in the present inscription occurs in Pandit G H Ojha's *Palaeography of Ind a*, plate 42, column 3, where it is stated that the symbols in that column are taken from "various records and charters"—V V]

² Further repairs to the temple are being executed by the Dāhimā mahāśābhā, by raising subscriptions from the whole community of Dāhimā Brāhmanas residing in all parts of India Nearly a sum of Rs. 10,000 has already been collected and spent for the purpose

³ [Though it seems most natural to read *śrī dadhyā*, I feel little doubt that what the engraver had before him was *śrī-dēvyā*—S K]

⁴ The names of the six castes who interdine but do not intermarry are —1 Dāhimā, 2 Pūrīkha, 3 Gauḍa, 4. Gūjara gauḍa, 5 Sārasvata, and 6 Śilhawāla (some say Khandālawāla).

Dāhimā-Brāhmanas known by this name. It therefore appears that it is perhaps a contracted form of the word *āvōtī*, just as the word *brāhmana* is written in the abbreviated form *brāhra* in line 12. It is also possible that the letter *tī* of the word *āvōtī* has been carelessly omitted. The word *āvōtī* or *āvōtī* means a worshipper, and hence it may be inferred that the Dadhyas were worshippers of the goddess Dadhimati in those days. The office of worshipping this goddess is now held by the Sēvagas (or Bhōjaks). It is just possible that the Dadhya-Brāhmanas, as they took up some other profession, later on employed a Sēvaga for this purpose, whose descendants are up to this day doing the same work. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas of the village Rōl, 10 miles from this temple, even now personally perform the worship of the deity and offer oblations in her honour in the months of Chaitra¹ and Āśvina when fairs are held in and around the temple. In these fairs the inhabitants of the adjoining villages meet together to worship the goddess and offer their cattle for sale.

The most noteworthy information furnished by this inscription is the light it throws on the date of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāna*. In line 11 of our inscription is quoted the 9th verse of the 91st chapter of that *Purāna* or the 10th chapter of the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*, as the latter begins from the 81st chapter and ends with the 93rd. From this quotation we can conclusively and convincingly assert that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was composed before V S 665, i.e. before the 7th century A D. It would, therefore, be futile if any one were to assign a date, later than the 7th century, to the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* or the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāna*. The section *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is regarded by some scholars as an interpolation, but what can with certainty be contended is that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not a production later than the 7th century or thereafter. Rev K M Banerjea writes in the introduction to his edition of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāna* as follows² —

“ We cannot help noticing in this place the dignity imparted to the work under review. It is classed in the same category with the Vēdas, and described as an immediate product from Brahmā's mouth. Although a *Purāna*, it is not attributed to Vyāsa, whom other Śāstras consider as the author of all works bearing that title. The *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāna*, however, does not acknowledge him as its composer, editor or compiler.³ It claims equal honour in this respect with the Vēdas themselves ”

And he says in the beginning of his preface⁴ that “ the section called *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was probably an interpolation ”. A reference to chapter 94, verse 1,⁵ would show that when recapitulating the past, the speaker (i.e. Mārkaṇḍēya-Rishi) says that he has caused him (the addressee, i.e. Kraushtaka-Rishi) to hear the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. This internal evidence alone is sufficient to prove that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not an interpolation but forms a part and parcel of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāna*. Besides, if the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* were to be removed from it, the

¹ In the months of Chaitra and Āśvina falls the *Nava-rātra*, i.e. the first nine days of the bright half of the months when worship of the goddess is eloquently recommended in the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. The Dāhimā-Mahāsabhā is contemplating to re-assume the management of the temple which was formerly in their own hands even when the Sēvagas were the worshippers. The annual meetings of the *sabhā* have been held in this temple for three consecutive days in every Chaitra-Navarātra, for the last four years, and the Mahāsabhā has recently started a school there.

² P 15 of the Bibl. Ind. Edition, Calcutta, 1862.

³ This statement has apparently been made on the authority of the Bengal manuscripts of the *Purāna* that were at Mr Banerjea's disposal when editing the work, but the Mathura and other manuscripts of the same *Purāna* recount in the ordinary way the names of the eighteen *Purānas* and their author.

⁴ *Pre* p 1.

⁵ सार्वभौमिदं सम्यक् प्रोक्तं मन्मथं तव । तव देवीमाहात्म्यं महिषासुरघातनम् ॥१॥

total number of verses attributed to this Purāna in the commencement would fall short by the number contained in the *Mahātmya* ¹

But to return to our inscription It does not give the names of the clans wherewith the Dadhya-Brāhmanas were then known, and the two names *āvō* and *mahattara*, which may be presumed to be clan-names, are not identical with the modern ones It is therefore evident that the present Khāmpas, such as Gōthēchā, etc., must have been introduced only after V. S 665. There is one *gōtra* mentioned in the inscription, *viz.* Vachchha (Vatsa) which is even now found among the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas Had their present clans been well known, they would certainly have been mentioned as the epithet "Mīra" has been in l 4

The record does not contain the name of the person who composed it, nor of the mason who engraved it.

TEXT ²

- 1 ओं³ नम (॥) [स]रस्वत्यै [॥*] श्रीदध्या⁴ दधिमतीसंनिध्यपादानुध्याता[:*] श्रीधू-
ह्वानपादानु[पा]-
- 2 लिता ब्राह्मण⁵ अविघ्ननागःप्रसुखा⁶ देवी⁷ दधिमतीं विज्ञाययन्ति⁸ ॥ अ-
- 3 स्मि⁹ देव्या [नि]विशे गोष्ठिकाप्रथमं¹⁰ आवा[ब्राह्म]ण¹¹ अविघ्नना[ग]¹²
ब्राह्मण[लं]ग-
- 4 कपुत्र¹³ वच्छसःगोत्रः¹⁴ तथा¹⁵ ब्राह्मणमिष्य . . . कटक[पुत्रः¹⁶ मा]तुल्य¹⁷
पूफकपुत्रै¹⁸ त[या]
- 5 ¹⁹ब्राह्मणयज्ञपतिः यच्चदित्रपुत्रः²⁰ ए[तै]मीष्ठिकै²¹ प्रतत्तः²² द्रमसहस्रं शताधिक । ब्रा-²³
- 6 ह्मणमभ[ही]ह (१) गणभटपु[त्रे]ण दत्त²⁴ द्रमशतं ।
-
- 7 ब्राह्मणैर्दत्ते²⁵ द्रमशतं विशोत्तर²⁶ । तथा²⁷ ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवः दूलणपुत्रेण द[त्त]²⁸
- 8 द्रमपचाशः²⁹ [१*] तथा³⁰ ब्राह्मणनिस्वगण (१) शूरकपुत्रेण दत्त³¹ द्रमशतं [१*]
[त]था ब्राह्म-³²

¹ [The above should be compared with the able discussion of the age of the Mārkaṇḍeya by Mr Pargiter, in the introduction to his translation in the *Bibl Ind*, Calcutta, 1904, where he sums up his results on p 22 as follows,— "The *Dēvimāhātmya*, the latest part, was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A D. The third and fifth parts, which constituted the original Purāna, were very probably in existence in the third century, and perhaps even earlier, and the first and second ts were composed between those two periods"—S K]

² From the original stone

³ Expressed by a symbol,

⁴ Read °सानिध्यं

⁵ Read ब्राह्मं

⁶ Read °नागप्रसुखा

⁷ Read देवीं दधिमतीं.

⁸ Read विज्ञापयन्ति

⁹ Read °स्मिन्दे°

¹⁰ Read °ष्ठिकाप्रथम

¹¹ Read °ब्राह्मणोऽवि°

¹² Read °नागो ब्रा°

¹³ Read °पुत्रो

¹⁴ Read वच्छसगीत्रम्°

¹⁵ Read ब्राह्मं

¹⁶ Read °पुत्रो

¹⁷ Read नातुल्य .

¹⁸ Read °पुत्रम्°

¹⁹ Read ब्राह्मणयज्ञपतिर्य°.

²⁰ Read °पुत्र

²¹ Read °मीष्ठिकै

²² Read प्रदत्त

²³ Read ब्रा°

²⁴ Read दत्त

²⁵ Read ब्राह्मणैर्दत्त .

²⁶ Read °शोत्तर

²⁷ Read ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवदू°

²⁸ Read दत्ता

²⁹ Read °शत् .

³⁰ Read ब्राह्मं .

³¹ Read दत्त .

³² Read ब्राह्मं

- 9 णधनियक (i) 'अचिन्तितपुत्रेण दत्त² द्रुमत्रिशति³ ॥ तथा महत्तरवा-
लादित्य (i) अ[वि]-
- 10 गहकपुत्रेण दत्त⁴ द्रुमशत.⁵ [॥⁶] तथा वप्यक(°)पूर्णमुखपुत्रेण दत्त⁶ द्रुम-
11 शत (i) साङ्गः⁷ [॥⁷] सर्वमङ्गलमङ्गले शिवे स[र्वा]र्यसाधके⁹ । अरण्ये⁹
त्रास्वके¹⁰ गौरि(i) [ना]-
- 12 रायणि नमोस्तु ते ॥ तथा ब्राह्म¹¹सोमानक¹² ब्राह्मण¹³अचिलक[दि][व¹⁴]सुवकः¹⁵
[नि]-
- 13 [स्व]ादित्यपुत्रेर्दत्त¹⁶ [द्र]ुमा¹⁶ ४ ॥ ¹⁷संवच्छरशेतेषु २०० ८० ६
आवण व¹⁸ १० ३

No 32 — SEVADI COPPER-PLATES OF THE CHAHAMANA RATNAPALA,
VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1176

By PANDIT RAM KARNA, JODHPUR

These copper-plates were found at Sēvādī, a village in Bāli district, Gōdwar province, Jodhpur State. They were brought to light in a house in this village in consequence of a heavy downpour of rain. The news of the find reached the Police Sub-Inspector who forwarded the plates to the Mēhkmā Khās, Rāj Mārwar. They were thence sent to the Historic department (Tawārikh Mēhkmā) of the State for being deciphered and for impressions being prepared therefrom. One set of impressions has been furnished to the Ajmer Museum at the request of the Curator¹⁹. The original plates are now in charge of the Superintendent of the Tawārikh Mēhkmā.

The plates are three in number, of which the first is inscribed on one side only. The second is written on both sides, and the third bears but three lines of writing on its inner side. The inscription is perhaps incomplete as shown by the isolated and unconnected letter *ka* at the end. The average breadth of the plates is 9" while the average length is 11½". The edges have been slightly raised into rims, and the plates are strung on two almost circular rings, the ends of which are open and bear no sign of any seal. The ends of the rings are so wide apart as to permit the plates passing out of them without any difficulty. Their diameter varies from 2" to 2½", and their thickness is slightly over ¼".

The inscription consists of sixty lines of writing and is in an almost perfect state of preservation. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare forms of the letters *z* and *bh*, while the archaic formation of

¹ Read °यकाचि°.

⁴ Read दत्त.

⁷ Read साङ्गम्.

¹⁰ Read त्रस्वके.

¹⁵ Read ब्राह्मणाचिलक°.

¹⁶ Read द्रुमा.

¹⁹ [The accompanying plate has been prepared from impressions sent by Pandit Ram Karua — V V.]

² Read - दत्ता ;

⁵ Read °शत.

⁶ Read °साधिके.

¹¹ I.e. ब्राह्मण.

¹⁴ Read °सुवकी.

¹⁷ Read संवत्सर°.

³ Read द्रुमत्रिशती.

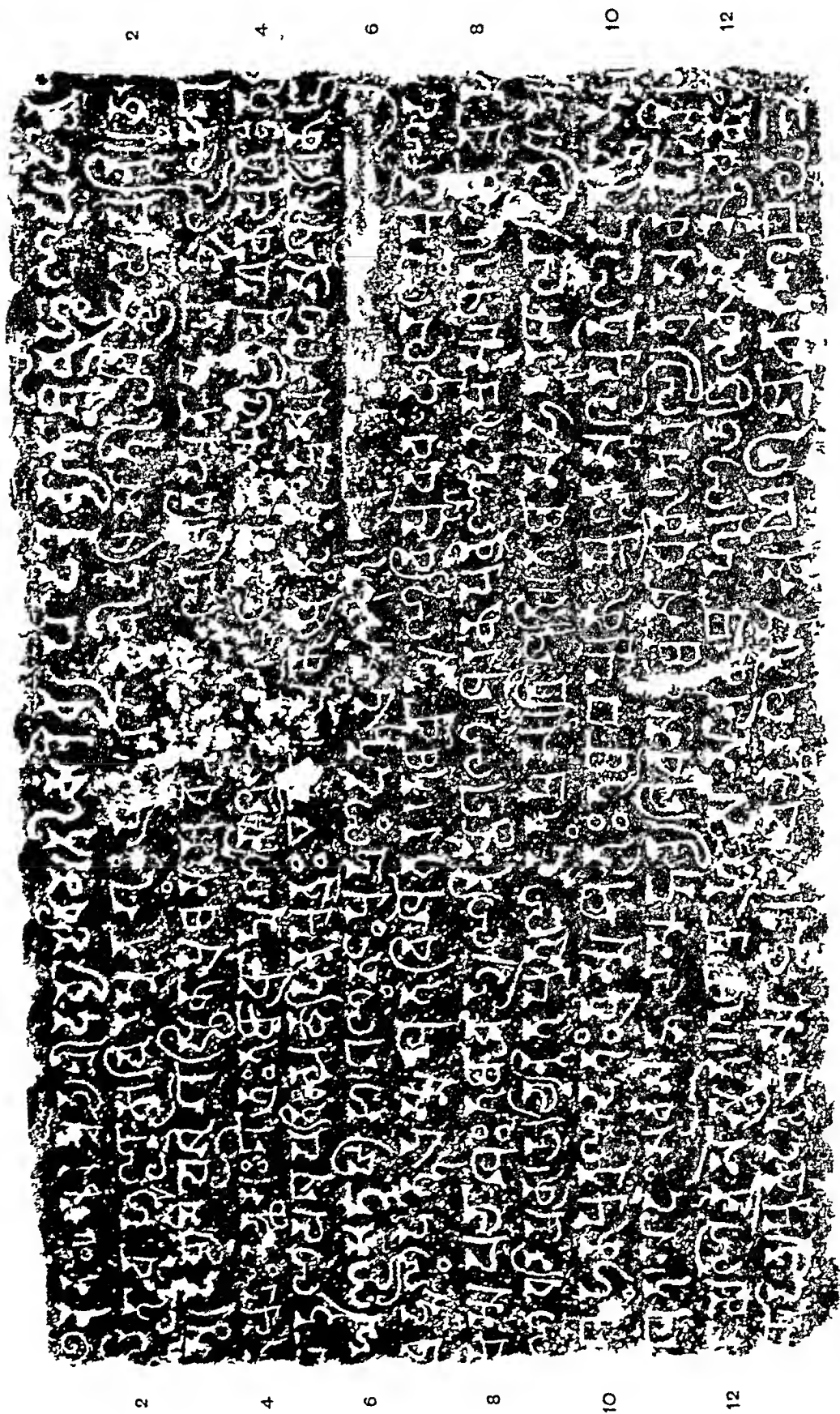
⁶ Read दत्त.

⁹ Read अरण्ये.

¹² Read सोमानकी.

¹⁵ Read °पुत्रौ । एतैर्दत्ता.

¹⁸ Read यदि.



2 4 6 8 10 12

2 4 6 8 10 12

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SCALE 4

V VENKAYYA

the labial *ph* is rather peculiar to this inscription. The language is Sanskrit, and the text is in prose with the exception of thirteen lines at the beginning and seventeen at the end containing 11 and 15 verses (numbered), respectively, although the numbers of the last two are omitted. In respect of orthography the following may be noted: (1) the sign for *v* is also used for *b*, (2) there is an indifference about the doubling of the consonants after *r*, e.g. *-Jarmānau* in l. 52, (3) rules of *parasavarṇa* have in some places been violated, (4) *s* and *ś* have been confounded, e.g. *-yasaskarān* (l. 53), *-sahasrān* (l. 58).

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of a village named Gumdakūrchchā (the modern Gündoch as we shall see later on) to Brāhmanas residing in the same village, by a Chāhamāna king named Ratnapāladēva,—the son of Prithvipāla, in V S 1176.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Brahman. The introductory verse extols the word *śas'ti*. A person came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the east, while looking, and from this person sprang the Chāhamāna dynasty (v. 2), which is extolled in the succeeding verse (v. 3). The next eight verses unfold the following Chāhamāna genealogy. There lived a king named Lakshmana, whose son was Śōhita, who is here called lord (*pati*) of Dhārā. His other name is Śōbhita.¹ From him sprang Balrāja, who was succeeded by his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. Vīgrahapāla's son was Mahēndra whose other name is Manindu to whom the Rishtrakūta king Dhavala lent a helping hand against Muñjūaja.² Mahēndra's son was Anahilladēva, who was blessed with two sons named Bālaprasāda and Jēsaladēva, whose (latter's) other name is Jēndrarāja¹ or Jindarāja. Jēsalā's son was Prithvipāla. Then comes the prose portion of the inscription. Prithvipāla's son was Ratnapāladēva, who is styled a *Mahārājādhirāja*. He issues the following order after having called together all his ministers, civil and military officers, the headmen as well as the leading persons among his subjects and all the resident Brāhmanas of the *Saptaśata-ūshaya* (of 700 villages) —

“Be it known to you that, the seat of our Government being in Nadūla (Nādōl) and the head quarters of our armies in the village Nahurā, after having bathed and put on two cleaned clothes, setting aside such faults as vehement desire, hatred, jealousy, moral decline, and others of like nature, being in the state of absolute goodness, realising the instability of the world, holding *tīla* (sesamum), unhusked grain (barley), *lusa* (grass) and water in our right hand, having satisfied gods and *pitris* with water, remaining true to our duty, comprehending (the fact that) life is more unsteady than the drop of water on the petal of the day-lotus, having worshipped the consort of Pārvatī (*i.e.* the god Mahādēva), who is the ruler of both the moveable and the immovable, having adored Vishnu (*who is*) the greatest in the world and is skilful in destroying heaps of sins and is able to save from (the pains of) birth, old age and death, having restrained the totality of the senses for a moment, having realised (the fact that) wealth (would) collapse in a moment and such other inconstances (of the world), having satisfied Brāhmanas and other venerable persons by gifts of gold, food, and clothes, favouring (*i.e.* following) the right path, recalling (mentally) the fear of the next world, accepting the fruit of (actions in both) this and the next world, having seen that the lettering of the charter formerly issued by the *Mahārāja* Jindarāja has disappeared, and (having) a mind to renew the same in its former state, for the increase of our religions merit and fame, and for our well-being in the next world, with a pure mind inspired by great devotion, our sins vanishing far (from us) and we being conscious of self (*i.e.* being in our right senses), we have, with libations of water, granted this charter according to the former state of things on Thursday, the 8th of the dark half of the month of Jyēsthā, when 1176 years, reckoned (in the

¹ See above, Vol IX, p. 83.

² Above, Vol X, p. 68.

name of) Vikramāditya had elapsed, to all the resident Brāhmanas of the great Brāhmana village named Gumdakūrchechā, that has survived in all the four *yugas* who delight in the first acts of sacrificing, etc., prayer, study of the Vēdas, meditation and religious practices, who are well-versed in the sacred lore of *Itihāsas* (epic poems), *Purānas* (legends), *Rāmāyana*, *Bhārata*, in words and sentences, and in (the *Smritis* of) Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Bṛiṣu, Āgiras, and Māikanda, in the six *darsanas*² beginning with the *Bhatta darsana* (Pūrva-mīmāṃsā) and other sciences, who are performers of sacrificial rites prescribed in the *Yajur-veda*, such as *Āraathya* (sacred domestic fire), *Agnihōtra* (daily offering to fire), *Agnishtōma* (liturgical rite in the Sōma sacrifice), *Sautrāmanī* (rite sacred to Sutrāman, *i.e.* India), *Paśubandha* (animal sacrifice lit binding of victim to sacrificial post), *Chāturmāsya* (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month) and others, who are competent to break the hard knot of sins, who are well-versed in the Vēdas³ and the Vēdāṅgas⁴, and whose fame is as brilliant, extensive and praiseworthy as that of the full moon. In the beginning of the Kali age a pious *Mahārāja* (named) *śrī-Jāyuka* who was ruling *Kanyakubja*, rode a mare, and the land that he could traverse in 4 *praharas* (or 12 hours), was granted by him, with the pouring out of water, for his welfare in the next world, to a Brāhmana named Gōvinda, by a *sāsana*, the glorious Gumdakūrchechā, a bush (*lūrcā*) for manifesting the picture of good conduct, circumscribed by the four boundaries, (ll 16-36). From that time the name Gumdakūrchechā (of the village so) named after the Brāhmana Gōvinda became famous on (this) earth (l 37). In the *Kṛita*-age it was known by the name of *Nishadhā*, in *Tṛtī* as *Triyambakī*, in *Dvāpara* as *Khanitri* and in *Kali* as *Gumdakūrchechā* (l 38). Its (four) boundaries (are described as follows) —

“To the east (lies) the way (leading) to the village (named) *Vērā* and passing by (the village) *Ghōdiyē*, the reservoir (*raduha*), (locally called *Nādi*), (the village) *Tōusāla*, and the Śiva temple of the village *Ārāchandra*

To the south (are situated) the pond (named) *Rājji* near the village of *Khavada*, and the villages *Chāmgaubā*, *Krikudapadra*, *Gugī* and the proximity of the *pratōḷī* (main gate) of the village *Chadarapadra*

To the west (are to be found) the villages (named) *Mīlva*, *Ākandhāpadra* and *Godāini*, and three reservoirs of water (*raduha-tīaya*)

To the north (passes) the way which leads to *Lavana-khēda*, going from the three reservoirs of water (*raduha-tīaya*) to (the village named) *Sumnēvī*, thence going round the mountain named *Sēhatunga* and (finally) reaching the village *Vērā*” (ll 39-43)

“These are the four boundaries marked out. Within these limits, future kings, whether of our own family or others, should not demand even a single flower from the *śrī-śūlas* (*i.e.* Brāhmanas) residing in *Gumdakūrchechā* (*i.e.* should levy no tax, flower being mentioned as an insignificant article of no practical value) (l 44)”

Then follow 15 imprecatory verses, after which there stand the first half of a verse and the letter *ka* which perhaps was the beginning of the second half left out for some reason unknown to us.

We thus see that the inscription refers itself to the *Chāhamāna* family of *Lakshmana*, whose progenitor is, in this inscription, said to have been born out of the eye of the god *Indra*, while, in other inscriptions of the family it is recorded that, “when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy *Vachchha* (*i.e.* *Vatsa*) brought about the creation of a new race

¹ The six acts prescribed for the Brāhmanas are sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, giving and taking

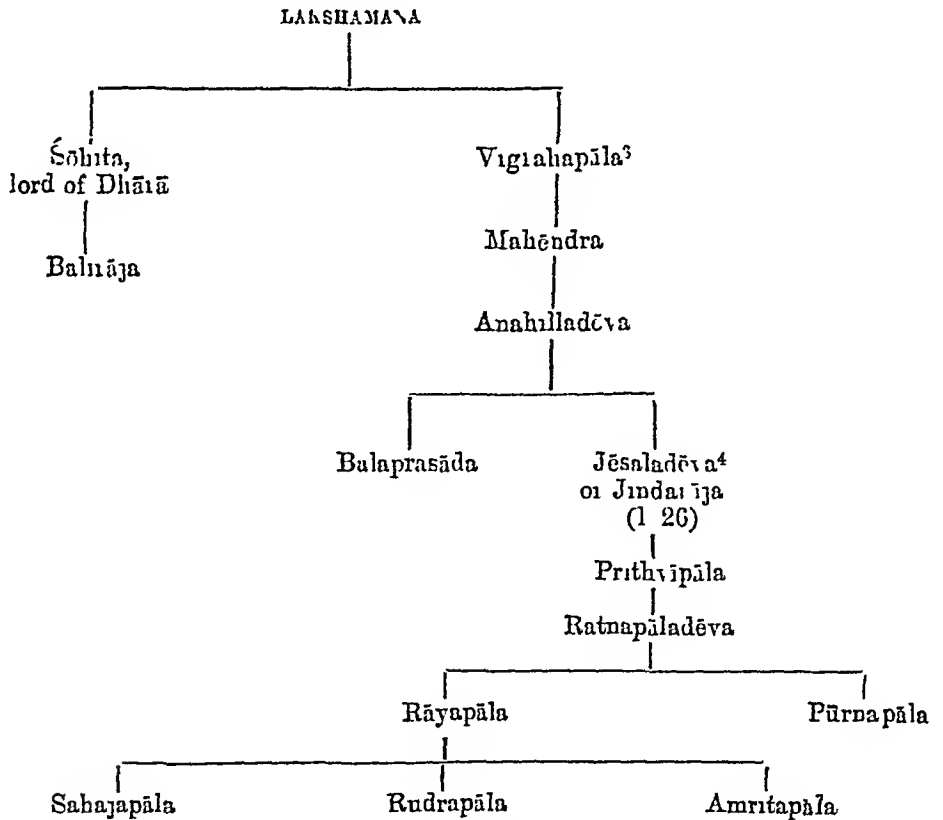
² The six *darsanas* are *Pūrva mīmāṃsā* of Jaimini, *Uttara mīmāṃsā* of Vyāsa, *Nyāya* of Gautama, *Tantrīka* of Kanāda, *Sāṅkhya* of Kapila and *Yōga* of Patañjali

³ The four Vēdas are, *Rik*, *Yajur*, *Sāma*, and *Atharvan*

⁴ The six *Vēdāṅgas* are, *Śikshā* (orthography or phonetics), *Kalpa* (rituals or liturgy), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology and lexicography), *Chhandaḥ* (prosody), and *Jyōtiṣha* (astronomy)

of warriors, the Chāhamāna race"¹ This fact is further corroborated by an inscription where we read² that "there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi* Vatsa' Professor Kielhorn also points out² that "according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmēśvara (No 154 of his *Northern List*) Sāmanta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the *Vatsa-gōtṛa* at Ahicchhatrapāna" The current belief that the four races of Paramāras, Chālukyas, Chāhamānas and Pratihāras sprang from the *agni-hunda* receives no support from this inscription

The genealogy unfolded by our inscription, is the same as that given by Prof Kielhorn in his paper on the Chāhamānas of Naddūla, referred to above, as far as Prithvipāla, and the name of Ratnapāladēva, the hero of our inscription, is an addition to it But an inscription recently discovered at Mandōr, when archaeological excavations were being carried out under the supervision of Dr Marshall, reveals the name of two further generations, viz, Rāyapāla, son of Ratnapāla, and Sahajapāla, son of Rāyapāla Before the discovery of the inscription at Mandōr, it was not known whose son Rāyapāla was, though he was known to be a Chāhamāna from his eight inscriptions found in the Gōdwār District From these latter we further learn that Rāyapāla had besides Sahajapāla two other sons, viz, Rudrapāla and Amritapāla; while in another inscription of Ratnapāla (published in the *Bhāvanagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*), the name of Ratnapāla's son is given as Pūnapāksha, which I am inclined to read as Pūrṇapāla So the dynastic list would now stand as follows —



¹ *Ep Ind* Vol IX, p 79

² *Ibid*, p 71

³ The present inscription does not give us the relation which Vigrahapāla bore to his predecessor Balirāja. It is taken from Kielhorn's Genealogical Table (above, Vol IX, p 83)

⁴ Called Jēndrarāja (Jindurāja) in Prof Kielhorn's Table

In our inscription, Śōhita is styled lord of Dhārā Śōhita's time is after V S 1039¹ when Muñja was ruling over Dhārā It is possible that he defeated Muñja and became, for some time, lord of that city or country This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Śōhita's son Balirāja, routed the army of Muñjarāja² The *Mahārāja* Jindarāja mentioned in line 26 is the same as Jēsaladēva of verse 10 above We may also note that the grant, the renewal of which is recorded in this inscription, is stated to have been originally made by *Mahārāja* *ri-Jājuka* in the beginning of the Kali age

Of the localities mentioned in our inscription, all of them except 5 have been identified —
Gumdakürchchā—is the modern Gündöch, 5 *lōs* south of Pāli (called Mārwar-Pāli), the principal town of the district of the same name and a railway station on the Jōdhpur-Bikaner Railway. It is a *Jāgīr* village held by Thākur Gōpāl Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, of the Ūdāvat clan of Rāthore.³

Vērā—Bēd (now desolate) 1 *lōs* east of Gündöch.

Khavada—Khōd, 4 *lōs* south of Gündöch,

Gugī—Gōgāvās (now deserted)

Chadarapadra—Chāñchōdī, 7 *lōs* south

Milua—Mālōla (now uninhabited), 1 *lōs* south

Ākandhāpadra—Kāndā, 1 *lōs* west of Gündöch.

Gōdāni—Gurdāi, 3 *lōs* west.

raduha-traya—are the 3 Nādis (or reservoirs of water) called Dūli, Bhāndlāi, and Ghānēvara, 1 *lōs* (west)

Sēhatunga—Kālyōtūmka and Badā Bhākara are the names of 2 small hills and a way leading to Bēd passes between the two

Ghōdiyā—Bachūjī-rō-Gurhō, 1 *lōs* east of Gündöch

raduha—is the Nādi called Sānvahyō, 3 *lōs* east

Ārāchandra—now desolate, but there is still a temple of Śīva in the desert, $\frac{3}{4}$ *lōs* south of Gündöch

Nahurā—now called Bāmanān-rō-Nōrō It lies in the Jālōi District and is situated at a distance of 11 *lōs* to the west of Gündöch

TEXT⁴

First Plate

1 ओं⁵ ओं ब्रह्मणे⁶ नमः । [१*] स्वस्तीति चतुरो वेदान् सपडंगपदक्र-
मान् [१*] सर्वाशियमया⁷ स्वस्ति स्वस्तीति परमं

2 पदं ॥ [१*] पपात पुरषे⁸ तित्रादीक्षतः पूर्वादिक्तेः¹⁰ । ¹¹चाहमानात्त्व-
यस्तस्माद्भव¹² गुणिना प्रियः ॥ [२*] ¹³वशः सता य¹⁴

¹ This is the latest date given for Lalshmana by Mr D. R. Bhandarkar, above, table opposite p 78

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX, p 71

³ Besides Gündöch proper, he holds the following villages as his *Jāgīr*—Kōnalā, Bachūjī rō Gurhō, two *dhānis* (hamlets) near Gündöch, Pratāppurā and Gōpālgarh The annual rental of all these villages is estimated at ₹7,000 per annum by the State for the purposes of levying State taxes, etc The majority of the population consists of two different castes of Brāhmanas, viz Gurjar Gundas and Sankhavālas The former claim the village to have been granted to their ancestor named Gangōya (a corruption of Gōvinda of our inscription) The *kūrcha* grass still grows here in abundance—a fact which leaves not even a shadow of doubt as to its being the same village

⁴ From the original plates,

⁷ Metre Anushtubh

⁸ Read पुरषो नित्रा⁹.

¹² Read °दभव.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol,

⁶ Read सकलाशीर्वा.

¹⁰ Read °वदिक्ते

¹³ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ Read ब्रह्म⁹

¹¹ Read °नास्वय¹¹.

¹⁴ Read य.

- 3 'सफलः समुख्यो लोके प्रसिद्धः सगुणो वभूव² । सारोक्तारण्डेदविभेदहीन³
आकारवर्मानुरतोऽभिपेके⁴ ॥३
- 4 'शीलक्षणो⁵ 'लब्धवरप्रदानस्तता⁶ वभूवाखिलराज्ञपत्यः⁹ ॥ ¹⁰वृद्धाभिषिक्तोतिव-
रण¹¹ पुष्टसपद्रशीवा-¹²
- 5 स्थिरमविकाया¹³ ॥४ ¹⁴तस्यात्मजोरातिच्यावमर्दी¹⁵ ¹⁶य[सो]भिराक्रांतसमग्रकाष्ठः ।
नरेन्द्रवृद्धैः¹⁶
- 6 तुतपादपद्मो वभूव¹⁷ धारापतिशोहिताख्यः ॥५ ¹⁸ततो वभूव¹⁸ राजन्यो ²⁰वल्लि-
राजो महोपति. [1⁹] वल्लिममा-²¹
- 7 नदानो यो जितनिःशेषसगरः ॥६ ²²संख्याजिरे²³ विग्रहपालसूनुः प्रतापनिःशे-
पितवैरिजा[तः । 2⁴]
- 8 ²⁴सक्रान्दनाद्यो ²⁵वल्लवा[नि]तांतं ततश्च राजा समभून्महेंद्रः ॥७ ²⁶तस्याभवच्छीअ-
णहिल्लदेव.²⁷ सु-
- 9 तः ²⁸शसांकोज्वलदानकीर्तिं । येनाहवे वैरिजनोपि साक्षी[क]तः स्वशैर्यस्य²⁹ जना-
तिग[स्य] ॥८ ³⁰त[स्या]-
- 10 लजोरातिगण[स्य] हंता वालप्रसादो³¹ नृपतिर्वभूव³² । रणाजिरे येन जिताः
³³सपत्ता सुख[क]-³⁴
- 11 ता शेषजना तिदापै.³⁵ ॥९ ³⁶तस्यानुजो जेसलदेवभूपो वभूव³⁷ पुणा³⁸ कमनीय-
काति । जात मता-
- 12 नां परिपूर्णतायाः शत(तं) स्थिवास्वर्णतुरंगदानैः⁹ ॥१० ⁴⁰सनुस्तस्या⁴¹भवद्राजा
पृथ्वीपाल⁴²

¹ The letter स is probably a subsequent addition

² Read वभूव.

³ Read सारोक्तारण्डेद⁰

⁴ Read °वर्मानु⁰

⁵ Metre Upajāti

⁶ Read °लब्धणी

⁷ Read लब्धवरप्रदानस्ततो

⁸ Read वभूवा⁰

⁹ Read °राजपूज्य

¹⁰ Read वृद्धा⁰ [The first akshara appears to be चू Perhaps the reading intended is चूडा⁰—V.V.]

¹¹ Read °वरेण

¹² Read पुष्टसपद्रमावात्

¹³ Read °मविकाया .

¹⁴ Metre Upajāti

¹⁵ Read यशीभि⁰ [There is a blank space for at least three letters between रा and क्रा in the original—V.V.]

¹⁶ Read वृद्धैर्नृत⁰

¹⁷ Read वभूव

¹⁸ Metre Anushtubh

¹⁹ Read वभूव

²⁰ Read वल्लि⁰

²¹ Read वलि⁰ This line offends against the metre [Perhaps we have to read वल्लिस्त्—V.V.]

²² Metre Upajāti

²³ Read °जिरे

²⁴ Read सक्रान्द⁰

²⁵ Read वल⁰

²⁶ Metre Upajāti

²⁷ Read °क्षी⁰

²⁸ Read शसांकोज्वल⁰

²⁹ Read °शैर्य⁰

³⁰ Metre Upajāti.

³¹ Read वान्⁰

³² Read °वभूव

³³ Read °पत्ता

³⁴ Read स्वस्थीकृता

³⁵ Metre Upajāti

³⁶ Read वभूव

³⁵ Read निवापै

³⁷ Read स्थिरा⁰

⁴⁰ Metre Anushtubh,

³⁸ Read पुणा

⁴¹ Read सनुस्तस्या⁰

⁴² Read °पाली.

⁴¹ Read सूनुस्तस्याभ⁰

- 13 महावलः¹ [I*] शूरो रणे कृती [त्या]गी कचाशोचे मदा रतः ॥११
तत्पुत्री [नि]जकुलाभोजमित्रो म-
- 14 हाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्नपालदेवो महीं पालयन² स्वीयमहामात्यरहसादिनियोगिनो³
महासामत-⁴
- 15 'डडनायकदु.माधसाधनिकठकुरवलाधिप'पट्ट[कि]लजनपदादीन⁵ 'सव्वान 'मपशत-
विपयातःस्थित-⁶
- 16 महास्थानब्राह्मणाश्च¹⁰ बोधयत्यस्तु¹¹ वः सविदित¹² यथा । इह श्रीनदूले
निजराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमा-
- 17 ने नहुराग्रामस्थिते कटके ¹³श्रीविक्रमादित्येत्पादितातीतसम्बत्सरगते[ष्वे]कादश-
18 सु षट्सप्तत्यधिकेषु ¹⁴ज्येष्ठमासवहुलपक्षा[ष्ट]मीगु[रु]वासरे ॥ अकतोपि संव-
19 त् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ गुरौ¹⁵ एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने¹⁶ अस्या संवत्सरमा-
सपत्तपूर्वायां तिथौ

Second Plate ; First Side

- 20 ज्ञान विधाय धौतपोतिके परिधाय रागहेषमत्सरकपायादिदोषान् हित्वा
सात्त्विकभावे¹⁷ स्थि-
- 21 त्वा ससारस्यासारता¹⁸ विदित्वा तिलाक्षतकुशावुप्रणयिनं¹⁹ दक्षिणकरं कृत्वा देवपि-
22 तृनुदकेन संतर्प्य धर्मासुष्ठानमुपसर्प्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतर
23 जीवितमाकलय्य चराचरगुरु पार्व्वतीपतिं सपूज्य जगन्महीयास पापपटल-
पाटनपटो-
- 24 यास²⁰(1) जन्मजरामरणरक्षणप्रभविष्णु विष्णु पूजयित्वा क्षणमेकमिन्द्रियग्राम जित्वा
क्षणिकां लक्ष्मी-
- 25 मुपलक्ष्य²¹ इत्याद्यनित्यतामवेक्ष्य ब्राह्मणान²² गुरुश्च सुवर्णौत्रवस्त्रदानैः²³ सतीथ
सन्मार्गं सं-
- 26 पोस्य²⁴ परलोकभीरुत्वमाश्रित्य²⁵ ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य ²⁶प्राक्सहाराजश्री-
जिदराज-

1 Read °वल

4 Read °सामन्°.

7 Read °दीन्

10 Read °ब्राह्म°.

13 Read °विक्रमादित्येत्पा°.

15 Read °नानेऽस्या

19 Read °कुशासु°.

22 Read °ब्राह्मणान्°.

25 Read °द्वित्यैहिका°.

2 Read °यन्

5 Read °दण्ड°

8 Read °सव्वान्°.

11 Read °बोध°

15 Read °वहुल°

17 Read °सात्त्विक°.

20 Read °यास

23 Read °सुवर्णान्°

25 Read °प्राडम्°

8 Read °रघहस्त्यादिनियो°

6 Read °वलाधिप°

9 Read °रुमशतविपयान्°

12 Read °सविदित

15 Read °गुरावेव

18 Read °सारता

21 Read °लक्ष्येत्पा°.

24 Read °रुपीथ

- 27 प्रदत्तशासनाक्षराणि भ्रष्टान्यवलोक्य तथा स्थित्या जीर्णोद्धारवृद्ध्या¹ स्वपुण्य-
यशोभिद्वयै चातु-
- 28 ²र्युगिकमहाव्यह्नस्थानश्रीगुदकूर्चाहिधाननिवासिने³ यजनादिषट्कर्मजपस्वाध्यायध्या-
नानुष्ठान-
- 29 विधायिने इतिहासपुराणरासायणभारतपदवाक्ययाज्ञवल्क्यकात्यायनभग्वगिरीमार्क-
डेय⁴
- 30 ⁵भट्टदर्शनादिषट्दर्शनशा[स्त्र]ाभिरताय⁶ आवसथ्याग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमसौत्रामणिपशुवंध⁷
- 31 चातुर्चास्यादियजुक्रियानिरताय⁸ निविडतरकल्पप्रग्र(य)थिभिदे [वि]दवेदांगविदे (1)
राकाश-
- 32 शो(शा)कविशद्विस्तृतस्नाध्यह्नोकाय समग्रश्रीब्राह्मणलोकोय⁹ परत्र हिवृद्ध्या¹⁰
निजमनःशुद्ध्या भ-
- 33 क्तिभरप्रेरितमनोभिर्दूरप्रणश्यदेनोभिरात्मसविच्या पूर्वस्थित्या शासनमिदमुदकपूर्वमि-
- 34 त्यस्माभिः प्रदत्त ॥ कलियुगादौ तुरग्यारूढेन दिवसचतुःप्रहरमध्ये यावती
भ(भू)मिः परिभ्राता ताव-
- 35 त्या कृताघाटनैरुपलक्षिता ¹¹सराचारचित्रीन्मीलनकूर्चा श्रीगुदकूर्चा त[स्त्री] गोवि-
दनाम्न¹² द्विजन्मनो(ने ।) श्रीकन्य-
- 36 कु[ञ्ज]पातना¹³ सुकृतिना महाराजश्रीजाजुक(के)न परत्र श्रेयसे स्वश्रेयसे शा-
सनेनोदकपूर्व¹⁴ प्रदत्ता
- 37 तदाप्रभृति . तस्य गोविद्विप्रस्य नामाकित गुदकूर्चति¹⁵ नाम वसुधायां विख्यातं
वभृव¹⁶ ॥ ¹⁷कृते तु
- 38 निषट्टा प्रोक्ता त्रेताया च त्रियवकी¹⁸ । द्वापरे च खनिचीति गुदकूर्चा
कलौ स्मृता ।(॥) अस्या आघाटनानि । पूर्वस्यां
- 39 दशि¹⁹ वेराग्रामवात्सनी²⁰ घोडिया रदुह तीउसाल आराचद्रग्रामशिवभवनसमी-
पगासिनी ॥

Second Plate , Second Side

- 40 दक्षिणतः खवडग्रामसमीपे राज्जीतडाग चागौहाग्रामः । ककुडपट्टं च । गुगी-
ग्रामः । चदर-
- 41 पट्टग्रामप्रतोलीसमीपे च । पश्चिमतो मीलुअग्रामं च । आकंधापट्ट । गोडा-
इणी रदुहव-

¹ Read °वृद्ध्या

⁴ Read °भृग्विरोमाकं

⁷ Read °वन्ध°

¹⁰ Read °द्विजन्मना

Read °कुञ्जपतिना

¹⁶ Read वभृव

² Read °न्नह्न°

⁵ Read °दर्शना°

⁸ Read °यजु क्रिया°

¹¹ Read सदाचार°

¹⁴ Read °पूर्व°

¹⁷ Metre Anushtubh

⁵ Read °गुदकूर्चाभिधान°.

⁶ Read °षट्दर्शनशास्त्राभिरतायाव°.

⁹ Read °ब्राह्मणलोकाय

¹² Read °नाम्न.

¹⁵ Read °कूर्चेति

¹⁸ Read त्रियवकी

²⁰ Read °वात्सनी.

¹⁹ Read दिशि

- 42 य¹ च । उत्तरतो लवणखेडवर्त्मनी । रदुहत्रयात् मुनेवीग्रामगामिनो
ततो² सेहतुंगपर्व-
- 43 तं मध्ये क्त्वा वेराग्रामग्रामिनो³ ॥ इने⁴ चत्वार आघाटनाः प्रमाणं
अमोपा⁵ आघाटनाना मध्ये⁶ आ(त्र)-
- 44 स्रहंशजैरन्यैश्च भावि[भृ]मिपालैश्च केनापि गुटकूर्वाया त्रीलोकपार्श्वे वदपुष्यं
न याचनीयं । अस्मद्वशे य-
- 45 दा क्षीणे यः कोपि नृपतिर्भवत्तस्याहं⁷ करे लग्नः शासनं न व्यतिक्रमे⁸ ॥१
¹⁰वहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त्वा¹¹ गजभि स-
- 46 गराद्भिर्वसु¹² यम्य यदा भूमिस्तन्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥२ त्रोस्त्राहुरपि¹³दानानि
गाव पृथ्वी सरस्वती [I¹⁴]
- 47 आसप्तम फलमित्येते¹⁵ दोहवाहनिवेदने¹⁵ ॥३ सर्वेषामेव दानाना¹⁶ एकजन्मानुक्तं¹⁷
फल¹⁵ । हाटकाच्च-
- 48 तिगौरीणा सप्तजन्मुक्तं¹⁸ फलम् ॥४ यावन्ति मत्स्यमूलानि गौरोमाणि च सङ्ख्या [I¹⁹]
नरस्तावति²⁰ वर्पाणि स्व-
- 49 नो तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥५ तडागाना²¹सहस्रेणाञ्ज[नि]धशतेन च । गवा कौटिप्रदा[नि]न
भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥६
- 50 सत्वं चैव हुत चैव यत्किञ्चिद्वर्मसञ्चितं । चर्द्वागुलिन सीमाया²² हरणेन
प्रनस्यति²³ ॥७ न्यायिनोपाजि-²⁴
- 51 ता भूमी²⁵ अन्यायिनोपहारिता । हरतो हारतश्चापि²⁶ ²⁷हनत्यात्पमं कुलं
॥८ भूमी²⁸ य. प्रतिगङ्गाति²⁹ य-
- 52 स्तु भूमी³⁰ प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ³¹ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥९
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रे³²
- 53 दानानि³³ धर्मार्ययसस्कराणि³³ । निर्माद्यवतप्रतिमानि³⁴ तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददेतु³⁵ ॥१०

¹ Read °च

² Read तत .

³ Read °गामिनी

⁴ Read इने.

- Read अमोयाना°

⁶ Read मध्येऽक्ष°

⁷ Read बहुपुष्पं

⁸ Read °वेत् । पत्न्या°

⁹ Read व्यतिक्रमेत्

¹⁰ Read इतु°

¹¹ Read मुन्ना

¹² Read सगरादिभि । यद्य

¹³ Read °रति°

¹⁴ Read °फलमित्येते

¹⁵ Read °निवेदने

¹⁵ Read दानानामे°.

¹⁶ Read °दु°.

¹⁶ Read फल.

¹⁷ Read °स्रह्मादुग

¹⁷ Read °वने

¹⁸ Read सहस्रेण चाश्व°.

¹⁸ Read सीमाया

¹⁸ Read प्रपश्यति

¹⁹ Read °नीर्पा=ता.

¹⁹ Read भूमिरन्यायिनो°

¹⁹ Read हारयन्तीऽपि

²⁰ Read प्रहन्त्याम्ब°.

²⁰ Read भूमिं

²⁰ Read °रुष्टाति

²¹ Read भूमि

²¹ Read न्ययत

²¹ Read नरेन्द्रे³²

²² Read °वस्कराणि

²² Read °वान्°

²² Read °राददेतु.

- 54 पूर्वदत्ता¹ नरेन्द्रैश्च यत्नाद्रत्त [श]तकतुः² [।*] ³महीन्महिभृता श्रेष्ठा⁴ दानाश्रेया-
नुपालन⁵ ॥११ विंध्याट-
- 55 ⁶वीवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पा भि' जायंते ⁷ब्रह्मदायापहारकः⁹ ॥
- 56 १२ न विषं विष[मि]त्याहुः¹⁰ ब्रह्मस्व विष¹¹ उवाते । विषमेकाकिनं हंति ब्रह्म¹²-
- 57 स्व पुत्रपौत्रिकम् ॥१३

Third Plate

- 58 षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि¹³ स्वर्गो वसति भूमिदः । हरणेनानुमंताश्च¹⁴ तस्यैव¹⁵ नरकं
वसेत् ॥० रिणह-¹⁶
- 59 र्ता भूमिहर्ता हारीताश्च¹⁷ हि ते क्षयः¹⁸ । एते च नरकं यांति ¹⁹यावदिन्द्रचतुर्द-
- 60 श ॥० ॥ ²⁰रिणहर्ता भूमिहर्ता द्वावेतौ तुलया धृती[।*] क²¹

No 33—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS OF KONDAVIDU

By J RAMAYYA, B A , B L

A

This inscription is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar planted in front of the temple of Virabhadra-svāmin in the village of Phirangipuram²² in the Sattinapalli taluka of the Guntur District. I first saw and copied it in April 1897. Subsequently, my friend Rao Sahib Krishna Sastri visited the place and took an estampage of the inscription, from which I edit it. The letters are cut deep and the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

The Telugu characters and orthography of this inscription are similar to those of the Tottarāmūdi plates of Kātaya-Vēma²³. In the present inscription, however, the aspirated forms of *b*, *d* and *p* are distinguished from the unaspirated ones by a stroke resembling the Telugu figure 1 affixed at the right-hand corner of the bottom of the letter. This sign is not found in the case of *bha*, *bhā* and *bhu*, the first and last of which are, however, distinguished from the corresponding unaspirated letters by the presence of the *talakattu* or top-stroke. Sometimes a consonant is unnecessarily doubled after an *anusvāra* as in *vinōdumddu*-(l 103).

A remarkable feature in the orthography of the Telugu portion of the inscription is the use of the sign of the *pūrṇānusvāra* for denoting *ardhānusvāra* as in *-okhamdu*-(l 97 f), *-pat-*

1 Read °दत्ता

2 Read शतक्रतो.

3 Read मही महीभृता

4 Read श्रेष्ठ The syllable ष्ट is written below the line

5 Read दानाश्रेयीनु°.

6 Omit the first बी

7 Read हि

8 Read ब्रह्म°

9 Read °हारका'

10 Read °त्याहुर्ब्रह्म°

11 Read विषसुच्यते

12 Read ब्रह्म°

13 Read षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि

14 Read हर्ता चैवाहुमन्ता च

15 Read तान्येव नरके

16 Read ऋणहर्ता.

17 Read तथा हारयिता

18 Read चय

19 Read °दिन्द्राश्च°

20 Read ऋण°

21 The inscription abruptly stops here;

22 A station on the Bezvada Guntakal branch of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway

23 Above, Vol IV. pp 318 ff.

yum Gṛishna- (102 f), *=anungun-butiri* (104 f), *-nārāyanumdu-* (105 f), *-putāmbulam bari-* (123), and *vēndim jēva* (125 f) In all these places, metre requires the *ardhānusiāra* only, and this was, no doubt, what was intended to be read The use of the complete circle which is the sign of the full *anusīāra* to denote the half-*anusīāra*, is common in inscriptions and in old manuscripts and shows that the modern sign of the *ardhānusiāra*—i.e. the left half of a circle,—had not yet come into vogue at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It shows also that 'ardhānusiāra was pūrnanusiāra incompletely pronounced,' as the author of the *Āndhrabhāshāhūshanam* puts it, and disproves the view of some of the later grammarians who seem to think that *ardhānusiāra* was the earlier and *pūrnanusiāra* the later form of the sound It also falsifies the much bolder theory of the late Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastrī who held that *ardhānusiāra* simply denotes the elision of a consonant¹ In modern Telugu the words *pūchi*, *dīchi*, and *nōchi* are pronounced only with an *ardhānusiāra* after the first vowel, but Nannabhōda, in his *Kṛmārasambhavam*, used these words as *pūñchi*, *dāñchi* and *nōñchi* and made them rhyme with *eñchi*, and even now we hear, in the Guntur, Nellore, and the Ceded Districts, *vāndu* for *vādu* (he), *tōñchu* for *tūchu* (weigh), *mīnda* for *mīda* (above), *pēnta* for *pēta* (market town) and *pēnda* for *pēda* (dung) In the Roman text of the Telugu portion of the inscriptions, the *anusīāra* to be elided is printed in italics

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Telugu and it is throughout in verse The sixth and seventh verses are also found in the *Śṛṅgāradīpikā*, a commentary on the *Amarasatoka* by Kōmatī-Vēma², and the thirteenth verse is taken, with a slight modification, from the Madras Museum plates of Vēma³ The first verse is devoted to the praise of the bear-incarnation of Vishnu and the second and third to the praise of the Sun and Moon, and Vināyaka In the next verse, the poet appropriately eulogizes the feet of Vishnu which gave birth to the (Śūdra) caste, which is a veritable ocean of good qualities In that caste was born king Vēma who was 'a seventh emperor,⁴ as it were, and an eleventh incarnation of Vishnu' (v. 5) Vēma ruled for a long time, enjoying what was left of the kingdom after enjoyment by Bīhmins, and constructed the flight of steps from *Pātālagāṅgā* to the summit of the Śīśāila as if to climb up to the abode of Śiva (v. 6) He had an elder brother named Mācha, who had three sons, i.e., king Reddivōta, Śī-Kōmatīndra, and king Nāga, who were like *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* personified (v. 7) Ped[ā*]ja-Kōmatī begot a son named Vēma—as great as Karṇa in charities—even as the ocean begot the moon (v. 8) Verses 9 and 11 describe the military greatness of Vēma, while vv. 10, 12 and 13 praise his charities which extended from Śīśāila to Kāśī (Benares), touching on the way Kumārāchāla, Pañchārāma, Simhāchala, Śrīkūrma and Purushōttama The queen of this king was Sūramāmbikā, who, on the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the year Virōdhi corresponding to the Śāka year counted by the moon, Rāmas, Rāmas and the earth (1331), performed the ceremony of *pratiśthā* (completion and dedication to public use) of the tank called Santānapayōnidhi (vv. 14 and 15) The next three verses contain a hyperbolic description of the tank, and then follow three verses from the *Mahābhārata* on the merit of digging tanks The last Sanskrit verso tells us that this pure *dharmaśāsana* was composed by Śrīnātha who was the *Vidyādhyakṣin* of Vēma and a storehouse of learning

The three Telugu verses that are engraved on the east face of the pillar, are in the Sisa metre, each verse consisting of four long lines in the proper Sisa metre followed by four

¹ See his *Theory of Ardhanusvāra*, Edition of 1892

² See the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya's remarks on the Phirangipuram inscription, in his Report on Epigraphy for 1900, p. 21, paragraph 53

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff

That is, as great as any of the six emperors (*skatchakravartin*) spoken of in the Purānas

short lines in the Tēta-gīta metre. The first verse announces the fact of the completion of the tank and gives us the additional information that the day of the ceremony of *prasthī* was a Friday and that Sūramāmbā was the daughter of king Ganna of Dhānyavātī (Dharanikōṣṭa). The next two verses contain a hyperbolic description of the tank of which it is stated that its waters were as purifying as those of Gangā, Yamunā, and all other sacred rivers, that it was full of water-lilies which blossomed at the touch of the rays of the moon which was the crest of (the idol of) Śiva established on its bank, that the deafening roar of its waters filled all space, that it was the sporting ground for fish, crabs, and other water animals, and that its waves kissed the sky (v. 24). "How, to such a tank as this, can be likened the ocean which was trodden to dust by the hoofs of the false Boar that was Vishnu, which became dry by the touch of the fire of the arrows of Rāma, that was drunk up by sage Agastya, and that was dammed with stones by hosts of monkeys and bears?" (v. 25).

In regard to the date of the inscription, the Honourable Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, the learned author of the "Indian Chronology," kindly informs me that "the *tithi* ended at 23½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise on Friday, 21st February, A. D. 1410."

The inscription confirms, but adds little to, what we know already of the history of the Reddis of Kondavidu, which I discussed at length in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma.¹

Special interest attaches to this inscription as well as to the two following ones from the fact that they were composed by the great Telugu poet Śrīnātha.

Vēma, son of Pedda Kōmati, bore the titles *Saṅgīāma-Dhanamjaya* (vv. 9 and 11) and *Vīranārāyana* (v. 23). He seems to have been both a scholar and a patron of scholars. The *Śringārādīpī*, of which he is the reputed author, says that he was well versed in all the branches of knowledge and that his court was the resort of poets among whom was the great Sanskrit poet Vāmanabhata Bāna, the author of the drama *Pārvatīparvaya* and of the poem *Vēmaḥpālīyam* of which Vēma was himself the hero. Śrīnātha held the position of *Vidyādīkārī* (Poet Laureate²) under Pedda-Kōmati-Vēma and he seems to have held the same position under his son Rācha-Vēma, as will appear from the next inscription³. After the death of Rācha-Vēma he seems to have gone to Rajahmundry where he was patronised by Vēma-Reddi and Vīrabhadra-Reddi. He was a prolific writer and his poetry is characterised by originality and vigour of expression. He is the author of the following works —

1. Marudrācharitramu
2. Śālivāhana-Saptaśati
3. Śringāranaishadhamu
4. Bhīmakhandamu
5. Kāsīkhandamu
6. Haravilāsamu
7. Panditārādhyacharitramu
8. Vīthi-Nātakamu

Nos. 3 to 6 have been published. A *Vīthi-Nātakamu* purporting to be the work of one Vinukonda Vallabhāmātya has been recently edited by Mr. Mānavalli Rāmakrishna Kavi, M. A.,

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

² [*Vidyādīkārī* appears to have been a responsible high place somewhat similar to the 'President, Board of Examiners' of the present day. That Śrīnātha did occupy such a place is evident from what is said of him in the introduction to the *Bhīmakhandamu*, in the Sisa foot *bhāṣā-mēhinādatu bahudēsa-budhalatō vidyāparīkṣhana-vēlālandu* — H. K. S.]

³ Śrīnātha's connection with the Reddis probably began in the reign of Ana Vēma, to whose minister he dedicated his *Śringāranaishadhamu*.

and I agree with the editor in considering that Śrīnātha, who was Vallabha's contemporary, was the real author of this little poem. The poetry is certainly that of Śrīnātha¹

In the introduction to his *Bhīmakhandamu*, the poet tells us that he was a Brāhmana of the Pākanāti sect. The Pākanātis are found mostly in the Nellore District and there is a family of them at Sālūrapāta, whose house-name is Śīnātham (Śīnāthuni). These Brāhmins usually call their sect Pīānnāti to distinguish it from that of Pākanāti Kāpus or Reddis and interpret that term as meaning the "Eastern Country." This etymology is obviously incorrect². The Telugu term Pākanādu is evidently derived from Tamil Pākkānādu, which is found in several Tamil inscriptions in the Nellore District³ and the word *pākkai* is the Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit *pūga*, meaning areca-nut. Pūngi, a variation of Pūgi, appears in inscriptions as the name of the country "which extended from the eastern slopes of Srīgiri to the eastern sea on both sides of the river Kundī"⁴. In my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma, I was unable to explain the signification of this term, but there is no doubt about it now. The Telugu form of *pūgi* is *pōka*—*ō* being nasal—and a sect of the Reddis of the Cudappah District call themselves Pōkanāti and not Pākanāti Reddis.

Śīnātha was a much travelled man for his times. He tells us, in a stray verse attributed to him, that he visited the courts of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II and Rāva Sarvajña-Singamanīdu of the Velugōti family and that he was patronised by Sālūva Telungu Rāya. He spent, however, the best part of his life at the courts of the Reddī chiefs of Kondavīdu and Rajahmundry and dedicated most of his works either to those chiefs or to their officers. The traditional history of the Velugōti family tells us that Lingamanāyudu of that family having killed Vēma-Reddī of Rajahmundry in battle and taken his sword called the *Nāndikantapōtarāju*⁵ Śīnātha was deputed by Vēma's brother Virabhadra to get back the sword and that the poet succeeded in doing so by eulogizing Lingamanāyudu in three verses⁶.

B

This inscription also belongs to the time of Pedda-Kōmati-Vēma and is engraved on both sides of five copper plates. About ten years ago, the plates were sent by the Tahsildar of Guntūr to the Collector of the Kistnā District in which Guntūr was then included, and I edit the inscription from impressions taken by me at that time. The inscription consists of two

¹ Śrīnātha is also the reputed author of the ballad *Palīdīvirācharitramu*, but some dispute his authorship and the point requires investigation.

² [The Bitraganta plates of Samgama II (above, Vol. III, p. 27, verse 19) describe Pāka-vishaya or Pāka nādu as a district situated 'on the shore of the Eastern Ocean (i.e. the Bay of Bengal),' including within it the town Vikramasimhapura, i.e. the modern Nellore. Pūgi or Pūngi vishaya, on the other hand, was a part of Pāka, confined in extent to either bank of the river Kundī or Gundlakamma and extending from Śrīgaṇa to the Bay of Bengal. Prammādu 'Eastern Country' as applied to themselves, by the Pākanāti Brāhmins of the Nellore district appears, therefore, to have been the correct etymological interpretation of the term Pāka nādu, though the form Pākanānādu of Tamil inscriptions was undoubtedly derived from *pūngi*, *pūgi* or *pōka*, which formed a part of the name of the northern sub-division of Pākanādu and meant an areca nut. Consequently it looks as if the larger term and division Pākanādu or Pākanānādu derived its name from the smaller Pūngi-vishaya, which was perhaps the case in all the more recent times.—H. K. S.]

³ *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butlerworth and Venu Gopaul Chetty, Vol. II, p. 873, and Vol. III, pp. 1397 and 1401.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

⁵ In another place it is called *Sāndikantapōtarāju*.

⁶ The *Telugūlīkāra vamsācharitramu* by Vellāla Śadāsiva Śāstrulu and Avadhīnānu Śēśla Śāstrulu. Madras edition of 1910, pp. 59 and 60. In this book the Reddī king who was killed, is called Anavēma-Reddī. But this is clearly a mistake for Allāya Vēma Reddī.

parts, the first part records the grant by Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma of the village of Ālapādu to a Brāhmaṇ named Viśvēśvarabhāta, and the second part records the distribution of the village by the donee, among a number of other Brāhmaṇs. The first part consists of twenty Sanskrit verses intercepted, after verse 18, by a long Telugu prose passage which describes the boundaries of the village. The first, fourth, fifth and eighth verses are found also in inscription A. We learn from this part of the record that Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma had a younger brother named Mācha who is known to have been killed in battle by Kumāra-Vēdagiri-Nāyudu of the Velugōti family.

The object of the inscription is to record the fact that on the Śivarātri day in the month of Māgha in the year Nandana corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the oceans, Rāmas, and the moon (1334), Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma granted the village of Ālapādu, situated on the eastern bank of the river Tungabhadra, in the beautiful Velanāndu district of the Trilinga-*viśhaya* to Viśvēśvara-bhāta who was the great-grandson of Mādhan, grandson of Gundāya and son of the great poet Mādhanva-bhāta of the *Yajuh-sākhā* and the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. The enclosing boundary line of the village is specified in great detail in Telugu prose¹ after which comes the usual imprecatory verse *sva-dattā* [*d'*]=*dirigunam punyam*, etc. The last verse tells us that the inscription was composed by Srinātha. The signature at the end consists of the phrase *srī-Vīranārāyanasya, īc* of the glorious Vīranārāyana.

The second part of the inscription, which is engraved on both sides of the fourth and fifth plates, states that Viśvēśvara-bhāta, here stated to be a student of the *Āṅgīrā*, of (the three *pravaras*) Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, to have been the son of Mādhanvābhāya, 'who was capable (equally) of cursing or conferring boons,'² and to have been born as a gift of the glorious (God) Nṛsiṃha, divided the village Ālapādu-Vēmavara (*i.e.* Ālapādu renamed Vēmavara after the donor) given to him by king Pedda Kōmatī-Vēma, into 60 shares out of which he reserved apparently 15 shares for himself and distributed the remaining 45 shares as shown in the list appended at the end of this article.

Ālapādu is identical with the village of that name in the Tenāli tāluka of the Guntur District. Tungabhadra was a branch of the Kṛṣṇā river and branched off from the main river near Bezvada. It has ceased to exist as a river after the construction of the Kṛṣṇā ament and its course is marked by the main and the Komamūr canals of the Guntur tāluka and the drain which is in continuation of the latter.

The Honourable Swamikannu Pillai has kindly furnished the following note about the date of the inscription — "Śaka 1334, Nandana, Śivarātri, *i.e.* Māgha *bahula* 13 or 14. I understand that Śivarātri is celebrated at midnight when the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is current, whether the *tithi* be the 13th or the 14th. Now the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa was current at midnight between Monday, 30th, and Tuesday, 31st January, 1413 A.D. which was Nandana, Śaka 1334. The 14th *tithi* ended at 15½ *ghatikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413. The *nakshatra* Śravaṇa ended at 12½ *ghatikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413."³

¹ The description as usual includes the mention of a number of anthills distinguished by different trees that grow over or near them and of the villages, Pedapūndi Mandūru (north east), Tāndiparati (south west), Jatalammapādu and Chundūru.

² The same is stated of Mādhanabhāta in the first part of the inscription (v. 15). It is also recorded here that Mādhanabhāta had thoroughly accomplished (the repetition of) the *mantra* (invoking the blessings) of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha.

³ [It will be seen from 129 that there was an eclipse of the sun in connexion with the Śivarātri. Mr Sewell has kindly informed me that the Śivarātri ended at mean sunrise on Wednesday, February 1st. There was an important eclipse of the sun on that morning (Wednesday), conjunction taking place at 3 h 58 m after mean sunrise —S. K.]

Other Brāhman donees and their shares

Serial number	Names of Donees	Gōtra	Śīkhā	Shares.
1	K[ā]ndrūrī Śingāya Śishta	Harita	Yajus	2
2	Lakshmi-Narasimhabhatta, son of Mādhanāya	Bhāradvāja	Do	2
3	His younger brother, Ananta-Narasimhabhatta	Do	Do	2
4	Addanki Mallubhatta	Śrīvatsa	Do	2
5	Yellaya Śishta of Vclanāndu	Harita	Do	2
6	Kattangūrī Gangādhara-bhatta	Kāśyapa	Do	2
7	Parami Pedd -Śishta	Harita	Do	1½
8	Jampani Annama-Sishta	Śāndilya	Rig	1
9	Rudraya bhatta	Kausika	Yajus	1
10	Kāmaya Śishta	Harita	Do	1
11	Kondūrī Tippaya Śishta	Sāndilya	Do	1
12	Ātukūrī Peddī Śishta	Kausika	Rig	1
13	His son, Kūnaya-Śishta	Do	Do	1
14	His younger brother, Pūnaya-Śishta	Do	Do	1
15	Eraya Śishta	Do	Yajus	½
16	Śingaya Śishta, son of Padmaūbha	Kāśyapa	Do	1
17	Gudiyamala Krishnaya Śishta	Śrīvatsa	Do	2
18	Kāmaya Śishta, son of Pōtaya	Do	Do	1
19	Krishnaya Śishta, son of Pōtaya	Śāndilya	Do	½
20	Chattibhatta, son of Annaya	Śāndilya	Yajus	1
21	Śingaya Śishta, son of Narahari	Do	Do	1
22	Mutta[na] Śishta, son of Māraya	Bhāradvāja	Do	1
23	Kūśava Śishta, son of Narahari	Audhula	Rig	1
24	His younger brother, Dēvarē bhatta	Do	Do	½
25	Sūraya-Sishta, son of Aubhala	Kaundinya	Do	1
26	Māru-bhatta, son of Tallaya	Do	Do	1
27	Vallabha-Śishta, son of Kūśava	Do	Do	1
28	Lakshmana bhatta, son of Viśvāvara-bhatta	Harita	Yajus	1
29	His younger brother, Nāgaya-bhatta	Do	Do.	1
30	Kattangūrī Singanārya	Bhāradvāja	Do	1
31	Gundaya-bhatta	Kāśyapa	Do	1
32	Poldi bhatta, son of Pōtaya	Kaundinya	Do	1

Serial number	Names of Donees	Gōtra	Śākhā	Shares
33	Rudra bhattacha—on behalf of his wife A[ka]kamān bilā, daughter of the donor Viśvēśvara bhattacha ¹	Kāśyapa	Yajus	4
34, 35	The village gods, Hari and Hara			2 (one each)
36	Tippaya Śishita, son of Śrīdhara ²	Sāndilya	Do	1
	TOTAL			45

C

This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sisa metre followed by another in the Tēta-gīta metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock called *pullaribōdu* north-east of Aminābād near Phrangipuram. Like the last two inscriptions, this was also composed by the poet Śrinātha. It records that, on the full moon day of the month of Māgha in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expressed in words), King Vēmaya-Rāchavēmana³ (i.e. Rāchavēmana, son of Vēmaya, i.e. Pedda-Kōmati-Vōma) had a channel called Jaganobbaganda-kāluva⁴ dug as a feeder to the tank Santāna-vārdhi which his mother Sūrāmbā had excavated. This tank is, no doubt, the same as that referred to in the Phrangipuram inscription A. As pointed out in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma,⁵ this inscription shows that Rāchavēmana was Pedda-Kōmati-Vōma's son and *not* his brother.

The Honourable Swamikaunn Pillai informs me that the *pūrnimā-tithi* referred to in the inscription ended at 43 *ghatikās* after sunrise on Tuesday, 14th January, A D, 1416.

Inscription A

TEXT⁶

West Face.

- 1 कल्याणं जगतां तनोतु
- 2 स विभुः कादविनीमेचकः क्रौडा-
- 3 [क्रौ]डतनुः पयोधिपयसो विश्व-⁷

¹ It is stated that the share is given to provide Akhamāmbikā with *haridrā* (i.e. turmeric powder used as a toilet only by women with living husbands)

² The list of donees ends with the signature (*crālu*) of the donor Viśvēśvarabhattacha

³ The inscription gives him the following attributes —“the gem of plenty (*chintāmani*) in (bestowing) gifts (mentioned by) Hēmādri, (the very god) Śamkara (Śiva) (riding) on the bulls (*baṣuva*), viz, the enemy kings, Phalgunā (Arjuna) on the battle field and the paramour of prostitutes, i.e. the proud hostile chiefs” The third attribute was a surname of his father Pedda-Kōmati-Vōma

⁴ The channel was evidently so named after Jaganobbaganda, a title of frequent occurrence among the Redḍi kings

⁵ Above, Vol III, p 12 f

⁶ From ink impressions supplied by Mr Krishna Sastrī.

⁷ The *anustāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 4 भरासुद्वहन् । भारापेतफणा-
 5 विवर्तनवशान्मोदाय यस्या-
 6 सवन्निर्यत्ना भुजगैद्रसौक्मिणि-
 7 सिनीराजनप्रक्रिया । [1] तसौ हरि-
 8 ता तव पुष्यवती राकासु
 9 पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथागली-
 10 लासिव दर्शयती पुरा पुरा-
 11 रे पृथिवी-यस्य । [2*] मानुपाकारकिम्भो-
 12 रस्तवेरसम्पुर्महः । उन्निद्रय-
 13 तु भद्राणि रुद्राणी येन सुप्रजा['] [1*] [3*]
 14 दक्षौक्मौ निहित चिराय निगसैर्ध्वे-
 15 य च ग्योगिभिर्यल्लक्ष्मीसृदुपा-
 16 णिपद्मयुगलोमवाहनैर्लालित [1*]
 17 जाना यत्र धियन्नदी त्रिजगतीमता-
 18 पनिवापणी¹ तस्मात्कसभिद्. पदाद्-
 19 दभवहणी गुणार्णोनिधि² । [4*] तत्रा-
 20 भवत्वममवन्नवती³ वैमलितीशो जग-
 21 रक्षपाल । एकादशेति प्रतिभाति शंका
 22 येनादतारा, परमस्य पुम⁴ । [5*] रा-
 23 ज्य वैम, न चिरमकरोत्याज्यदानैक-
 24 तानो भृमीदेवैर्भुवसुरुसुजो
 25 क्लृपेपात्रभुङ्ग⁵ । श्रीशैलाग्रात्म-
 26 वन्ति पथि ग्राहपाताऋगणे सोपानानि
 27 प्रत्यपदवीमारुरुच्यकार । [6*]
 28 साचक्षोणिपतिर्महेद्रसहिमा
 29 वैमलितीशाग्रजो रामाद्यैः⁶ सदृशो
 30 कभूव सुनुगैस्तस्य त्रयो नद-
 31 जा । 'चित्वा जाग्रति रेडिवीतनृपति[']* श्री-
 32 कोवटीद्रस्ततो नागक्ष्मापतिगित्युपा-
 33 तद्रपुदो 'धर्माध्यजाना इव । [7*] प्रसूत

¹ Read 'नवा'°

² The 'p'igara' by 13's चेष्टादे

³ Read 'मसुङ्ग'

⁴ Read 'कीर्त्त'°

⁵ Read 'प्रमथ'°

⁶ Read 'धर्माध्य'°

- 34 पुत्रं पेदकोमटींद्रो विश्राणने कर्णम-
 35 सूतपुत्रं । वेमाभिधानं सुगु-
 36 लैकधानं¹ पाधीनिधिर्नाधमिवी[ष]-
 37 धीनां । [8*] ²धाटिदुदुभिमांक्षति³
 38 कलयतो निर्घातरावं रिपू-
 39 न् नामानि द्रुतमर्जुनस्य जपतो
 40 यस्याजिगाडीविनः । संग्रामोपप-
 41 दानि तानि भवतां रक्षाकृते सर्वदा वर्ण्य-⁴
 42 तामिति बोधयंत्यधिपतोन् धीयं-⁵
 43 त्रिणो मंत्रिणः । [9*] श्रीशैले स्थिरमूल-
 44 तामुपगता वृद्धि⁴ कुमाराचले पं-⁵
 45 चारामतले प्रतानसुषमा सिंहा-

South Face.

- 46 चलेंद्रे ततः । श्रीकूर्मे पुरुषोत्त-
 47 मे कुसुमिता ⁶यध्वर्मकीर्तीर्क्षता
 48 काश्यां विश्वपतेः पुरः फलवती नित्यो-
 49 पहारोचितं । [10*] अभिमन्युकरग्राह्या-
 50 सुत्तरां खड्गपुत्रिकां । नर्तय-
 51 त्याहृवे रंगे यः संग्रामधनं-
 52 जयः । [11*] अत्र्यातं गृह्यराजसीध-
 53 निवसन्नक्ष्मीकराभ्यंतरक्रीडांभी-
 54 रुहताळ्वंतनटनप्रस्तावविस्ता-
 55 रितः । वायुः केसरवासनासुर-
 56 ⁷वितो यस्याध्विर्चिंतामणोर्द्धा-
 57 गाचामति दानकेलिजनितं खेदां-
 58 भसा जालकं । [12*] सप्तसतानव-
 59 त्यासोद्येन सर्वसहेत्यल । स्पर्धये-
 60 व धृताः कीर्त्या गर्भे लोकाश्चतुर्दश । [13*]

¹ Read °तान पाधीनिधिर्नाध°.

² Read धाटी°.

³ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

⁴ Read वृद्धि

⁵ Read यध्वर्मकीर्तीर्क्षता.

⁶ Read °वितो यस्याधि°.

⁷ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 61 राजस्तस्य महादेवो राजमौळेरि-
 62 वांविका । रत्नसिंहासनस्यार्धं राज-
 63 ते स्मरमाविका । [14^{*}] ॐ शकाब्दे शशि-
 64 रामरामधरणीमस्ये विरोध्याह-
 65 ये वर्षे फाल्गुननाम्नि मासि बह(हु)के
 66 पक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ¹ । देवी सा पेदकीम-
 67 टीश्वरभुव[²] श्रीवैजपृथ्वीपते[:³] श्रीसं-
 68 तानपयोनिधे कृतवती सम्यक् प्रति-
 69 ष्ठाविधि । [15³] लीलालीढतरंगशीकरकणं
 70 राकाविधौ रक्षणा हेरवेण
 71 मदीयशान्तिविधये हेलावगा-
 72 ढ सुहु । राजीवात्मनरघ्यह-⁴
 73 सपग्निपञ्चपुटीचर्चितस्वक्का-⁵
 74 भोजनृणाङ्किकाकिसलयक्लेद' य-
 75 दीय पयः । [16^{*}] घाटाकठकटोरग-
 76 र्भकुहकीपाकीनधुक्कीरसखीत.सौ-⁵
 77 रभटीकमानसधुलिङ्गकारको-
 78 लाहलैः । वाचालानि वनानि यस्य
 79 सविधे सोय सुधानिर्मलत्रोसंत[1]-
 80 नसमुद्र एष पयसां शशिर्जय-
 81 त्यष्टमः । [17^{*}] वैडूर्यरत्नशकलामल-
 82 वारिपूरे मङ्गु⁶ किमत्र भगवान्ध-⁷
 83 केटभारि' । अगोचकार जगतामवन-
 84 क्लृतेन⁸ पाठीनकङ्कपवराहसहा-⁹
 85 वतारान् । [18¹] ॐ श्रीसहाभारते ॥
 86 देवा मनुष्याः पितरो गधर्वी-
 87 रगराक्षसा' । स्थावराणि च भूता-
 88 नि सत्ययति जलाशय । [19²] तटापे ग-

Read °तियो

° Do Read °सच्छा°

° Read °रस्यौ°

° Read °च्छीन

° The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

° Read °च्छेद

° Read क्लृप्त

° Read °क्षक्षप°

° Read °नभुकेटभारि

- 89 स्य गावस्तु पिबति लषिता जलं । [सृ]-
 90 गपक्षिमनुष्याश्च सोश्वमेधफल
 91 लभेत् । [20⁺] आस्फोटयति पितरः प्रवृत्त्यं¹
 92 ति पितामहाः । अपि नः स कुले जातो
 93 यस्तटाक करिष्यति । [21^{*}] विद्याधिकारी श्री-
 94 नाथो वीरश्रीविमभूपतेः । [अ]करोदा-
 95 करो वाचा निर्मळ धर्मशासन । [22^f] श्री [॥^{*}]

East Face.

- 96 ॐ Śāk-ābdamulu sahasramu-
 97 nu munnūmta-muppady-o-
 98 kka^mdunun=aina bhavya-samkhya- | vaialu
 99 Virōdhi-samvatsarāmbuna Phālgu-
 100 nambuna baha(hu)la-pakshambu vidīya [1^{*}]
 101 Śukravārambuna subha-muhū-
 102 [r]tambuna sri-Dhānyavāti-pur-ādhipa-
 103 tyu-|^m Grīshnavenna-²jala-kridā-vinō-
 104 dnmddun=agu Ganna-bhūpālun=anu-
 105 mgu^m-butri | Viranārāyanu^m-
 106 du-Vēma-vibhuni dēvi | bhūri-sadguna-
 107 nikurumba Sūramāmba | jagam
 108 vinutimpa Samtāna-sāgar-ākhyā-[1^{*}] vara-
 109 tatāka-pratishth-ōtsavamb=onarchche³ || [23^{*}] Jāhna-
 110 vi-Yamun-ādī-sakala-pāvana-nadi-
 111 vimala-⁴tirdhth-āmbhah-pavitritambu | sa-
 112 vidha-dēsa-sthāyī-Śiva-mauli-bāl-ōmdu-
 113 kaumudī-sampulla-⁵kairavambu | ba-
 114 hu-maha ⁶parivāha-pāthōbhara dhvā-
 115 na-ghumaghumāyita-dīśā-gō-
 116 lakambu | jala sārāni-sēka-samvardhi-
 117 t-ānēka-vana-vinīt ādhvag ādhva-sramambu [1^{*}]
 118 balavad-uru-matsya-kachchhapa-⁷dhuli-kulira-[1^{*}]
 119 tumi-tamūgūla-vikrama krama-vihāra-[1^{*}]
 120 taralata-tunga-bhamga-kadamba-chum[bi]-[1^{*}]
 121 t ābhīa vidhi(thi) Samtāna-mahā-payōdhi⁸ || [24^{**}]
 122 Kapata-sūkatam=aina Kaiābh āsua-vani
 123 khura putambula^m barikshunnam=⁹a-
 124 yye | Raghu-kul-ōdvaha-dhanur-yam-

¹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line² Read =*onarche*³ Read =*tirdh-*⁴ Read *Krishnavennā-*⁵ Read *sampulla*⁶ Read *mahā* There is an indistinct syllable written above the line between the letters *na* and *ka*, it looks like *da*, *du* or *la*⁷ Read =*kachchhapa dhv!*⁸ Read =*payōdhi*⁹ Read =*lshunnam*

- 125 tra-muktamul=aina chichchurammula¹ vō-
 126 mdim jēva darage-|m Gumbha-sambhavu-
 127 ni hast-āmbhō ruhambunan=āpō-
 128 sanamb=ayī hrāsam=omde-|m bīsbā-
 129 namulan=achhchhabhallā-²gōlāmgūla-ka
 130 pi-yūdhamauchētam gattuvadiye |
 131 vanadhī yō bhamgi sari-rachohun=anaṅgavachchu-[1*]
 132 n=ā-rasātala-gambhīra-vāry=aguchu-[1*]n-apa-
 133 gat-āpāyam=aguchu śābh-ādhyav=³agu-
 134 chu-[1*]n=anupamamb=aina Samtāna-vanadhītōda [1*] [25*]

Inscription B.

TEXT.

First Plate, First Side

- 1 कल्याण जगतां तनोतु स विभुः काटंविनीमेचकः क्रोडाक्रो-
 2 डतनु. पयोधिपयसो विश्वंभरामुद्वहन् । भारापेतफ-
 3 णाविवर्तनवशान्मोदाय यस्याभवन्निर्यता भुजगेंद्रमौळिम-
 4 णिभिर्नीराजनप्रक्रिया । [1*] लीलाद्यूतजितां कळाधरकळा मी-
 5 ङ्गी दृढ कीलितामाहर्तुं युगमुन्नमय्य भुजयो-
 6 विंक्षेपयत्या मिथः । पार्वत्याः कुचकुभपार्थ-
 7 युगळे सप्रेमलोलेक्षणः कालक्षेपणमिदुमोचन-
 8 विधौ कांचन् शिवः पातु व । [2*] भवतु भवतां फलाद्यै कल्पलता
 9 ळापि करटिराजमुखी । मधुरसुधारसधारा मधुलव-
 10 ललितेदुमंजरीमंजु । [3*] तमो हरेतां तव पुष्यव-
 11 तीं राकासु पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथांगलीलामिव दर्श-

First Plate, Second Side.

- 12 यतौ पुरा पुरारेः पृथिवीरवस्य⁴ । [4*] यन्मौळी निहितं चिराय
 निगमै-
 13 र्ध्वं च यद्योगिभिर्यज्ञस्मोसृदुपाणिपद्मयुगलीसवाहनैः⁵
 14 लित । जाता यत्र वियन्नदी त्रिजगतीसतापनिर्वापणी तस्मात् कस-
 15 भिद् पददुदभवद्वर्ण⁶ गुणाणोनिधि । [5*] तस्मादभूत् प्रोलयवे-

¹ Mr Brown gives the form *chichchutammu* in the sense of 'rocket' The word is a compound of *chichchu* and *ammu* and means a fiery arrow.

² Read *-achchhabhalla*.

³ Read पृथिवीरवस्य

⁵ Read नैर्ला⁰

⁴ Read *-ādhyam*

⁶ Read °द्वर्ण

- 16 मनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविदानशाली¹ । हेमाद्रिकख्योदितदानदत्तो
 17 निस्सीमभूदाननिरूढकीर्तिः । [6*] वेमच्चित्तोशो वृषमेकपाद ख-
 18 जप्रचार कलिकालदीपात् । दत्ताग्रहारद्विजवेदशक्त्या पथि क्र-
 19 मैरखलितं चकार । [7*] माचक्षोणपतिर्महेन्द्रमहिमा वे-
 20 मच्चित्तोशायजो रामाद्यैः सदृशो वभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्र[यो]
 21 नंदनाः । कीर्त्या जायति रेड्डीवोतनृपतिः² श्रीकोमटीद्रस्तो
 22 नागक्ष्मापतिरित्युपात्तवपुषो धर्मार्थकामा³ इव । [8*] वे-
 23 माधिपो माचविभुश्च नंदनौ श्रीकोमटीद्रश्च⁴ गुणै-

Second Plate, First Side

- 24 कसंश्रयो । भूलोकमेकोदरजन्मवाह्या भूयोवतीर्णाविव
 25 रामलक्ष्मणी । [9*] 'चूडामणिवृपाण 'दुर्मदपरिपदिशिखरिदभो-
 26 क्रिः । सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती⁵ पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति । [10*] सोयं वेस-
 27 [म*]हीपालो भूपालपरमेश्वर । भूदानवीरमूर्धन्यो [धी]रो-
 28 दात्तगुणोतरः⁶ । [11*] श्रीशाकाब्दे पयोराशिरामरामेंद्रु-
 29 सम्निते । नंदने मासि माघाख्ये शिवरात्र्या रविग्रहे⁷ । [12*]
 30 पितुः पितामहो यस्य मह[नी]ययशोनि[धि]ः । मा-
 31 धवो नाम मेधावी विश्वविद्याविहारभू[] । [13*] पितामहो सहा-
 32 विद्वान् यस्य श्रीगुडयाभिधः । वेदादीना विशुद्धाना वि-
 33 द्याना जन्ममंदिरं । [14*] शापानुग्रहदत्तो लक्ष्मोनरसिंहम-
 34 त्संसिद्धः [] सकलकविसार्वभौमो माधवभट्टः पिता यस्य [] [15*]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 35 श्रीविश्वेश्वरविदुषे भारद्वाजान्वयावतसाय । अयविरहि-
 36 ताय तस्मै विद्याविनयान्विताय पुण्याय । [16*] प्रदानत्रिलिंग-⁸
 37 विषये वेल्लनाडी मनोरमे । तुंगभद्रातरगिण्याः प्रा-
 38 क्षीरे पर्यवस्थित । [17*] आलपाडुरिति ख्यात ग्राममाचद्रता-
 39 रक । साष्टैश्वर्यं ह्यष्टभोग धारापूर्वं धराधिपः [] [18*]
 40 अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि देशभाषया लिख्यते []⁹

¹ Read °विधान°

² Read घनांध°

³ Read श्रीकोमटीद्रस्त.

⁴ This verse is found also in the *Śringārādi-pilā* Read °वृपाण

⁵ Read दुर्मदपरिपदि°

⁶ Read गुणोतर.

⁷ The letters here are somewhat illegible though the reading is almost certain

⁸ Read प्रादाप्ति°.

⁹ The rest of this side as well as the whole of plate 3 which are taken up with a description of the boundary line of Ālapādu in Telugu prose have not been transcribed. Plates 4 and 5 which contain the names of donees, who received the grant from Viśvēśvara-bhāṭṭa, are also left out

Inscription C

TEXT.

- 1 Śāk-ih[d]amula sahasrāmbunu mun[n]ūmta-muppadi[y-ēdunu]
 2 1yopp[u] migu¹a | m hanjarr=aina Manmatha-vatarambuna Ma[kh]a-² māsa-
 3 munam būrnimā-dīnamuna | Hēmādri-dāna-chumtīmaniy=a-
 4 uūya-basuva-³Śamkar[u]m d-āji-Phalgunumddu | sa-mad āri-rāya-vē-
 5 syā-bhujamgumddu Vēmaya-Rāchavēmāna-kshmarumddu | dalh-
 6 Sūrāmbachē samutprannam-aguchum [l] baragu Samtāna-vā-
 7 rdhiki vaiuva gīmgā | {n=ō}līya gūvīhūmla Jaganobbagamda-[l*]kē-
 8 luva ghatunchen=i-tīakamba gīmgā ||

|| Śrīnātha-kṛti ||

No 31—MĀRĪDĀPALĪJ GRANT OF ŚRĪ-RĀNGARĀYA II, ŚAKA 1197

By V. NĀTESA AIAI, B.A.

The subjoined grant is published from two sets of Sir Walter Elliot's ink-impressions which the late Government Epigraphist for India was kind enough to place at my disposal. It is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1197, the cyclic year probably being Yuva, and belongs to the reign of Śrī-Rāngarāya II, of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Mr Sewell is of opinion that this date¹ marks the commencement of Śrī-Rāngarāya's rule.

Although a number of inscriptions belonging to this dynasty has already appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*, yet not a single Sanskrit inscription of this particular king has been published *in extenso*.² And what is more, even the chroniclers of these times do not seem to have thought it either necessary or proper to make more than a passing mention of the successors of the renowned Rāmarāya on the Vijayanagar throne. This, perhaps, is partly accounted for by the fact that the battle of Tānkōṭa of A.D. 1565 which King Rāngarāya fell soundly, as it were, the death-knell of the dynasty and crippled its power and resources once and for ever. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that such information as can be gleaned from the grants and other documents of the rulers of this

¹ Read *ādunūn=oppu*

- Read *Magha*

² Read *basara*

³ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 218

⁴ A fragmentary translation of an inscription of this king from Dēvanahalli in Mysore is published in Mr Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*. See No. 140, p. 252 ff.

dynasty who lived during the days of its decline, will be useful in so far at least as they will enable us to determine with tolerable certainty the extent of their dominions and the seats of their government, if not also their relations with their quondam viceroys in distant provinces

Turning to the grant itself, it may be observed that the tops of the first, second, fourth, and sixth pages of the impressions are marked by the Telugu numerals 1, 2, 3 and 4. There also appear faint traces of the numeral 5 at the top of the eighth page. This seems to indicate that the grant was originally incised on five plates of which the first and the last were engraved only on the inner, and the intervening three on both sides. Judging from the impressions, the plates can be said to have been in good preservation. They measure $9\frac{3}{8}$ " \times $7\frac{1}{4}$ " and seem to have had raised rims and a ring passing through the centre of their top.

The alphabet is Nandināgarī. The following are some of the orthographical peculiarities and errors —

- (1) the doubling of *y*, *t*, and *d* after *r* in *-turyyō* (ll 9 and 13), *-sauryyēna* (l 25), *-mūrtitā* (l 46), *-tirtti-* (l 61), *bharttum* (l 87), and *-sārdḍūlamarddanah* (l. 117),
- (2) the doubling of *n* when followed by *r* in *nvasunnrājati* (l 81),
- (3) the dropping of the *visarga* before sibilants in *-saptamasrīpati-* (l 11) and *svāhāmānīsvatanu-* (l 18),
- (4) the use of the *anusvāra* instead of class nasals in *narēndrah* (l 11), *Tātapinnama-* (l 13), *haram* (l 14), *nramjanāni* (l 34), *-bhāvamchitah* (l 65), and *-mandalīka-* (ll 102 and 105),
- (5) the use of *n* instead of *ṇ* in *āmnāgān* (l 58),
- (6) the use of *l* instead of *ḷ* duo, perhaps to vernacular reluctance in *lālitaṇ* (l 5), *-halakshamā-* (l 10), *surabhulāsugam* (l 21) and *-mē(ma)rāla-* (l 55), and lastly,
- (7) the use of the symbol for *dh* to denote *th* (ll 57 and 58). The words *chaurāsi* (l 90), *sāmula* (l 94), *dhatta* (l 107) and *disāpatta*, which occur in the Viḷūpāka grant¹, are also found here.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Gaṇādhipati and consists of eighty-three Sanskrit verses. It closes with the word *Śrī-Vṛūpāksha* in old Kanarese characters. The first three verses invoke respectively the gods Śiva, Vishnu and Gaṇeśa in the manner of the British Museum Plates of Sadāsivarāya.² The following eighteen verses carry the genealogy of the dynasty, partly mythical and partly historical, down to Tirumalarāya's reign and have their exact parallel in verses 3-20 of the Kondyāta grant of Venkata II.³ Verses 22-29 describe king Tirumalarāya but record no historical facts.⁴ With verse 30 begins the description of the donor Śrī-Rangarāya II, son of king Tirumala and Vengalimbā. In verse 42 he is said to have belonged to the *Ātrēya-gōtra*.

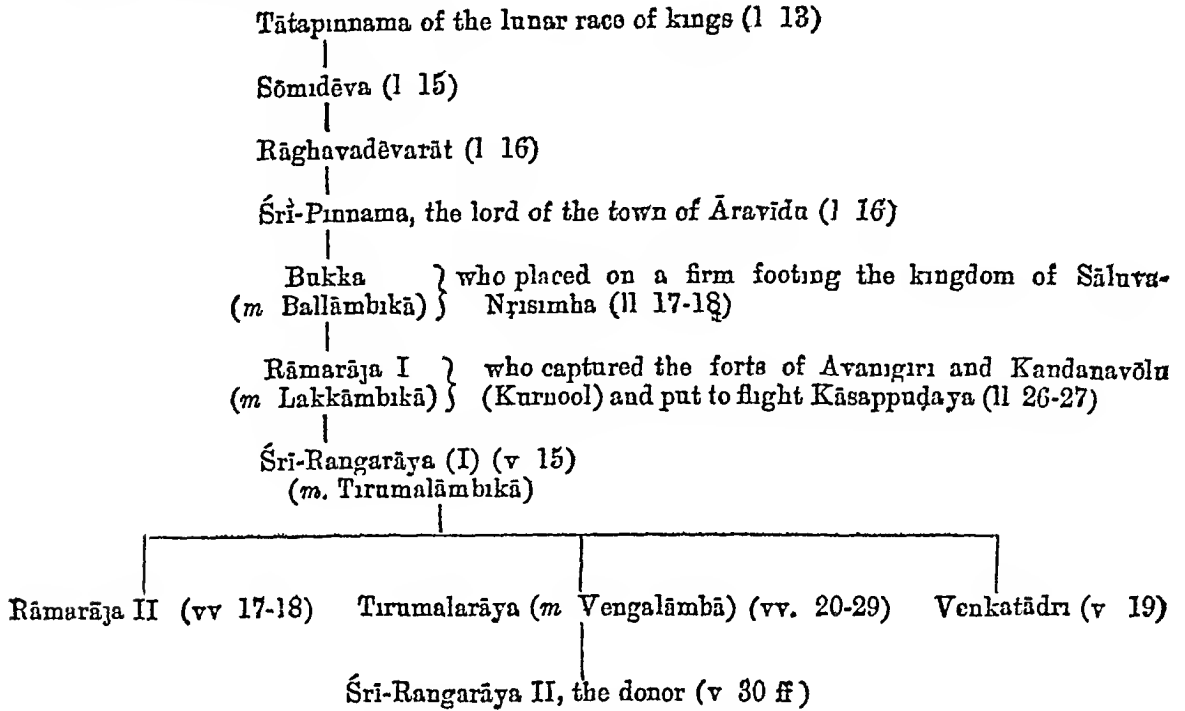
¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 270

² *Ibid* p 12

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 129

⁴ Identical with these are the verses 24, 27, 29, 30 and 32 of the Tumkur Plates of Tirumalarāya (see *Ep Carn*, Vol XII, pp 2-3)

His ancestry is given as follows —



Most of these details are found in the Kūnyūr plates of Venkata II¹ Śrī-Rangarāya II is reported to have captured several fortresses including the inaccessible Kondavidu and Vinikondapura from his camp at Uddagiri (Udayagiri in Nellore) and to have been residing at Penukonda (v. 31)² He married two wives, viz, Tirumaladēvi and Krishnāmbā (v 32) He reduced the Chaurāsīdurga (i.e. eighty-four hill forts, perhaps, in Mahārāshtra) He bore in his heart Śārngadhara (i.e. the god Vishnu) (v 35) Some of his *birudas* were *Manniyān Sāmula* (v 36), *Gandaragūli* and *Manyapuli* (v 38) He was highly extolled as the vanquisher of Avahalurāya and the king of Utkala (vv 37-8) He was the lord of Āravidu and adopted the surnames *Vēngyatribhuvanīmalla* (l 102), *Uṅgōlasuratrāna* (i.e. Sultān of Orangal) (l 103), *Ranamukharāmabhadra* (l. 104), *Kalyānapurādhipa* and *Chālīkchakhravartin* (ll 108-9) As suggested by Dr Hultzsch the first and the fourth of these *birudas* were perhaps reminiscences of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas³ He calls himself the suzerain of the Rattas and Magadhas (l 107) *Konarāni-kōṭala-konga*, and *Oddiyarāya-diśāpatta* (v 45) With verse 53 commences the grant proper

The date is expressed as the twelfth tithi (*prathamadvādasit̥thau*) of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshādhā in the Śaka year reckoned by the horses (7), the treasures (9), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1) (i.e. 1497), the cyclic year being Yuva. This date falls in A. D. 1574 expued⁴

The grant was made before the god Rāmachandra⁵ The donee was Aubhalabhata who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and was a follower of the Kātyāyana-sūtra and the

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol III, pp 238-9

² This is already known to us from two inscriptions published by Mr Rice (*Ep Carn* Vol VII, Sh 83, and Vol XII, Cl 89), see *Ind Ant*, Vol. XXXVIII, p 94

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol. IV, p 270

⁴ Sewell's *Indian Calendar*, p LXXX

⁵ Perhaps, the Rāmasvāmin temple at Penngōnda is referred to here. It may be noted in this connection that although the capital of this dynasty had been removed to Penngōnda by king Tirumala, the father of the present donor, the name of the guardian deity occurring at the end of the grant is given as Śrī-Virūpāksha.

Śuklayajuh-śākhā He was the son of Varadabhatta and grandson of Balēndubhaṭṭa (vv 55-7)

The village granted was Marēdapalli *alias* Krishnāpuram belonging to the Rāyadurga-rājya gurt round by Hastināvati (*i.e.* the modern Hampi in the Bellary District), to the Pennavēntha (?-nādu) and to the Bhūdigumma-sīma¹ (vv 58-9) It was to the east of the river Penna (? Northern Pennār) and south of the hill bounding the village of Chōlasamudra and near the *chemada*-bnsh lying east of Nilādrī (*lit* blue hill) situated on the outskirts of the village of Korakodru and close to the river Penna It was to the west of the blue elevated ground bordering on the *Giddamālgāni-kshētra* and lying to the west of Kummarllapalli, which again was the western boundary of the village of Palukūr, west of the tamarind tree adjoining the sandy tract bounding the village of Vēlēti. It was to the north of the stone pillar set up near the *samī* tree growing on the outskirts of Timmāpura Of these places, Krishnāpuram may have taken its name from Virakrishnama of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, at whose instance the grant was made He was the son of Varabāyappa and lord of Manināgapura and is said to have borne the biruda *Sitakaraganḍānha* (vv 70-3) and to have been the terror of Dhavalānka(na)²

The titles *Sindhū-Gōvinda*, *Sitakaraganḍa*, *Davalanku-Bhīma* and *Manināgapuravarā-dhīsvara* are applied to Tirumalarāja of Udayagiri in an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1457, the cyclic year Manmatha, corresponding to A D 1535-36.³ In a copper-plate record of Śaka-Samvat 1484, the cyclic year Rudhirōdgārin, corresponding to A D 1563-64⁴ the same epithets are given to Krishnāpa-Nāyaka, son of Baiyappa-Nāyaka, of Balam (Bēlūr) Of Krishnāpa-Nāyaka (also called Eja-Krishnāpa-Nāyaka) Mr Rice remarks, that he "is represented in most of the inscriptions as the head of the family, who was enfeoffed by Krishnarāja of Vijayanagara He was the *hadapada*, or bearer of the king's betel-bag"⁵ According to Mr Rice, Venkatādrī-Nāyaka, son of Krishnāpa-Nāyaka, was the head of the Balam family in Śaka-Samvat 1498, the cyclic year Dhātri, corresponding to A D 1576-7⁶ About Manināgapura Mr Rice adds, "I have been unable to identify Manināgapura It appears to be a place in the Central Provinces."

The composer of the inscription was the son of Sabhāpati and the engraver Ganapayā-chārya, the son of Virana These two persons also figure in the same capacities in the Tumkūr Plates of Tirumalarāja⁷

The grant concludes with the usual imprecatory verses and *Śrī-Virūpāksha* in old Kanarese characters at the end

TEXT.

First Plate`

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । ⁸स्तुगशिरयुंविचंद्रचाम-
- 2 रचावे⁹ । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शभवे ।(॥) [१*] ¹⁰हरेलीलाव-
- 3 राहस्य दंद्रादडस पातु वः ।[हे]माद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्रशि-
- 4 य दधौ ।(॥) [२*] ¹⁰कल्याणायस्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूर्हतिमिरापह । यद्गजो-
- 5 प्यगजोद्भूत पंचास्येनापि लाकित¹¹ ।(॥) [३*] ¹⁰जयति क्षीरजलधेर्जात(त)

¹ Būdigumma is the name of a village in the Rāyadrug tāluks of the Bellary District. It is 29 miles east of Rāyadrug

² The correct form of this biruda is *Davaṣanaka Bhīma* as will be seen in the next paragraph.

³ *Ep Carn*, Vol III, Sr 95

⁴ *ibidem*, Vol V, H N. 5.

⁵ *ibidem*, Vol V, Part I, p xxxiii

⁶ *ibidem*, Vol IV, Yd. 59.

⁷ *ibidem*, Vol. XII, p 5.

⁸ Metre Anushtubh Read नमस्तुग^o

⁹ Read °चारवे.

¹⁰ Metre Anushtubh

¹¹ Read लाकित-

- 6 सव्येक्षणं हरे । आलवनं चकीराणाममरायुष्कर¹ मह. 1(II) [४*] 'पौत्र-
 7 स्तस्य पुरुरवा बुधसुतस्तास्यायुरस(स्या)त्मजः सजज्ञे नक्षुपो² यया-
 8 तिरभवत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः । तद्वये भरतो वभूव ऋ(नृ)पतिस्तत्त-
 9 तो शंतनुस्तत्तुर्यां विजयोभिमन्युरुदभृत्तस्मात्परि(री)चित्तत[. * ॥५*]
 10 'नदस्तस्याष्टमोभूत्समजनि नव[म]स्तस्य राजघकिच्चापत्त-³
 11 सप्तम[*] श्रीपतिरुच्चिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेन्द्रः । तस्यासीद्विज्ज[ञ्जि]-
 12 द्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेम्नाकिरायस्तात्रीयोको⁴ मुरारौ क-
 13 तनतिरुदभृत्तस्य मायापरोप.⁵ 1(II) [६*] 'तत्तुर्योर्जनि तातपिनम-
 14 महीपालो निजालोकनत्रस्तामित्रगणस्ततोजनि हर दुर्गा-
 15 णि सप्ताहितात् । अङ्गेकेन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तथैव जज्ञ(ज्ञे) सु-
 16 तो वीरो राघवदेवराडिति तत[*] श्रीपिन्नमोभून्(नृ)पः । (II) [७*] 'आरवीटि-
 17 ¹⁰ननरीविभोरभूदस्य व(वु)क्कधरणीपतिस्मृत । येन साकुवन्-
 18 सिहराज्यमप्यधमानमहसा स्थिरीकृत 1(II) [८*] ¹¹स्वःकामिनी¹² स्वत-
 19 नुकांतिभिर[र*]क्षिपती बुक्कावनोपतिलको बुधकल्पशास्त्री । क-
 20 ल्याणिनी कमलनाभ इवाद्भिकन्या¹¹ वन्नाविकामुदवहइइ-
 21 मान्यशीलां 1(II) [९*] ¹¹सुर्व कलशावुधे. सुरभिक्कायुग माघवाल्नु-
 22 मारमिव शंकरात्कुलमहीतत¹⁵ कनाका¹⁶ । जयतमन्नरप्रभो-

Second Plate, First Side

- 23 रपि शचीव बुक्काधिपारच्छत¹⁷ जगति वल्लमालमत रा-
 24 मराज सुत 1(II) [१०*] ¹⁸सहस्रैस्सप्तत्या सहितमपि यस्मिधुजनुपां
 25 सपादस्थानीक समिति भुजशौर्येण महता । विजित्यादत्ते-
 26 स्मादवनिगिरिदुर्गं विभुतया विधूतैः कासप्युडयमपि
 27 विद्राव्य सहसा 1(II) [११*] ¹⁹कदनवोलिदुर्गंमुरुकंदकद[भ्यु*]दयो वा[इ]व-
 28 लेन यो बहुतरेण विजित्य हरे । सन्निहितस्य तत्र चरणाभु(वु)-
 29 यु भक्ततया ज्ञातिभिरर्षित²⁰ सुधयति स्र निशेव्य²¹ विषं 1(II) [१२*] ²²श्री-

¹ Read 'युष्कर

⁴ Metre: Sragdharā.

⁷ Read 'पुरीश

¹⁰ Read 'मगरीविभो'.

¹⁴ Metre: Prithvī.

¹⁷ Read 'पाच्छत.

²⁰ Read 'रर्षित

² Metre: Śārdūlavikridita.

⁵ Read 'यजिक्कचापत्त'

⁸ Read हरन्

¹¹ Metre: 'Vasantatilaka.

¹⁵ Read 'महीभृत्

¹⁸ Metre: Śikharin

²¹ Read निषेव्य.

³ Read नक्षुपो

⁶ Read 'सात्तीयीको

⁹ Metre: Bathōddhatū

¹² Read स्व कामिनी ¹³ Read 'विकन्या.

¹⁶ Read कन्याका

¹⁹ Metre: Sainasikhā

²² Metre: Indravajrā

11a

Handwritten text in a South Indian script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

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1

Handwritten text in a South Indian script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

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H KRISHNA SASTRI

SCALE 55

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- 30 रामराजचित्तिपथस्य तस्य चितामणेरर्वि(र्थि)कदवकाना । [ल]-
 31 क्ष्मी[रि]वांभोरुहलोचनस्य [ल]क्काविकासुथ महिष्यलासी-
 32 त् ।(॥) [१३*] ¹तस्याधिकैस्समभवत्तनयस्तपोभिश्चरगराजन्-
 33 पतिश्शशिवंशदी[प] । आसन् समुल्लसति धामति² यस्य चि-
 34 चं नेत्राणि वैरिसुदृशां च [नि]रजनानि ।(॥) [१४*] ³सतीं तिरुमुला-
 (मला)वि-
 35 कां चरितलीलयारुधतोप्रथामपि तितित्तया वसुमती-
 36 यशी रुधतीं । हिमाशुरि[व] रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणी सद्ग(ङ्ग)ै-
 37 रमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवा[प्य*] वीराग्रणीः ।(॥) [१५*] ⁴रचितनयविचा-
 38 र(र) रामराज च धीर वरतिरुमलराय वेकटाद्रिचित्तिशं [।*]
 39 अजनयत स एतानानुपूर्व्यां कुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्या[मि]-
 40 व राजा महीजाः ।(॥) [१६*] ⁵[अ](स)कलभुवनकांटकानरातीन् समिति नि-
 41 हृत्य स रामराजवीरः । भरतमनु भगोरथादिराजप्रथित-
 42 यशाः प्रशशास चक्रसुर्व्याः ।(॥)[१७*] ⁶वितरणपरिपाटीं यस्य वि-
 43 द्याधु(ध)रीणा नखरमुखरवीणानादगीता निशम्य । अनु-
 44 कलमयमावालाव(वु)र् [व*]वापदेशादमरनगरशाखी लज्ज-
 45 या मज्जतीव ।(॥) [१८*] ⁷'व्यराजत' श्रीवरवेकटाद्रिराज' चित्ती लक्ष्म-
 46 णचारुमूर्त्तिः । ज्याघोषदूरोक्ततमेघनादः कुर्वन् सुमित्रा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 47 शयहृष(र्ष)पोष ।(॥) [१९*] ⁸त्रिषु श्रीरगक्ष्मापरिवृ(वृ)ढकुमा-
 48 रेखधिरण विजित्यारिक्क्ष्मापास्तिरुमलमह[।*]रायन्-
 49 [प]तिः । महा(हौ)जास्साम्राज्ये सुमतिरभिषिक्ता(क्तो) निरुपमे प्रशास्यु-
 50 वीं सर्वामपि तिसृषु मूर्त्तिष्विव हरिः ।(॥) [२०*] ⁹'यशस्विनामगं(ग्र)-
 सरस्य य-
 51 स्य पद्माभिषेके सति पत्थिवेदो⁹ । दानाबुपूरैररभिषिचा-¹⁰
 52 माना देवीपदं भूमिरिय दधाति ।(॥) [२१*] ¹¹यस्यातिप्रौढतेजस्मवि-
 53 तरि ¹²विमतद्वातमेदिन्युदीते कीर्त्तिञ्जीरण्वांतस्फुटर-

¹ Metre Vasantatilakā

⁴ Metre Māhni

⁷ Metre, Upajāti

¹⁰ Read 'पूरैरभिषिच'.

² Read धामनि

⁵ Metre Pushpitāgrā

⁶ Metre Śikhari

¹¹ Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Metre Prithvi.

⁶ Metre, Māhni

⁹ Read पार्थिवेदो

¹² Read विमतध्वान्.

- 54 विकसत्पुंडरीकोपमस्य । श्वेतच्छत्रस्य¹ मध्ये² कनककलशि-
 55 का भासते कर्णिकाभा तस्योपांत³ मेराळद्वयमिव विचलच्चा-
 56 मरहंद्दमास्ते ।(॥) [२२*] 'भोगित्वे विदितेपि जिह्वर्ण⁴ इति व्याकाधिरा-
 57 जं लसद्वत्तत्वे⁵ जळसंश्रयोति⁶ कमठं⁷ दानेपि मंदा इति । दि-
 58 द्वा(ङ्ना)गान् भृशमुन्नतौ च कठिना⁸ इत्योव⁹ हित्वा गिगीस्तत्तत्त-
 59 हुणसपदेकशरे(र)णं भृरिति हर्षेण य ।(॥) [२३*] 'स्त्रैरं संहृतकंठको-
 60 [य] सुहृतोत्वृष्ट विधायाखिलं च्माकेदारमुदारदानसलिला-
 61 सारैस्समापूर्ये च । संवड्यां(ध्यां)नघकीर्त्तिसत्यनिवहं तत्प्यालिकां
 62 ¹¹विक्रमः श्रौकातां भुजकाधमानशिखरे धत्ते हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥) [२४*] ¹²जि-
 63 ष्णुत्वं शुचिता प्रजासु समतावत्तित्वमप्याश्रितो वृत्ति(त्तिं) पुखज-
 64 नप्रियामधिगत. ख्यातः प्रचेता इति । प्राप्तस्पर्शनवि(वि)भ्रमाय-¹³
 65 [न]पतिस्सर्व[ज्ञ*]भावांचितः प्रायो यः प्रकटीकरोति भुवने
 66 तत्तद्दिगोशाशता ।(॥) [२५*] ¹²हुत्वा मंत्रपुर.सर रिपुयशोलाजान्
 67 प्रतापानले ।(॥) सपापय¹⁴ पदान¹⁵ सप्त भुवनेष्वारोप्य मेरूप-
 68 ल । प्रीतः कीर्त्तिमयीं वधूं परिणयन् सक्ता(क्तौ)तुकोल्लामिनीं य-
 69 स्सिंहासनमाश्रितो विजयते गृह्य¹⁷ द्विजं(जै)द्राशिषः ।(॥)[२६*] ¹⁸अत्रां-

Third Plate, First Side

- 70 तविश्राणनकीर्त्तिसाम्य सुरद्रुमा यस्य तु लब्धु(ब्धु)कामाः ।
 71 तटै(टै) तपस्यंति वि(वि)यत्तटिन्याः प्रवाळकापायपटा जटास[र*]: ।(॥) [२७*]
¹⁹[कां]-
 72 चिश्चौरगशेषाचलकनकसभाहोवकाद्रीशमुख्येष्वाहृत्या-
 73 वृत्य सर्वेष्वतनुत विधिवभृ(ङ्गु)यसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु [तो]-
 74 शेष्वपि कनकतुलापूरुषादीनि नानादानान्येषीपदानैर-
 75 पि समसखिले(लै)रागमौ(मो)क्तानि तानि ।(॥) [२८*] ²⁰यस्मिन् शासत्येकवोरे
 76 धरित्रीमेणाक्षीणामेष काश्यं विलग्ने । टिल्यं²¹ तत्कुंतके कर्क[श]-
 77 त्व तद्वक्षोच्चे(जे) चापलं तत्कटाच्चे ।(॥) [२९*]¹⁸ अनंतरं तत्तनयः
 प्रतोतश्चक[र]-

¹ Read श्वेतच्छत्रस्य
⁴ Metre. Śārdūlavikrīḍita,
⁷ Read जल⁰
⁸ Read इत्यव
⁹ Read ⁰विषमो वन⁰,
¹⁰ Read गृह्यन्दि⁰.
¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita,

² Read मध्ये
³ Read जिह्वर्ण
⁶ Read कमठ
¹¹ Read विक्रमश्री⁰.
¹⁶ Read संप्रापय.
¹⁷ Metre Upajāti,
²⁰ Read कौटिल्य,

² Read ⁰पाते मराल⁰.
⁶ Read ⁰हत्तले
⁸ Read कठिना
¹² Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
¹³ Read पदानि
¹⁸ Metre. Śragdharā.

- 78 स्ति हस्तापजितद्युतशाखी¹ । श्रीवेङ्गळंवाचिरपुण्यराशि[.*] श्री-
 79 रगराय[.*] श्रितभागधेयः ।(॥) [३०*] ²उद्गिरौ स्थितः परिवि(वि)जित्य च
 80 दुर्गज(च)यान् दुर्गमकोंडवीडुविनिकोंडपुरप्रमुखान् । भूव-
 81 लयैकरत्नपेनुगोंडपुरे निवसन्नाजति यः समग्रमकरा-
 82 दिमलाच्छनतः ।(॥) [३१*] ³श्रीधरणीरिव⁴ शीरेशिशिरकरस्येव रो-
 83 ह्निचित्रे । देव्यो ते विजयेते [ति*]रुमलदेवी च यस्य कृष्णांबा ।(॥)
 [३२*] ⁵य-
 84 थाविधि महीसुरोत्तमकृताभिषेकोत्सवे यदीयकरवारि-
 85 [दि] कनकवृष्टिदे सर्वतः । यशोमयतरगिणी दशदिगंतरे
 86 जृंभते सतां प्रशमितोभवत्कृपणतोरुदावानलः ।(॥) [३३*] ⁶धात्रीभा-
 87 रमशेषमपा(प्य)विकलं भर्तुं भुज व्यातनोदाशादंतिक्क(कु)लाच-
 88 लेंद्रफणिराडशैस्त्रोजासनः । वीरश्रीरमणस्य यस्य प-
 89 र[धा] विक्रातिमानेष किं दानाभः कटकं च नमय⁷ धत्ते सदा
 90 भोगिता ।(॥) [३४*] ⁸वाराशिगांभीर्यविशेषधुय्य(र्य)श्रीराशिदुर्गेकवि-
 91 भाकवर्थे⁹ । पराष्टदिग्रायमनःप्रकामभयंकरः शार्ज(ङ्ग)धरां-
 92 तरंगः ।(॥) [३५*] ¹⁰हतरिपुरनिमेषानोककहो¹¹ याचकानां हीसवि-
 93 [रु]दरगडो रायरहत्तमिंडः¹² । महितचरितधन्यो मन्त्रिया-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 94 न्नामुलादिप्रकटितविदु(रु)दश्रीः पाटिताराति-
 95 लोकः ।(॥) [३६*] ¹³उभयदक्षपितामहो नतानामभयपदार्पण-
 96 तत्परो रिपूणां । अयमवहकुरायमानमही(ही)त्यसि¹⁴
 97 लजनैरभिधीयमानधामा ।(॥) [३७*] ¹⁵तांडवितोदयो विरुदम-
 98 न्यरगंडतयोद्दवलीकलेंद्रजयपंडितवीरयु-
 99 तः । चडिमशास्त्रिवाडुवलदंडितवैरिगं(ग)णो गंडरगू-
 100 किमन्यपुलिमान्यमहाविरुदः ।(॥) [३८*] ¹⁶वारचीररमया¹⁷ समु-
 101 क्षसन्नारवीटिपुरहारनायकः । कुंडलीश्वरमहाभुज¹⁸

¹ Read °द्युशाखी

⁴ Read श्रीधरणी इव.

⁷ Read काचनमय

¹⁰ Metro Māhā.

¹³ Metro Pushpitāgrā

¹⁴ Metro: Bathōddhatā.

² Metro Śaulāsikhā

⁵ Metro Prithvī.

⁸ Metro Upajāti.

¹¹ Read °नीकहो

¹⁴ Read °नखिलजने

¹⁷ Read वारवीर°

³ Metro: Giti.

⁶ Metro Śārdūlavikrāntā.

⁹ Read °वर्थ°.

¹² Read °राहुतमिड°.

¹⁵ Metro: Śaulāsikhā.

¹⁸ Read अहभुज°.

- 102 अयन्मडलीकधरणीवराहता ।(॥) [३६*] ^१वेग्यत्रिभुवनीमल्ल[:*]
- 103 सख्यक्षितिकलार्जुनः । (॥) [४०*] ^२उरिगोलसुरत्राण(णी) हरिगोचर-
- 104 मानसः । राज्ञा वरो रणमुखरामभद्र इति श्रुतः ।(॥) [४१*] ^३वर्णि-
- 105 तविरुदो नानावर्णश्रीमडलीकगड इति । आत्रेयगो-
- 106 त्रजानामग्रसरो भूभुजामुदारयशाः ।(॥) [४२*] ^३अतिविरुदतुर-
- 107 गधट्टो मतिगुरुरारट्टमगधमान्यपदः । शल्यारिनी-
- 108 तिशाली कल्याणपुराधिप. कलाचतुरः ।[1*][४३*] ^३चाक्किक्कचक्र-
- 109 वर्त्ती ^४भाणिकमहाकिरीटमहनीयः । एवि[रु]दरायरा-
- 110 हुतवेश्यैकभुजगविरुदरमणीयः ।(॥) [४४*] ^३कूलंकश(प?)कोन-
- 111 रानी(॥)[कोटल*]कीगजयविरुदभरितश्रीः^५ । ^६रमातरकीरिरो-
- 112 डिड[य*]रायदिशापट्टविरुदघोषेण ।(॥) [४५*] ^७ओपधिपत्युपमा-
- 113 यितगडस्तोषणपू(रु)पजितासमकाडः । भाषगीतप्य(प्यु)व-
- 114 रायरगडः पोषणनिर्भरभूनवनखडः^८ ।(॥) [४६*] ^९राजाधिरा-
- 115 जस्तेजस्वी श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः । मूर्हरायरगंडांकी मेरु-
- 116 लघियशोभरः ।(॥) [४७*] ^९परदारेषु विमुखः पररायभयंकर. ।
- 117 शिष्टसरक्षणपरो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः ।(॥) [४८*] ^९हिदुरायसुर-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 118 [त्रा]णस्त्रिंधुराजगभीरधि^{१०} । अरीभगडभीरुडो
- 119 हरिभक्तिमुधानिधि. ।(॥) [४९*] ^९इत्यादिविरुदैर्वदितत्या नि-
- 120 त्यमभिष्टतः^{११} । जय जीवेति वादिन्य[1*] गनिताजलिबं-
- 121 र्धया^{१२} ।(॥) [५०*] ^९कों(कां)भोजभोजकाकिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः । प्र-
- 122 तीहारपदं प्राप्तैः प्रस्तुतस्तुतिघोषणः ।(॥) [५१*] ^{१३}सीयं श्रीरंग-
- 123 राय^{१४} क्षितिपतितिलको रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या
- 124 निरस्यनृगनकूनहुषानप्यचन्यामथान्यान्^{१५} । आ सेतो-

^१ Here is a half of an Anushtubh verse, the other half is wanting

^२ Metre Anushtubh

^३ Metre Giti

^४ Read माणिक्य^०

^५ The corresponding passage in the Tumbur plates of Tirumalarāya published in *Ep Carn*, Vol XII, p ३ runs thus —

Kālakāsa konarāri-kātala gonga-gaya bīruda bhārta śrīh |

^६ Read रम्यतरकीरिरो^०

^७ Metre DōdhaLa

^८ Read ^०मूनवल्लुष्ट.

^९ Metre Anushtubh

^{१०} Read ^०गभीरधी

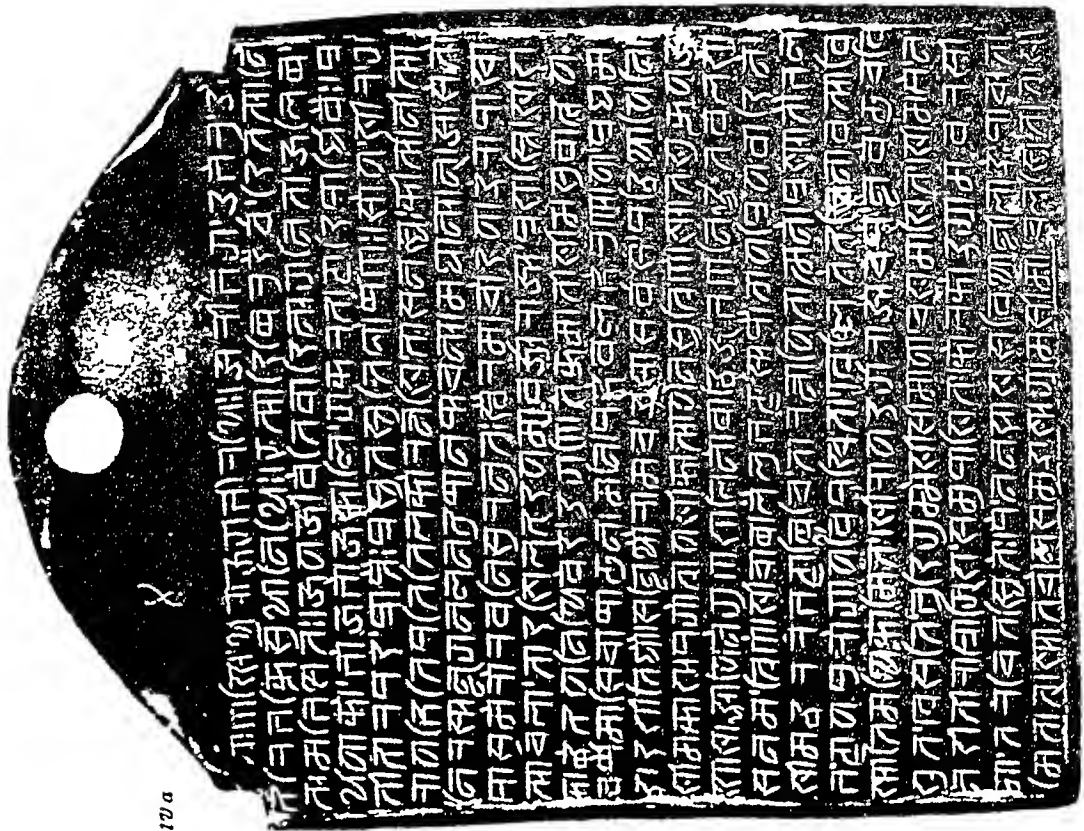
^{११} Read ^०मभिष्टुत.

^{१२} Read जनिताजलिबधया.

^{१३} Metre - Sraḍḍha-ā.

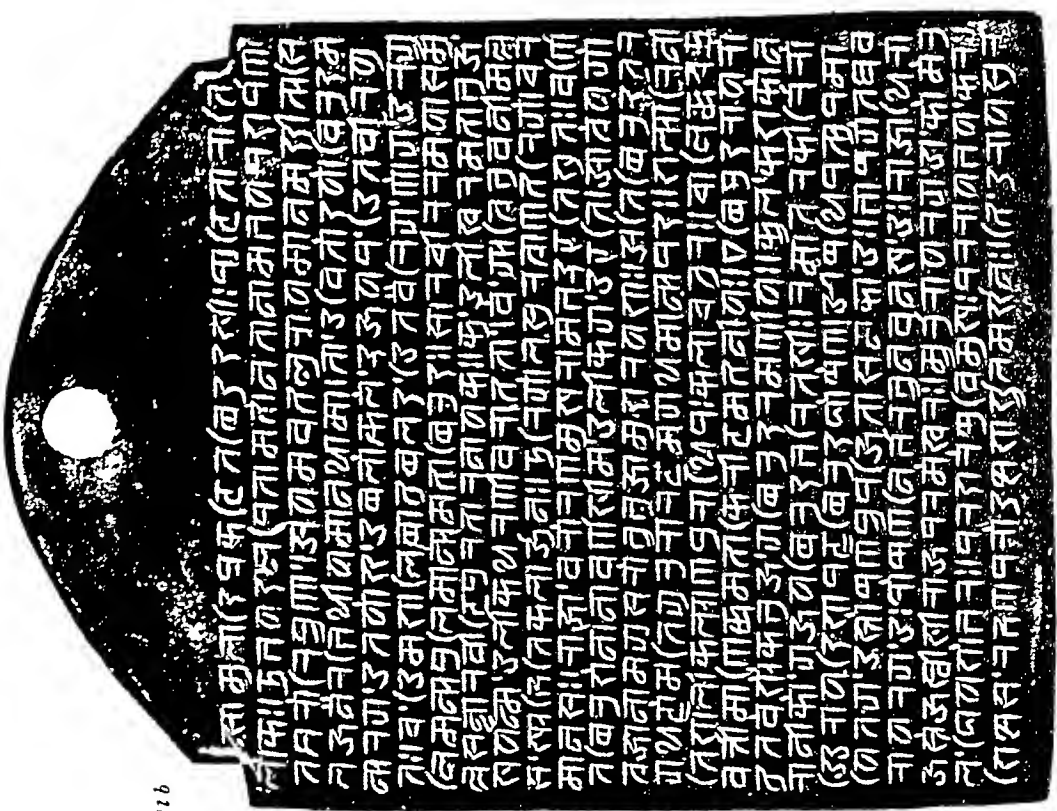
^{१४} Read श्रीरगराय or ^०शयक्षिति^०.

^{१५} Read ^०प्यवन्या^०.



118 a

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112 b

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- 125 रा सुमेरोवनिचुरनुतः स्त्रैरमा चोदयाद्रेरा पाञ्चा-
 126 त्वाचलांतादखिलहृदयमावर्ज्यं राज्यं प्रशास्ति ॥(॥) [५२*] श्रीश-
 127 काब्दे ह्यनिधिवेदेदुगणिते क्रमातीं श्रीमसुवाह्वये
 128 वर्षे मासि चाषाढनामनि ॥(॥) [५३*] पत्ने वक्त्रे पुण्याया प्रथम-
 129 द्वादशीतिथौ । सन्निधौ रामचद्रस्य सर्वसपत्न्यधायिनि ॥(॥) [५४*]
 130 श्रीमत्काश्यपगोत्राय श्रीकाल्यायनसूत्रिणे । ख्यातशुक्लयजु-
 131 श्शा[खा]ड्यायिने^१ गुणशालिने ॥(॥) [५५*] 'वाह्विर्जुभणनिर्द्धूतव(व)लशा-
 132 सनमंत्रिणे । श्रीचावालेलुभट्टस्य पौत्राय प्रियवादिने ॥(॥) [५६*]
 133 श्रीमहररभट्टाश्विचितारत्नायितात्मने । प्रख्यातौभक्त-
 134 भट्टाय पुरोगाय विपश्चिता ॥(॥) [५७*] वक्त्रिणे हस्तिनावत्या वि-
 135 ख्यातिमधिकामित(ते) । श्रीरायदुर्गराज्ये च 'पेन्नवेठ च वि-
 136 श्रुत ॥(॥) [५८*] वसति भूदिगुम्भेश्रीसीमाया^२ च अमश्रित^३ । श्रीमत्पेन-
 137 नदीतीरात्प्राग्दिशं समुपाश्रितं ॥(॥) [५९*] ^{१०}कोरकोद्रुग्रामवरसी-
 138 मांतरचितस्थिते । पेन्नव्याश्र(य) सविधानीलादेः पा(प्रा)च्यता-
 139 मितात् ॥(॥) [६०*] ख्यातचोक्तसमुद्राख्यग्रामसीमांचलस्थितात् । श्री-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 140 मञ्जेमडगुल्मस्य समीपस्थितिमे(मी)युषः ॥(॥) [६१*] सुखिरादुपका(ला)दा-
 141 शा दक्षिणा समुपाश्रित । वेलेटिगा(या)मसीमांतसैकताश्री^{११}
 142 धरातिकात् ॥(॥) [६२*] चौरकश्रीतिंतिणीक्ष्मारुहादपि च पश्चिमा-
 143 त् । पल्लुकूर्ग्रांमसीमांतात्पश्चिमत्व पपेटुपः^{१२} ॥(॥) [६३*] कुम्भार्जपत्नि-
 144 सीमातात्पश्चिमाया दिशि स्थितात् । ^{१३}प्रख्यातश्रीगिड्डमाकि-
 145 गानिचेत्राचलस्थितात् ॥(॥) [६४*] नीलोन्नतस्यलाद्रम्यादायात् पश्चि-
 146 मा दिशं । श्रीतिम्मापुरसीमांतशमीवृक्षातिकस्थले ॥(॥) [६५*] स्यापि-
 147 ^{१४}तादुपलस्यभादुत्तरत्वमुपाश्रितं । श्रीकृष्णापुरमित्येव प्र-
 148 तिनामसमाश्रित ॥(॥) [६६*] [मा]रेडपत्तिनामांख्य(क) ग्राममारामश्रीभि-
 149 त । ^{१५}सवमान्य चतुष्सीमासंयुत च समततः ॥(॥) [६७*] निधिनित्तेपपाषाण-
 150 सिद्धसाद्व्र(ध्य)जलानित^{१६} । अक्षिण्यागामिसयुक्तमेकभोग्यं समूर-

^१ Metro of ११ 53 75 Anushtubh

^२ Read क्रमात् । श्रीमसुवाह्वये

^३ Read °धायिने

^४ Read वाग्विजुभण°

^५ Perhaps, the reading intended is श्रीमहालेन्दुभट्टस्य

^६ The reading intended may be श्रीमहररभट्टा°

^७ Read पेन्नवेठे

^८ Read सूदिगुम्भ°

^९ Read समाश्रित

^{१०} This *pāda* of the Anushtubh verse is irregular

^{११} Read °सैकताश्री°

^{१२} Read प्रपेटुप

^{१३} This *pāda* of the verse is irregular

^{१४} Read °क्षमा°

^{१५} Read सर्वमान्य

^{१६} Read °जलान्वित

- 151 हं ।(॥) [६८*] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छारामैश्च सयुतं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भो-
 152 र्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं ।(॥) [६९*] दाना[ध]मनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयो-
 153 चितं । काश्यपान्वयदीपस्य काश्यपीकल्पशासि(खि)नः ।(॥) [७०*]
 सिद्धु(धु)राजग-
 154 भीरस्य सिधुगोविंदतेजसः । श्रीसितकरगंडांकमहाविरुदशो-
 155 भिन[॥७१*] (मे)धवळांकनभीमस्य धनद्वैश्वर्यशालिनः । मणिनागपुरेश-
 156 स्य मथितारातिभूभुजः ।(॥) [७२*] ^१वरवय्याप्वभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मनः । ^२नी-
 157 रक्कणमभूपस्य विज्ञप्तिमनुपालयन् ।(॥) [७३*] परीतः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरा(रो)-
 158 हितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विवुधैश्चैतपधिकैरधिकैर्गिरा ।(॥) [७४*] श्रीरगरा-
 159 य[भू]पालो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 [न्मु]दा । (॥) [७५*]

Fifth Plate

- 160 ^१तदिदं नयधुर्यस्य प्रथितश्रीरंगरायवर्यस्य[१*]
 161 ^२शासनमतिवलशासनतरुकरदानस्य गुणनिदा(धा)न[स्य][॥७६*]
 162 ^३श्रीरगरायनृपतेशशासनस्ताम्रशासनश्लोकान्^५ । कविश[१]-
 163 सनस्वयभूस्सरसमभाणीत्सभापतेस्सूनुः ।(॥) [७७*] ^६श्रीरंगरायभू-
 164 पालशासनादीरणात्मजः । [श्री]मङ्गणपयाचार्यो व्यलिस्रत्ता-
 165 म्रशासनं ।(॥) [७८*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये^७ दानाच्छ्रेयोपुरा(पा)लनं । दानात्स-
 166 र्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्यत(च्युतं) पदं ।(॥) [७९*] स्वदत्ताद्वि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परद-
 167 त्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥) [८०*] स्वद-
 168 त्ता परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां । ^८षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि वि-
 169 ष्टायां^९ जायते क्रिमिः^{१०} ॥ [८१*] एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां ।
 170 न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुधरा ।(॥) [८२*] ^{११}समान्योयं धर्मसे-
 171 तुर्तपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्विस्सर्वानितान्^{१२} भावि-
 172 नः पार्थिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः॥[८३*] =॥=॥=॥=॥
 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१३}

^१ Read वरवय्यप्प°^२ Metre Gīḥ^६ The metre of vv. 78-82 is Anushtubh^९ Read षष्टि वर्ष°.^{११} Metre Sālinī^{**} The characters are old Kannarese.^२ Perhaps वीरकृष्णम्° is meant.^४ Read °वलशासन°.^९ Read °षायां.^{१२} Read भवति. । सर्वा°.^५ Read °शासनतस्ताम्र°.^७ Read °र्मध्ये.^{१०} Read क्रिमि°.

No 35—MALEPADU PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA,
THE FIFTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN

BY H KRISHNA SASTRI, B A

Mr J Ramayya Pantulu, B A, B L, while he was Deputy Collector in charge of the Jammalamadugu Division of the Cuddapah district, in 1904, brought to the notice of the Madras Epigraphical Department a set of copper plates and a number of stone inscriptions relating to a family of kings whose existence was not known till then. These copper plates and stone records¹ were secured by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, through the kind offices of Mr Ramayya Pantulu, and a brief account of their contents was given in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p 48, paragraphs 5 and 6. I publish below, with the permission of the Editor, the inscription on the copper plates and also append in a postscript, as a specimen, the text and translation of one of the well-preserved stone epigraphs whose importance will be recognised when it is stated that they are the earliest Telugu records from the Cuddapah district and belong to a dynasty of kings who, though claiming Chōla descent, had, nevertheless, their dominion in the Pallava territory.

Regarding the discovery of the plates, Mr Ramayya Pantulu writes —“They were given to me by a man of the Sāli caste named Varadappa, who told me that he found the plates while digging foundations for a *mutt* at Mālēpādu. He preserved the plates in the temple of Embērumān at Vēlpucharla whither he had removed himself and gave them to me when I visited that temple.” The plates are three in number, and measure, roughly, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ” by $2\frac{1}{8}$ ” “They are held together by a ring whose ends are secured in an oval shaped seal which measures about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ” by $1\frac{7}{8}$ ”, and which bears in high relief, a tiger which stands to the proper left, raises the left fore-paw, opens the mouth and has a twisted tail”². The first and last of the plates are written only on their inner sides and show traces of having had raised rims, which were apparently meant to protect the writing on these plates from coming into contact with the written sides of the middle plate. The circular copper ring which holds the plates together, measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter and is about $\frac{5}{8}$ ” thick. The plates with seal and ring weigh 93 tolas. They have been presented to the Madras Museum—again through the kind intervention of Mr Ramayya Pantulu—and will be deposited there after the final proof of the subjoined article has been passed for printing.

The seal with the emblem cut on it in bold relief—evidently the crest of the kings to whom the record belongs—deserves special consideration. The posture of the animal,³ the sharp twist of its tail above the back, and the profuse mane round its neck—all considered together—make the figure look more like a lion than a tiger, although the possibility of the latter was suggested by Mr Venkayya when he first discussed the question, from the supposed connection the kings mentioned in the Mālēpādu record bore to the Chōlas of Tanjore whose crest was the tiger (*vēngai*)⁴. Similar figures are engraved on the top of a broken slab at

¹ Some of the stone records which were not either set up in temples or otherwise properly cared for, were removed to the Madras Museum for preservation in the year 1905.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-5, p 48.

³ See the accompanying plate.

⁴ *Eg* in the historical introductions of Virarājendra I the king is stated to have “despatched (*the banner of*) the ferocious tiger into all directions” (*S-I I*, Vol III, Part I, p 37), see also, above, Vol III, p 125, note 3. Fine specimens of the Chōla tiger are depicted on the seal of the large Leyden Grant, the Tiruvālangādu plates and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chōla (*Ep Ind*, Vol III, Plate facing p 104). They are seen also on the coins of Uttama Chōla and on the Chōla pillar on the top of Mahēndragiri in the Ganjam district (No 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896).

Peddammūdyam¹ and on another at Muddanūi,² both of which bear records of about the same age as the subjoined inscription and belong, evidently, also to members of the same family. That these figures represent a lion and *not* a tiger, receives confirmation from an unexpected source. In a record of the 11th century A.D. from the Bastar State,³ it is stated that a chief named Chandiāditya, a feudatory of the Nāgavamśi king Jagudēkabhūshana-Mahārāja Dhārūvaisha, was a descendant of Kaiikāla-Chōla of the solar race, belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra, was the lord of the river Kāvēri (Cauvery) and of the (historic) town of Orāiyūr (Ūrayūri in the Trichinopoly district) and bore the lion-crest.⁴ As the kings mentioned in the Malōpādu plates will also be seen from the sequel to have possessed almost the same family-titles, and as it is not improbable that Chandiāditya of Bastar (whose capital was Amnagūma⁴) may have been a later member connected with some collateral branch of this same family, it may be assumed for the present, that the crest figured on the seal of the Malōpādu plates, is a lion like that of Chandiāditya of Bastar. It is curious to note also that Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* (Plate II, Nos. 49 to 54) refers to certain specimens which bear on their obverse sides the same figure as the one under discussion and tentatively attributes them to the Pallava kings of Vōngi. The monolithic shrine at Śīyamangulam which was excavated in the time of the Pallava king Mahānandivarman I. (i.e., Mahēndravarmān I.) about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.,⁵ also bears sculptures of two identical lions which face one another and are similar in design to the lion depicted on the Muddanūi stone (see accompanying plate). The seals of Indravarman⁶ and Vikramādityavarmān II⁷ of the Vishukūṁḍin family and that of the Urayupāli plates of the early Pallava king Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarmān⁸ bear similar figures. A small signet of *lapis lazuli* discovered among the Buddhist ruins of Amarāvati has on it the representation of a lion with the open mouth and the raised left foreleg together with the legend *Dhātisa* written in early Brāhmi characters of the 3rd century B.C.⁹ Ancient coins recently found at Bojjumkonda in the Vizianagaram district by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Madras, bear almost the same crest on their obverse sides.¹⁰

The writing on the plates belongs to the Southern class of alphabets and closely resembles that of the Eḍōra plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II (A.D. 799 to 843).¹¹ The horizontal top-strokes, often left unfinished in our plates, indicate perhaps an even earlier stage of development. Accordingly, in many cases, we find two points (one on each side of the letter) taking the place of a complete top line. The letter *ḷ* is distinguished from *ḷ* by a vertical stem which projecting from the top of the right side of the latter, supports over it the *talakattu*

¹ No. 351 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² No. 406 of the same collection for 1904.

³ No. 231 of the same collection for 1908.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 112.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 320.

⁶ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 110, paragraph 62.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, Plate, facing p. 244.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 50.

⁹ Director General's *Archaeological Annual* for 1905-6, p. 166.

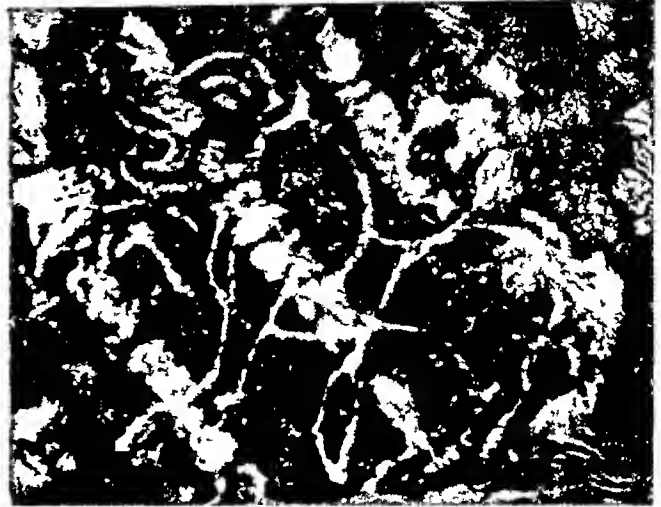
¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 5, paragraph 5. The tiger crest of the Hoysālas figured on the frontispiece of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, has also got the twisted tail, the mane, the conventional slender waist, and the face of a lion. Sir Walter Elliot interprets similar figures (?) on two Hoysāla gold coins (*South Indian Coins*, p. 152 D, Nos. 90 and 91) as maned lions. In the legend about Saja, the founder of the Hoysālas, the Kannarese word used is *puli* which distinctly means 'a tiger'. It is not altogether impossible that a tiger was also represented by the artists of the day, with the mane and other features that were naturally characteristic of a lion. It is stated in the *Sukranīṭisāra* (IV, 1, 167) that a tiger and a lion have almost the same form, the difference being only in the mane which the latter possesses.

¹¹ Above, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 120.

Lion seal and sculptures of about the Seventh Century A D



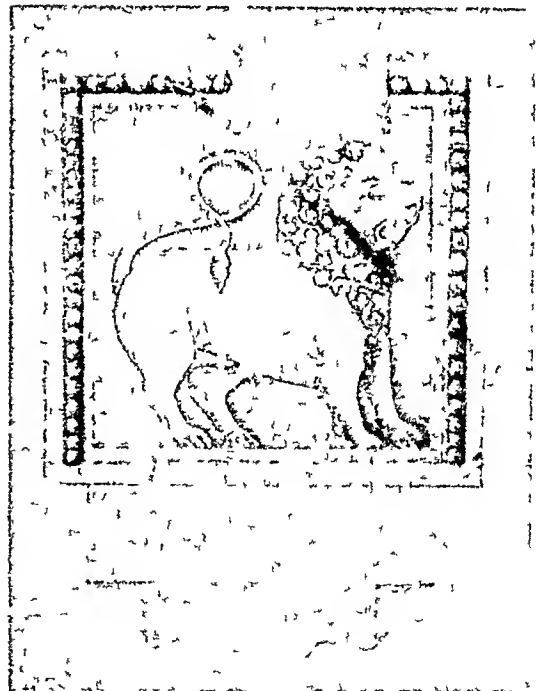
A — Seal of Panyakumara plates



B — Sculpture on a broken slab at
Peddamudiem



C — Sculpture on a slab at Muddanur



D — Sculpture on the rock-cut temple,
Siyamangalam

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY V MADHURANAYAKAM PILLAI

oi head-line This stem of λ is found to be in continuation of the right side of the letter r in the Ēdēra plates, whereas here the stem begins a little removed from the right top of r . The use of the Dravidian la (l 9), za (l 20) and la (ll 8, 18 and 19) is also worth recording. As regards orthography it may be remarked that m and v coming after a $rēpha$ are doubled (ll 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22 and 24), except in *Pōrmukharāma* (l 12 f). The consonants d and t are likewise doubled after r in ll 17, 22 and 24, and before r in l 23, the only exceptions being *Purushasārdūla* and *Mārdavachitta*, in l 13. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. An invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end are, however, written in the Āryā-Gitī and Anushtubh metres, respectively.

After an invocation to Śīva, the record introduces us to a king Nandivarman of the Kāśyapa-gōtra. He was born in the family of Karikāla who was "the (celestial) tree *mandāra* on the mountain Mandara¹ — the race of the Sun, the doer of many eminent deeds such as stopping the overflow over its banks of the (*waters of the*) daughter of Kavōra (*i.e.* the river Kāvērī), who made his own the dignity of the three kings (*of the South*) Nandivarman had three sons, Simhavishnu, Sundarananda and Dhanamjayavarman. The youngest Dhanamjayavarman, on whom devolved the sovereignty in regular succession, had a son "who acquired the title Chōla-Mahārāja, was well versed in grammar and other sciences and was the lord of the Pāndya, Chōla and Kērala (countries)." This was Mahēndravikramavarman, "who was equal in prowess to (*god*) Mahēndra and possessed many surnames such as the glorious Muditaśūlūksara,² Navarāma,³ etc." His son was king Gunamudita and the latter's brother was the prosperous king Punyakumāra. This Punyakumāra, otherwise known as Pōrmukharāma,⁴ Purushasārdūla,⁵ Mārdavachitta,⁶ Madanavilāsa,⁷ etc. thus ordered the inhabitants of his own dominion as well as those of Hiranya-rāshtra "Be it known to you that we, in the current fifth year, of our increasing and victorious reign on the full-moon day of (*the month of*) Kārttika, have granted free from all molestations and taxes twice twenty-five (*i.e.* fifty) *nuartanas* of land (measured) by the royal unit, in the south-east quarter of the village named Birapāru (situated) in Hiranya-rāshtra, on the southern bank of the river Supravōga, to (*a certain*) Chiruvanahala-Kēśavaśarman of the Ātrēya-gōtra, at the request of (*the chief*) Kottikuldarāja." The inscription ends with two imprecatory verses (ll 23 to 27) and a short Sanskrit clause invoking felicity on cows and Brāhmanas (l 27).

Of the foregoing kings, Karikāla who held sway over the three kingdoms of the south and stopped the overflow of freshes in the Cauvery, is identical with the quasi-historical Karikāla-Chōla of Tamil literature, of whom many stories are related in the poems *Puranāpūru*, *Porunārāruppadai*,⁸ *Śilappadigāram* and *Pattinappalai*.⁹ Karikāla-Chōla is claimed by the Chōla kings of Tanjore to have been one of their famous ancestors, and to him is attributed the characteristic feat of constructing banks on either side of the river Cauvery and of renewing the town of Kāñchī with gold.¹⁰ The exact time when this king flourished has not been properly made out. Inscriptions of a family of Telugu chiefs grouped by Mr Venkayya under the name

¹ *I.e.* an ornament to the family which was as high (noble) as the mountain Mandara

² Literally 'one who delighted in stone script (*i.e.* in inscriptions)'

³ *I.e.* a new Rāma

⁴ A Rāma in front of battle. It may be noticed that the first component of this title, *viz. pōr* is a Dravidian word meaning 'battle' and cannot according to strict rules of Grammar be compounded with non-Dravidian Sanskrit words

⁵ A tiger among men (*i.e.* the best of men)

⁶ One whose heart is tender

⁷ Amorous like (the god of) Love (Madana)

⁸ Mr Kanakasabhai's *Tamils*, Ch V

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XLI, pp 144 to 149

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 15

Telugu-Chōdas,¹ state that an ancestor of these was a certain Karikāla "who caused the banks of (the river) Kāvērī to be built by Trilōchana and other kings who fixed their glances on (his) lotus feet (i.e. were subordinate to him)"² Apparently here also, the reference is to the king Karikāla-Chōla mentioned in the Mālēpādu plates. Karikāla's subordinate Trilōchana was, in all probability, a Telugu contemporary whose approximate date is possible to deduce from inscriptions. Trilōchana, Trinētra, Trinayana and Mukkanti are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava, as the name of a mythical ruler of Pallava origin who held sway over the Telugu country at some period of its early history.³ The Paurānik genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings invented as early as the time of Vimalāditya,⁴ refers to a Trilōchana-Pallava⁵ as the ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a powerful opponent of the Chālukya adventurer Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā. This Trilōchana-Pallava is, perhaps, identical with the Trilōchana of the Telugu-Chōda inscriptions and with Trinayana-Pallava and Mukkanti of other Telugu epigraphs. It may therefore be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava were almost contemporaneous. From the account given in the Eastern Chālukya copper plates—whatever its historic value may be—it appears as if five generations had intervened between the mythical king Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishnuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēngī dēśa and founded the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. Dr Fleet has proved that this Kubja-Vishnuvardhana was the younger brother of Pulakēśm II—the Satyaśraya-Vallabhēndra of Eastern Chālukya records—and that he succeeded to the throne as *yuvarāja*, in or about A.D. 615.⁶ Calculating backwards for five generations, we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā and, therefore, also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D.⁷ The history of the Pallavas at this period is obscure, and it is not unlikely that Karikāla-Chōla was supreme at the time and held the Pallava dominions under his sway. The three kings of

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paragraph 44

² The actual phrase which precedes the name Karikāla in these inscriptions is *charana sarōruha-cihita-trilōchana Trilōchana pramukh-ākṣhila-prithvīstara-lārīta-Kāvērī tīra*. Some inscriptions substitute the word *cihata* for *cihita*. In this case the explanation would perhaps be *charana-sarōruhēna cihātāh-tādītāh ata ēva trilōchanāh-cinashita drśatā, tējasa itī yāvat, Trilōchana pramukhā yasya sah*, i.e. Trilōchana and other lords of earth whose eyes were blinded by (the brilliance of) his (viz. Karikāla's) lotus-feet (on the occasion when they prostrated to him). Karikāla is stated to have got thousands of Ceylonese coolies "to work on the embankments of the Kāvērī river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed" (Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 416). Almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the south which trace their origin to the Sun, mention Karikāla among their ancestors and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvērī. The Kākatīyas of Warangal and, in latter times, the Maṭṭa chiefs of Cuddapah and the Sālva chiefs of Kāvētīnagar and a number of feudatory families who intermarried with the Vijayanagara kings of the Innar race, mention Karikāla in their genealogy. In the Telugu poem *Narasabdhūpālīyam* which was dedicated to one of the Toraganti chiefs of the solar race who were related to the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty by intermarriage, it is stated that Karikāla planted rows of avenue trees on either bank of the Kāvērī in order to hide her 'who was the queen of the ocean' from public gaze.

³ See *cy* above, Vol. VI, p. 277, footnote 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 348 f.

⁵ The modern village Peddamndyam in the Jammalamadugu tāluka of the Cuddapah district, is called Trilōchanapura in one of its later records. It was, as Mr Ramaya Pantulu has pointed out to me, the ancient Mudivēṃ Agrahāra where Vishnuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā, was born and brought up. Its name Trilōchanapura connects it with the mythical king Trilōchana Pallava who opposed Vijayāditya. The Pallava genealogy so far disclosed, either from copper plates or stone inscriptions, does not mention any name like Trilōchana-Pallava, but the Kādambas of Goa (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 56b) and the Nolambas of Hēmarvati (above, Vol. X, p. 58) claim, respectively, Trilōchana-Kādamba and Trinayana-Pallava as the founders of those dynasties.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 352 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

⁷ *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1905-6, p. 174 f.

the South whom Karikāla is stated to have subdued were, evidently, the Pāndya, Chōla and Kērala¹ as specified in l 9 of the text, in connection with Mahēndravikramavarman—a later member of this same family. The inclusion of the Chōla among the kings conquered, although it is wrong is, nevertheless, meant to show that Karikāla virtually ruled over the whole of Southern India. The Tamil poem *Silappadigāram* says of him that he was an ally of Avanti and the overlord of Vajra and Magadha².

Of Nandivarman and his three sons Simhavishnu, Sundarananda and Dhanamjayavarman we do not know much at present. The first two names bear resemblance to Pallava names. Sundarananda figures as one of the ancestors of an unidentified Telugu-Chōda chief Śrīkantha whose Madras Museum plates have been noticed by Professor Kiihörn in one of the previous volumes of this journal³. A certain Dhanamjaya Eriga referred to in some epigraphical records from the Maddurāgi tūlaka of the Tumkur district calls himself a Chōla ruling the Ālvādi six hundred district⁴. Mr Rice assigns these records, on palaeographical evidence, to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The Chōlas of the Tumkur district (round Nidugal and Hēmavati) may have been of a common stock with the Chōlas of Cuddapah, and Dhanamjaya Eriga was either directly or indirectly connected with Dhanamjayavarman of the Mālōpādu plates. Again, a stone record at Kalamalla⁵ in the Cuddapah district makes mention of a certain D[hanam]jeyundu who was ruling Rēnāndu. The record is not dated, but to judge from the characters, it may roughly be referred to the same period as the Mālōpādu plates. It is, therefore, not unlikely that we have here a direct reference to Dhanamjayavarman, the last son of Nandivarman Mahēndravikramavarman who assumed the titles Chōla-Mahārāja, Mudita-śūlakshara and Navarāma, appears to have been so named after Mahēndravikrama, a name or surname of Mahēndravarmān I,⁶ the Pallava contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Palaśān II, in the 7th century A.D.⁷ After Gunamudita, of whom nothing is stated in the inscription, came Panyakumāra Pōrmukharīma to whose reign our grant belongs. Two of the *brūdas* assumed by him, i.e. Mārdavachitta and Madanavilisa indicate some apparent affinity to Mattavilisa and Vichitrachitta, the recognised *brūdas* of Mahēndravarmān I.⁸ This resemblance in the *brūdas* suggests, as will be pointed out below, the possibility of some undefined relationship, political or otherwise, that may have existed between the Chōlas of the Cuddapah district and the Pallavas of Kūñchi.

Panyakumāra, we are told, addressed his order to the inhabitants of his own dominion and to those of Hiranyarāshtra. The latter territorial division, though not actually included in the province governed by Panyakumāra, must have been bordering on it and perhaps also subordinate to him. It is not impossible that this was actually the kingdom ruled by Kottikuḍarāja,

¹ Tamil literature refers to "the battle at Venni where Karikāla defeated the Chōra and the Pāndya kings" (*Ind Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 146). It is not impossible to interpret the word *trairājya sthiti* of l 4 in the sense of "the position of *trairājya*". In Western Chalukya copper plates the Pallava King is often referred to as *Trairājya Pallava* or *Trairājya Kūñchīpati*, where *trairājya* evidently denotes the sovereignty over the whole of Southern India.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 26f.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 123, note. Professor Kiihörn who has compared the palaeography of these with that of the Masulipatam plates of Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888), is of opinion that the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkantha are also of about the same period. It may be pointed out that an ancient coin of about the 4th or 5th century A.D., discovered at Bojjannakonda, bears on one of its sides the legend *Śrīkanta* and on the other the Pallava symbol of the vase and the lion (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part I, paragraph 5).

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Introduction, p. (7).

⁵ No. 380 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁶ *A. S. R.* for 1903-4, p. 271, and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14. The names Navarāma and Mahēndravarmān also occur in the plates of Śrīkantha noticed above.

⁷ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 350.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14.

at whose request the subjoined grant was made. The river Suprayōga, on whose southern bank the village Birapāru was situated, is mentioned again in the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava king *Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman*¹. It is there stated to have formed one of the boundaries of the village of Uruvupalli situated in the district of Munda-rāshtra. Kendakūna or Kandakūra, another boundary of Uruvupalli, mentioned in the same plates, is suggested by Mr Venkayya to be identical with the modern Kandukūna,² the headquarters of a taluka of that name in the Nellore district. And as Munda-rāshtra is probably the same as Munda-nādu mentioned in some of the Nellore Tamil inscriptions,³ the river Suprayōga has to be looked for somewhere in the Nellore district. Punyakumāra's sway thus appears to have extended beyond Cuddapah, even into Nellore. An inscription at Kalujavvalapādu in the Podili division of the Nellore district refers to a chief of the solar race (to which also Punyakumāra belonged) and is worded almost in the same style as the stone epigraphs of the family under reference⁴. The existence of this record may be taken to be a further proof of the influence of the Chōla kings, in the Nellore district, already at this early period. I am unable to identify the village of Birapāru which was situated on the bank of the river Suprayōga.

Before fixing the probable period to which the Mālēpādu plates belong, it may be useful to examine some of the allied lithic records referred to at the beginning of this paper. One from Rāmēsvaram near Proddutūr⁵ and another from Chippili near Madanapalle,⁶ have to be assigned on palaeographical evidence to Punyakumāra of the Mālēpādu plates, though neither of them which mentions him refers to the family to which he belonged or the *gōtra* in which he was born. The latter is a memorial tablet in the Kanarese language and registers that "while the glorious Punyakomārān (i. e. Punyakumāra) was ruling Chirpuli (Chippili), Indarāla rose (in rebellion?), and (in the conflict that ensued, a certain) Parasurāman pierced and fell." The former tells us "In the victorious and increasing years of the reign of the lord of the earth (*prithvī-zallabha*), the Chōla-Mahārāja Pōrmukharāma Punyakumāra, in (his) fifth year, queen Vasantapōri-Chōla-Mahādēvi presented three hundred (measures) of land in the fields of Viripariti to the temple of Vaśantiśvara at Tārumunri—the *ānati* (*ājñapti*) of the grant being a certain Mārpīdugu Rattagudlu." Although one may feel doubtful about the identity of Punyakomārān of the Chippili record, there is little doubt that Pōrmukharāma Punyakumāra of the Rāmēsvaram pillar inscription is identical with the donor of the Mālēpādu copper plates. The mention in this record of (Punyakumāra's?) queen Vasantapōri-Chōla Mahādēvi, of (his) officer Mārpīdugu Rattagudlu and of the villages Viripariti and Tārumunri is apparently of much historical interest. Mārpīdugu is a name or surname quite familiar to the period to which the inscription belongs and was in use among the ruling Pallava sovereigns and their subordinates⁷. Rattagudlu is an honorific title largely used in the epigraphs under reference. Its significance, as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later Sanskrit word *rāshtrakūta* which has been explained in the sense "the headman of a

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol V, p 53

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-05, Part II, paragraph 2

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXXVII, p 283 and note

⁴ *Nellore Inscriptions*, p 1179. The occurrence of epithets like *raddōdya* and *raddōdhu* in connection with the original founders of the temple as stated in this record, is also worthy of note.

⁵ No 384 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904. ⁶ No 299 of the same collection for 1905.

⁷ Names ending in *pīdugu* were common in Pallava times. Perumbīdugu was the name of a channel which was dug from the river Pālūr to feed the Paramēśvara tank in the village of Kūram near Conjeeveram, in the time of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I (*South Ind. Insers.*, Vol I, p 155). Pagāppīdugu was the surname of King Mahendrarvarman I. Mārpīdugu was the epithet either of a Pallava king named Dantivarman or of one of his subordinates in whose time a well was constructed at Tiruvellāra in the Trichinopoly district. A tank at Ālambākkam in the same district was called Mārpīdugūri. Agrapīdugu occurs among the names of the ancestors of the Telugu Chōla chief Śrīlantha who perhaps belonged to the same family as Punyakumāra. According to the *Nandikkalambakam*, Vidēlvīdugu was a surname of the hero of that Tamil poem.

village" The following other forms of *rattagudlu* are also found in the Chōla records of the Cuddapah district (1) *rattodlu*, (2) *rattaguttu* (perhaps the singular form of *rattagudlu*) and (3) *rattādlu*. Further, in some inscriptions, *rattagudi* is found compounded with the name of a royal family, as Salki-Rattakudi, Chalki-Rattagudi, Gagga-Rattagudi, Vallava-Rattagudi, Chōliya-Rattaguttu, and Chōla-Rattōdi. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty Salki or Chalki (i.e. Chalukya), Gagga (Ganga), Vallava (Pallava² or Valiappa-Rāshtrakūta) and Chōliya or Chōla, under whose patronage the dignity (*pattam*) of *rattagudi* was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase *rāshtrakūta-pramukhān=lutumbinah*, which occurs in copper plate inscriptions, shows also that the *rāshtrakūtas* were *lutumbins* 'cultivators' (*hudi* in Tamil) who enjoyed a higher social status than others of their community. The Reddis of the Telugu country according to their own account belong to the *Pantakula* 'the cultivating caste' and command much respect. A class of Reddis in the Nizam's Dominions, is still known by the name Radiaddis which appears to me to be a reminiscence of the older honourific *rattōdi*. Thus the Sanskrit *rāshtrakūta* and the modern *reddi* have to be traced to the form *rattagudi* and its variants which were current in the Cuddapah district in the period of the lithic records under discussion.¹

Six other stone epigraphs,² from the Cuddapah district, begin with a short eulogy of the Chōla kings, which is identically the same in all.³ The ruling chief is introduced by the general appellation Chōla Mahārāja and not by his proper name. Four allied records refer to an unnamed eldest son (*prathama-putra*) of Vikramāditya Bemanādhīrāja,⁴ a Vikramāditya-Chōla-Mahārāja and queen Elañchōla-Mahādēvi⁵ and prince Śatyaditunru, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) Chōla-Mahārājādhīrāja Vikramāditya.⁶ These are names not mentioned in the genealogical portion of the Mālēpādu plates and consequently their relationship to Punyakumāra, to whose family they must belong, is not certain. The general appellation Chōla-Mahārāja, however, was, according to text line 8, first acquired by Mahēndravikramavarman, the father of Punyakumāra. It is not improbable that the Chōla-Mahārāja mentioned in the six lithic records quoted above, is identical with Mahēndravikramavarman. The province over which these Chōla kings apparently ruled is stated in four records to have been the Rēnādu seven thousand. One stone epigraph from Mālēpādu (see Postscript, below) adds the district Śiddhi one thousand, perhaps the same as the Siddhant country. A later inscription of the 12th century A.D. from Peddamudiyam,⁷ mentions the Rēnādu seventy, which must have formed a sub-division of the Rēnādu seven thousand district. Mr Ramayya Pantulu identifies Rēnādu with "the black-soil country which roughly includes large portions of the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, along the valley of the Kundūru river."

The period of the record could only be approximately fixed. The lion crest adopted by the Chōla kings was, as we have seen, already familiar in the 3rd century B.C. It was a Buddhist symbol used also by the Pallavas of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era and

¹ For a detailed criticism on the terms *ratta* and *rāshtrakūta* see above, Vol VII, p. 221 f. A similar development of the title *Gauda* from the earlier *grāmahūta*, *gāmauda* has been maintained by Dr Fleet, *ibidem*, p. 183.

² Nos 405, 406 and 408 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904, No 352 of the collection for 1905 and Nos 466 and 517 of the collection for 1906.

³ This eulogy runs as follows—*Scasti sri aridurdhara vara bhujasi bhāsura prachanda-pradyōta-Dinakara-kula-nandana Kāśyapa gōtra Karikāl ānvaya*—'Hail! Prosperity! (Chōla Mahārāja) who is resplendent with an excellent sword in hand which his enemies could not oppose, who gladdens the family of the Sun whose rays are powerful, who belongs to the Kāśyapa gōtra (and) to the family of Karikāla.'

⁴ No 403 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁵ No 400 of the same collection.

⁶ No 393 of the same collection. The text of this record with translation is published below, in a postscript.

⁷ No 350 of the same collection for 1905 (below p. 344, n. 2). Inscriptions of the 16th century A.D. at Peddamudiyam and Dombara Nandyāla refer to the country in which these villages were situated as Rēnāta-Simsa in the Ghandukōṭa rājya.

by the Viṣṇukundin family of about the 7th century A D. Again the adoption by Puṇyakumāra and his ancestors of titles and names which were current among the Pallava kings of the Simhaviṣṇu line, makes it probable that they were either the subordinates of those Pallavas or succeeded them politically in, at least, a portion of their extensive territory. Besides, the existence of a kingdom called Chu-li-ye in the time of the Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang (640 A D)¹ somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu-Chōla records, is conclusive proof "that this kingdom existed in the 7th century A D". Allowing thus a little more than a century to the five rulers from Nandivarman to Puṇyakumāra, the date of the Mālēpādu plates may roughly be referred to about the end of the 8th century A D which is also the period determined by palæographical evidence.

The connection that existed between these Telugu-Chōlas of the Cuddapah district and the Tamil Chōlas of Tanjore, both of whom claim Karikāla as their ancestor, is not clear. After a more or less independent rule in Rēnāndu for about a century or two, the Chōlas of Cuddapah appear to have dispersed. Some of them became subordinate to the Western Chōlunkyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country.² A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōta under the Nāgavamsī king [Dhāravarsha] Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa-Mahārāja (A D 1060-61)³. In the 12th and 13th centuries there flourished in the Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Chōla (now changed into Telugu-Chōda) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatiyas of Warangal.⁴ The Kākatiyas themselves trace their descent from the sun and count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla-Chōla.⁵ In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Chōlas. Even as late as the 16th century A D, Chōla chiefs with the traditional legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Urayūr⁶ are found serving as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 ३Jayati dhṛita-chandra rēkh[ō] vi[pu-ā]mala-tāraka[h] śubh-āloka[h] [I*]
gagana-
2 m-iva snprasanna[h] Tri]para-pratīma[I*]la-kamta-hā[gam]rah⁹ || Dīnakara-
kula-Manda-

¹ Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905, p 49

² A Kanarese record (No 350 of 1905) of the Western Chōlunkya King Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI dated in Śaka 1046 (= A D 1124-25) mentions the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Atyana Chōlamahārāja whose eulogy begins with the very same passage as in the earlier Chōla records of the Cuddapah district under reference. Peddamndiyam, the village from which it comes, is described as "the jewel of villages, the great *agrahāra* Mndivēma, where resided one hundred and fifty pious (Brāhmanas) who were well versed in Vēdas and Purānas, in penance and in devotion to Nārāyana and who were the lotus tank (as it were), in which the Mahārājādhirāja Viṣṇuvardhana and others had their birth". The last adjunct is explained by Mr Ramayya Pantulu to be a clear reference to the birth of Viṣṇuvardhana at Mndivēma mentioned in the mythological account of the later Eastern Chōlunkya copper plates.

³ Madras Epigraphical Report for 1909, p 112

⁴ Madras Epigraphical Report for 1900, p 17 f

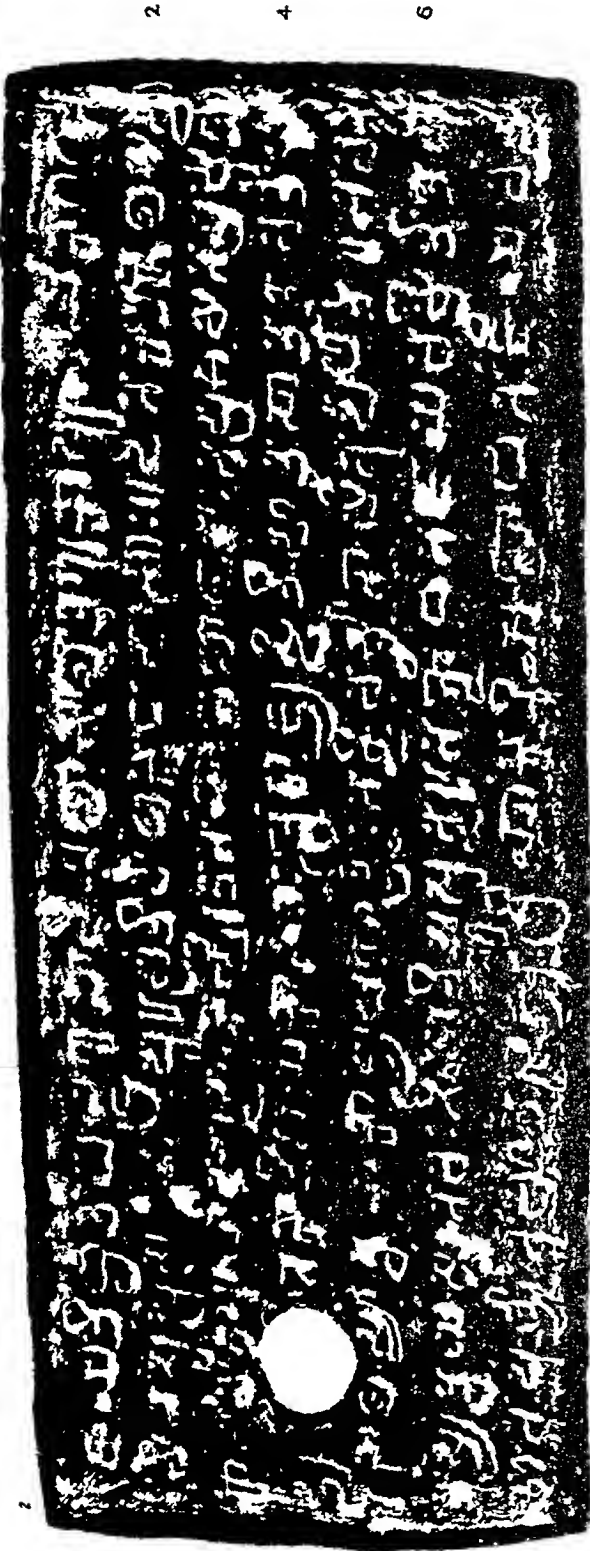
⁵ *Ibid*, p 106, paragraph 44

⁶ The title 'lord of Urayūr (Oreyūr)' assumed by the Telugu Chōda chiefs occurs for the first time in the Bastar record of Chandrādityadēva of the 11th century A D. Earlier Chōla inscriptions from Cuddapah do not speak of Oreyūr.

⁷ From the original plates

⁸ A faint symbol for *Om* is visible at the beginning of the line.

⁹ Metre Āryā Gīti. Read *-kanthagō hārah*. The adjectives which qualify *hārah* 'the necklace' (of Śiva), are applicable also to *gagana* 'the sky' to which the necklace is compared. In the first case the necklace is made up of beads resembling the digit of the moon and of pearls big and bright, it is also auspiciously brilliant and flawless. The sky is the seat of the digit of the moon, full of big and bright stars, full also of good lustre shed by the stars and clear. It may be noted that *Chandrahāra* in Kanarese means 'a necklace of flat moon like (circular) gold beads'.

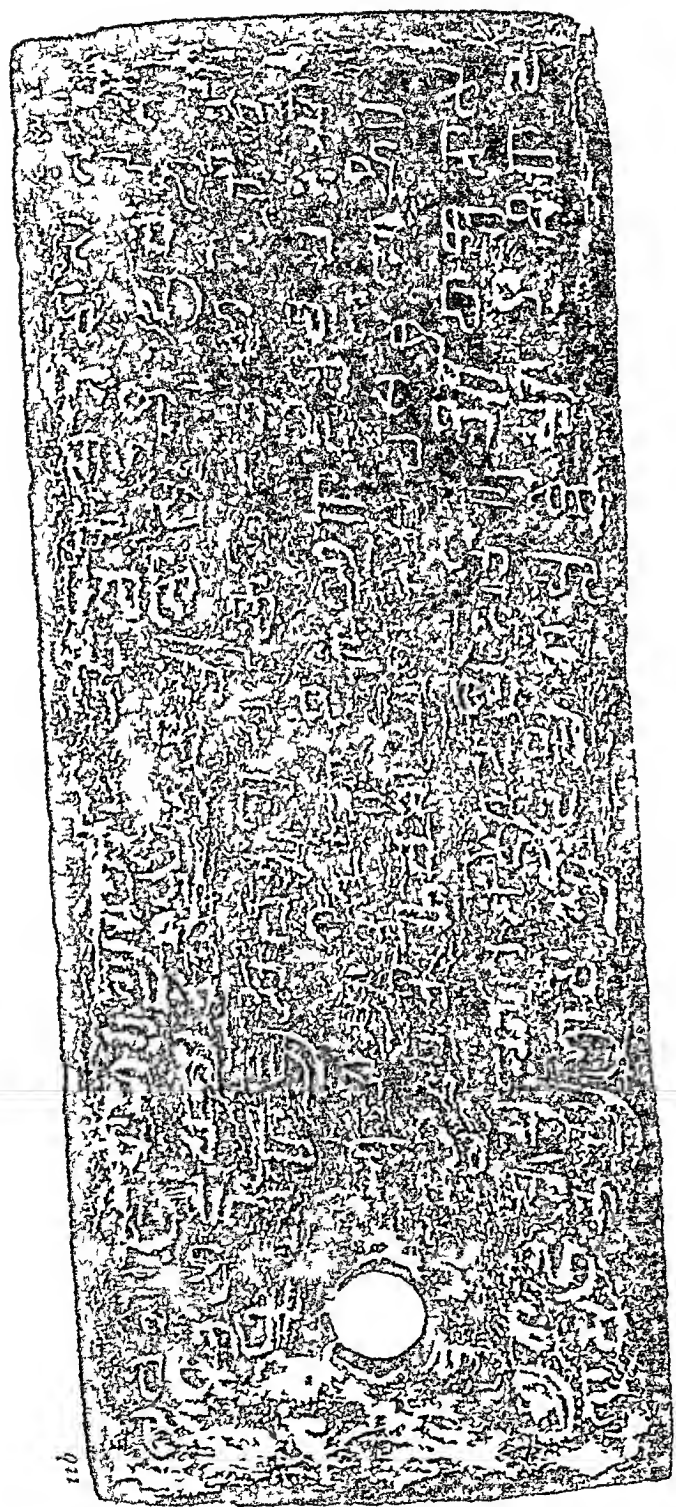


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111



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- 3 r-ācha[la*]-Mandāru(ra)-pādapasya Kāvēra-tanayā-[vē]l-ō[l*]lamghana-
praśamana-pramkñh-ā-
- 4 dy-anēka-ātāsaya-kārinah trairāja-sūhītim=ātmasāt=kritavatah Ka-
5 rikālasya=ānvayō Kāśyapa-gōtrah Nandivarmanā nāma nripatir=
abhavat [l*]
- 6 Tasya traya[s*]=[sū]navah [Siṃha]vishṇu[s*]-Sundarana[ndō]
Dhanamjayavarmma=ēti [l*] Tō [pu]-
- 7 [tr-ā]nu[pu]try=ānubhūta-rāja-śriyah [l*] Kaniya[sō] Dhanamjayavarmma-
Second Plate, First Side
- 8 nah putrah paṃprāpta-Chōla-Mahārāja-śabdah [Śabda-śāstr-ā]-
9 dy-anēka-pāragah Pāndya-Chōla-Kēraḷānām=adhipatih [l*] Tasya
10 śri-Muditaśilākshara-Navarām-ādy-anēka-nāmadhēya-
- 11 Mahēndra-sama-vikramasya Mahēndravikramavarmmanah putrah Gu-
12 namuditō nāma nripatir=a[bha]va[t] [l*] Tasya priyō bhrātā Pō-
13 rmukharāma-Purushaśārdūla-Mārdavachitta-Madanavilās-ādy-anē-
14 ka-nāmadhēyah śrīmā[n=Pu]nyakumārō nāma nripatir=a-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 [bha]va[t] || Asau Hiranya-rāshtra-[sa]hitā[n=sva]-rāshtra-nivāsinaś=sa-
16 rvvān=ittham=ājñāpayati [l*] Veditam=astu vō [=]smābhīh pravarddha[mā]-
17 na-vijaya-rāja-samvatsarē pañchamē varitāmānō Kārtti-
18 ka-[pau]rnamāsyān=tithau Kottikuldarāja-vijñāpanayā
19 Ātrēya-[gō]trāya [Chi]ruvana[hala]-Kēśevasarmmanē Hira-
20 nya-rāshtrō Supra[yō]ga-nadyā dakṣiṇa-tirō Birapāru-nāma-
21 grāmah [ta]sya grāmasya dakṣiṇa-pūrvvasyām diśi rāja-

Third Plate

- 22 mānēna dvā-pañchavimsati-nivarttanō¹ kshōtrō sarvva-
23 bādhā-kara-parihāran=dattō² || Abbhīr=ddatam³ tribbhīr=bhntam
24 sadbhīś=cha paṃpālitam [l*] ētāni na nivarttantō pūrvva-
25 rāja-kritāni cha || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō
26 haiēta vasundharām [l*] shashti-varsha-sahasrāni vi-
27 shtāyām [jāyatē] kṛimih || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇēbhayah ||

POSTSCRIPT

TEXT. ⁴*First Face*

- 1 © Svasti śri-Chōla-Ma-
2 h[ā]rājādhirāja pa-
3 ramēśvara Vikramēdi-
4 tya Śaktikomara Vi-
5 kramādīt[y*]ula koduk[u-
6 l] Kāśyapa-g[ō]tru-
7 [nru] Śatyaditunru Śiddhi-
8 [vey]u Rēnāndu-ēlu[vē-

¹ Read =nivarttanam kshōtram² Read =dattam³ Read tribbhīr=⁴ No 398 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904. The characters are quite similar to those of the Ajapa inscriptions of Udiyāvara (above, Vol. IX, pp 15 24), which Prof Hultzsch assigns to about A D 800. It deserves to be noted that the record is written from the bottom upwards like the Amarāvati pillar inscription of Simhavarman (above, Vol IX, p 43 and Plate) and one of the sides of the Bezvāḍa pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1910, p 82)

- 9 la] ḥluchunṛi¹ Ko[ma-
 10 ṛi]pāra-Rēvaśa-
 11 [rmma] Kāśyapa-gō-
 12 [t]ri(tru)m(ni)ki icchīna .
 13 Chṛumbūri² utta-
 14 4a tu(tū)ṛpunu dīśa
 15 [d]n Juggi-pola-ga[ru]-
 16 su da[kshī]na-[dīśa] .
 17 pāra [ma]

Second Face

- 18 ḥnu maṛtru-gā-
 19 nu tāgiri [l*] Dē(dī)ni
 20 salpīnavānīki
 21 vḥ-gn[l]nva vḥ-sc-
 22 ṛuvulu vḥānṛ-n(ū)-
 23 ṛlu nīpīnain³ puṇyam-
 24 bu [l*]dīnīki vakṛambu
 25 vachchuva(vā)ṛṇ puṛa-va-
 26 dya(dha)-stī-vadya(dha)-[gō-va]-
 27 dya(dha)-pañcha-ma[ha-
 28 pū]takañ=chḥsi[na]-
 29 vāni lōka[m*][ha-
 30 n=a]n[du*]vānṛu ☉

TRANSLATION. ⁴

Hail! Śatyaditunru (Satyāditya) of the Kāśyapa gōtra, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Chōla-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, while ruling the Śiddhi one thousand and the Rēnāndu seven thousand (*district's*), gave to Rēvaśarmma of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, (*a resident*) of Komaripāra, five *marutru*⁵ (of land) at Chṛumbūru .
 on the north side . east side . the
 boundary of the fields of Juggi; (*on*) the south side . To
 him that maintains this (*charity*), (*shall accrue*) the merit of establishing a thousand temples, a thousand tanks (and) a thousand villages! He that obstructs this, shall live in the world of him who commits the five great sins (*such as*) the murder of a son, the murder of a woman (*and*) the murder of a cow!

¹ The vowel sign for *u* is added, though wrongly, to the compound letter *nṛi*.

² The *anuscāra* which is to be connected with *ru* is placed over the letter *ū* which follows it. This peculiar position of the *anuscāra* is often found in the Telugu records of this period. The pronunciation intended may be either Chṛumbūru or Chṛubūru (the modern Chīlankūru near the Kalamalla railway station). The latter possibility is supported by the system of spelling generally followed in Prakrit manuscripts where an *anuscāra* placed at the top of any letter has the effect of doubling the preceding letter. The similar position of the *anuscāra* in the words *puṇyambu* and *vakṛambu* (l. 23 f) cannot be explained in the same way. ³ Read *nīpīna*

⁴ The subjoined is only a tentative translation of the inscription. Its peculiarities of orthography, grammar and idiom require independent study and discussion. I could only here draw particular attention to the use of *nṛu* for *nīu*, *nīi*, the use of the Dravidian *ḥ* for *l*, the wrong forms *gōtrīnīki* for *gōtrunīki* (l. 12) and *dēni* for *dīni* (l. 19), the addition of the genitive suffix to the qualifying adjective instead of to the noun (ll. 10 to 12), the use of the expletive suffix *vu* in *vḥ-guḥḥvu* (l. 21), the ungrammatical *vḥānṛ-ūḥḥu* for *vḥ-vūḥḥu* and the word *vadya* for *vadhā*. Again, I am unable to explain the phrase *ḥnu marutru-gānu tāgiri* in l. 18 f.

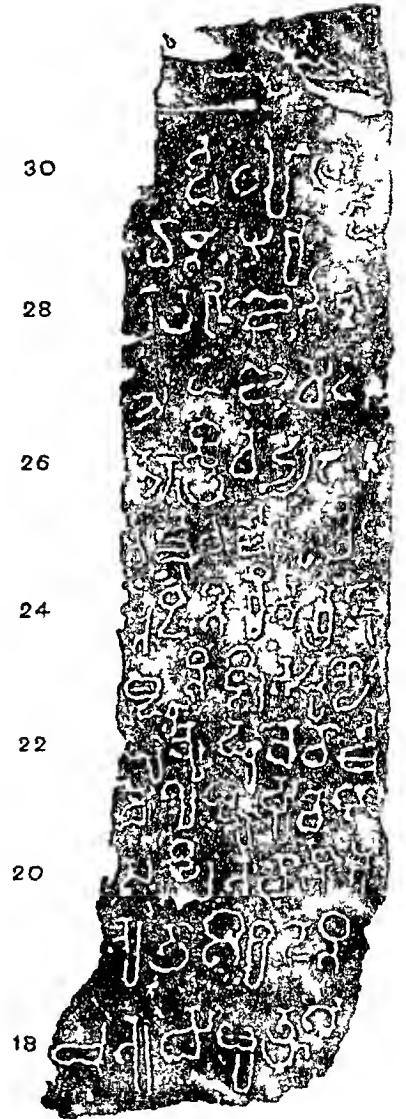
⁵ *Marutru* is evidently the plural of *marutu*, which again is a corruption of the Kanarese *mattar*, *mattaru* 'a measure of land.'

Malepadu stone inscription of Satyaditya

First Face



Second Face



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¹ The figures refer to pages; * after a figure, to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district, division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *f* = female, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo.* = mountain, *vi* = river, *sur* = surname, *ts* = temple, *vi* = village, town, *W* = Western

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